MARCH 1962

the ADL bulletin

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

This special issue of the Anti-Defamation League Bulletin performs a public service by reporting on current civil rights efforts.

It is necessary that the private and public agencies working to promote human rights work together. No American should rest content until every citizen is assured his full rights -- until arbitrary discrimination of all forms is ended everywhere. The efforts of the government to secure these rights need careful appraisal and full criticism as well as encouragement. This information in this special issue is essential for that critical process.

Much has been done. But much more needs to be done. There is still a long way to go. This Administration is determined to do its part to get there -- to attain the great goal established by our Constitution: respect for the human dignity of all men -- equal opportunity in all parts of our public life, in all sections of this country.

John F. Kennedy

# *The Administration and Civil Rights*

## *The Administration and Civil Rights*

THIS in an unusual issue of the ADL Bulletin. In it, key government officials responsible for the Administration's program in the field of civil rights have taken the opportunity to write what is, in effect, a first-year report of their accomplishments.

For better or worse, the federal government is more directly involved in the lives of Americans than ever before. And the responsibility of the Executive Branch for implementing equal opportunity among all Americans has, accordingly, become greater than ever. It is for this reason that ADL has offered a forum for reporting this story, which we believe to be an impressive one.

This is hardly a case of government officials telling readers devoted to democratic ideas what they think will satisfy them. Each man represented here is passionately devoted to the cause of equal rights. Each is daily acting in behalf of this belief—within the framework of government — to reconcile skill and principle as best he knows how. Their effort here is to stimulate and encourage.

THERE are some areas not covered at length in this issue. For one thing, the long-promised executive order forbidding discrimination in federally-aided housing has not been signed (and is not discussed here.) President Kennedy has indicated that his delay in signing the order stems from a belief that he should not get too far ahead of public opinion in pressing for civil rights. The usual interpretation given this statement is that the President believes that the surest way to move ahead in the field of civil rights is to work constantly for an advancing consensus of national understanding and support.

But how slowly we, as a nation, seem to move! It will soon be one hundred years since President Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. Yet, not until 1948 did this country have an Executive Order setting a policy of equal treatment and opportunity—"without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin"—for all persons serving in so vital an area as our armed forces. Not until 1954 did the United States Supreme Court conclude that "separate but equal" is an unacceptable doctrine in this democracy. Not until 1957 did the Congress pass the first civil rights legislation since Reconstruction days.

The tragedy is that our civil rights problems remain. The wonder is the progress that Americans, together, are making to solve them.

Granted, this last statement can be challenged. Prejudice and encrusted traditions are daily robbing the unborn of their birthright, limiting or emotionally crippling a portion of American youth, and stripping their parents of their dignity and most basic rights. This is a hard fact of American life today, throughout the world.

STILL, I repeat, the wonder is the progress that Americans, together, are making to solve problems of prejudice and human rights. The inequities of the day, brutal as they may be, are but shadows of the past. All major American decisions, acts, trends—and wars—of this century have been on the side of humanity. The modern American public school system, with all of its problems, is helping to produce a generation of young Americans, flourishing intellectually, understanding and responsive to the problems of their world. This land and its people are blessed. Our progress in race relations is not to be measured by reduction in the number of lynchings but by the emergence of a middle class among Negroes, indistinguishable from other Americans in their lives and in their love of our best traditions. The racist is apt to be furtive and defensive; *our* concepts have changed and *his* time has run out. The demagogue, the bully, and the utterly selfish are still with us; their words have little real appeal to a people whose folk heroes are neither warriors nor kings but men and women with a common dedication to an almost abstract goodness and humanity. We are a people raised in the image of Lincoln.

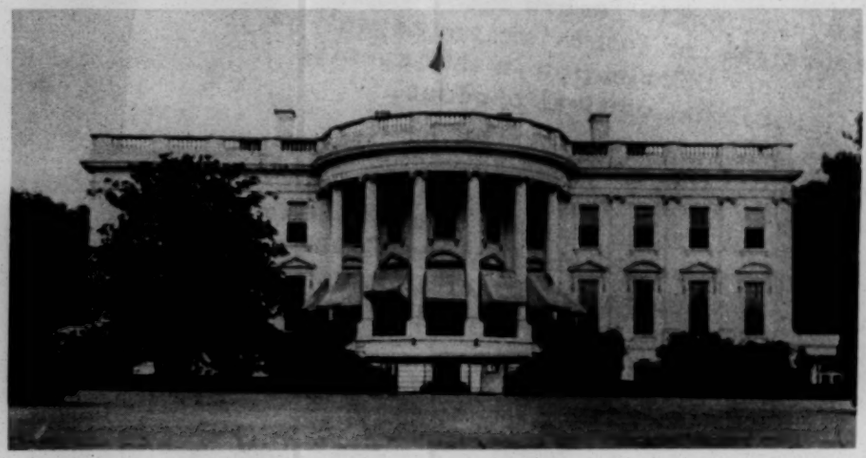
These too, I believe, are some of the hard facts, the greater ones, of America today.

It is in this context that the writers in this issue report on their activities and hopes—and frustrations—in the field of civil rights. With the insights given, it is the most solemn responsibility of the reader—with all his skill and heart—to determine how he can best daily serve too.

## COMMENT:

Benjamin R. Epstein

ADL NATIONAL DIRECTOR



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**The cover:** President Kennedy meets with the Civil Rights Commission.

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# *MOVING AHEAD: AIMS AND METHODS*

By Harris Wofford, Jr.

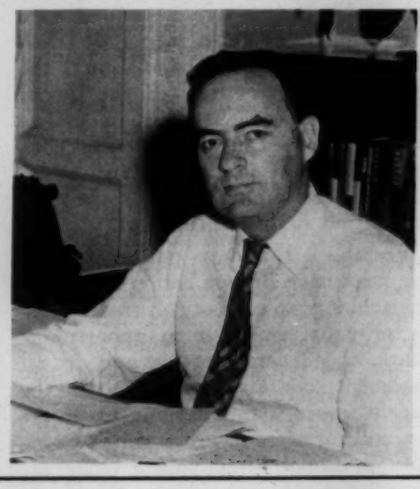
*Special Assistant to the President*

"Get America moving again," has been the Administration's battle cry this year. In civil rights the key to the problem of getting America moving has been to get the Executive Branch of the United States Government moving.

The government flies on three engines —the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial Branches. For too long in civil rights we limped along on only one engine—the Federal Judiciary. It is near miracle that the courts have been able to carry us so far with so little help from the Congress and the Executive.

The main civil rights news from Washington is that the federal government is beginning to fly on all three engines.

**Harris Wofford, Jr.,** has two major assignments as Special Assistant to the President. He is chairman of the President's Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights and is involved in the setting up of Peace Corps units in various parts of the world. Mr. Wofford is on leave from the Notre Dame Law School as associate professor. He was formerly counsel to Father Hesburgh on the Civil Rights Commission, chief of the Commission's study and hearings on discrimination in housing, and an editor of its 1959 report. With his wife, he is co-author of the book "India Afire" (1951). He was born in New York City and is thirty five.



### *The Right to Vote*

In 1957 and 1960 Congress enacted two laws to protect the right to vote. And in 1962 the Administration is pressing for at least another significant step forward in this field: a law to prohibit the arbitrary use of literacy tests to deny the right to vote to colored Americans.

Pursuant to a proposed finding by Congress that literacy tests are being widely used to discriminate against Negroes (based on extensive reports from the Civil Rights Commission), this bill provides that satisfactory completion of sixth grade in any public or accredited private school is sufficient evidence of literacy for voting purposes. Passage of this bill would encourage Negroes to vote by removing one serious obstacle, and would simplify any necessary court actions to protect their right to vote. It would also enfranchise hundreds of thousands of literate Spanish-speaking and reading citizens in New York State.

Congress is just beginning to meet its responsibilities, but with a civil rights bill enacted by each of the last two Congresses, the legislative engine is turning—after three quarters of a century of inaction.

The Administration is using these powers given by Congress to attack the remaining voting discrimination which is concentrated in about 100 counties. In 1961, the Department of Justice intensified its investigation of voting denials (investigations are underway in at least sixty counties) and accelerated the pace of legal actions brought under the 1957 Act (law suits to require the registration of qualified Negroes are in process in about twenty counties). Suits have at last been brought in some of the deeply resistant areas for the first time.

The Justice Department has also acted vigorously to support efforts of Negroes to exercise this fundamental right to register and vote. When a Negro student leader, organizing a registration drive, was beaten and then arrested by local officials and prosecuted in state court, the Justice Department promptly went into federal court to enjoin such state intimidation and prosecution. The decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals to uphold this action means that the federal government can give far more effective protection to those conducting registration efforts.

When Negroes who sought to register and vote in Tennessee's Haywood and Fayette counties were evicted from their tenant farms, the Justice Department secured an injunction against such intimidation. When these Negroes still suffered economically and many were found to lack adequate food, the President directed the Department of Agriculture to make surplus food available in these counties.

### *Equal Job Opportunity*

But Executive action has not been confined to the field of voting. New leadership in the Executive Branch be-

gan on January 20, 1961, when President Kennedy noticed that there were no Negroes in the Coast Guard units in the Inaugural parade and lost no time in informing the Coast Guard that he wanted steps taken so that it would be more representative of all Americans when it marched by him again. (The Coast Guard has since undertaken an extensive recruitment drive to make its opportunities known to young Negroes.)

Soon after taking office the President requested a report from each department and major agency on the number of Negroes in grades from GS 12 to 18, with pay ranging from $9,000 to $18,000 a year. While Negroes comprise 13 percent of the total federal service of over two million employees (a higher ratio than their ratio in the total population), the reports showed very few in the higher grades—and, in some agencies, none. The President expressed his deep personal concern about this at an early Cabinet meeting, and asked each member to remedy the situation in his department.

To establish firm new policies for the whole Executive Branch and create effective machinery to promote affirmative action for equal employment opportunity in both the federal service and in all government contract employment, the President issued a far-reaching executive order, and formed a new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity under the chairmanship of Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

"From this time forward," the President told the Committee at its first meeting, "the Committee will exercise the great powers given to it by executive order to remove permanently from government employment and work performed for the government every trace of discrimination because of race, creed, color or place of national origin." He stressed that it should not be an "honorary committee," nor "one which issues a number of statements, relying upon exhortation." "This Committee," he said, "has powers, and it has responsibilities."

Those powers and responsibilities have begun to be exercised and some significant progress can already be reported.

With the Committee's help and the strong backing of the White House, a number of agencies — particularly the Civil Service Commission, the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture and Commerce, and the Peace Corps— have carried out active programs of recruitment of members of minority groups.

The positive results are beginning to show. In the Labor Department, for instance, the number of Negro employees holding jobs in Grades 12 and above, has increased from twenty-four to forty-one in the last year, a 70 percent increase compared with only a 12 percent increase of total employment in these grades. In the Department of Agriculture the number of Negro employees in Grades 12 and above increased from fifteen to forty-six, a 200 percent increase, and over 400 Negroes have been appointed or promoted to places never before occupied by Negroes. Another 400 Negroes are holding such new positions in the Post Office.

The actual numbers show what is happening better than percentages: one agency's reported 250 percent increase in Negroes in GS 12 and above meant an increase from only four to ten. In another agency there was an even greater proportional increase: from none to one.

While some of the gains have been small, each one is a signal to other minority group members that the doors of opportunity are opening throughout the federal service.

### *"Plans for Progress"*

Important steps have also been taken to secure fair employment practices by companies engaged in work on government contracts. This is in line with the President's opening statement to his Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity on April 11, 1961:

> "Federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination, but rather should be spent in such a way that it encourages the national goal of equal opportunity."

In dealing with the first complaints filed with the Committee, alleging discrimination in the Marietta, Georgia, plant of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, the Committee did not limit itself to investigation of the particular complaints about that one plant. Instead it worked out with the company a broad "Plan for Progress," in which Lockheed undertook not only to end any practices of discrimination in one plant but to take positive steps throughout its whole operations, North and South, to recruit, hire, train and upgrade qualified Negro employees. In January, 1962 after only six months, Lockheed reported very substantial progress.

Segregation has been ended in its Marietta plant and some 200 Negroes have been hired, many of them in skilled crafts, or in supervisory, administrative and professional jobs. Some 1,000 Negroes were hired during this same six month period in all of Lockheed's plants—an increase of 26 percent, compared with an overall increase in its total work force of about 7 percent.

This is the kind of action possible when the leaders of business give leadership—when they and the corporations they head exercise their full responsibilities to the whole community. Over fifty government contractors have agreed to similar "plans for progress." Together with the strengthened enforcement powers of the President's Committee and the new compliance reporting system, this program holds a great promise.

The same approach is now being taken to the problem of discrimination in labor unions. The President's Committee is seeking agreement on similar "plans for progress" by the major unions.

There have been other actions to assure equal employment opportunity. The Department of Labor has revised its policies in an attempt to end the use of State Employment Services as a vehicle for processing discriminatory job orders and is endeavoring to end segregation of the employment offices themselves. The President's executive order dealing with federal employee - management relations assures that no union which practices racial discrimination will be able to avail itself of the strengthened procedures for representation.

**Some members of the Subcabinet Group, left to right: John Macy, chairman of the Civil Service Commission; John Feild, executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Lisle Carter, deputy assistant secretary, Health, Education and Welfare; Jack Conway, deputy administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Berl Bernhard, staff director, Civil Rights Commission; James Quigley, assistant secretary, HEW; Maceo Hubbard, special assistant to the Assistant Attorney General; and Mr. Wofford.**

### *School Desegregation*

Along with these efforts to protect the right to vote and to achieve equality of job opportunity, the Administration has been giving leadership in the effort to bring about peaceful and successful school integration. The Attorney General and Assistant Attorney General for civil rights and other Administration officials have worked quietly behind the scenes to promote the kind of orderly transition to first-step desegregation that has this year taken place in Atlanta, Dallas and Memphis.

And when moral support from the President was needed, the President has spoken. Soon after coming into office he spoke up on the crisis in New Orleans, paying "tribute" to the principals, officers of the school board and public school teachers:

> "These loyal citizens and educators are meeting their responsibilities and challenges with quiet intelligence and true courage. The whole country is in their debt... Let me also pay tribute to the school children and their parents, of both races, who have been on the frontlines of this problem. In accepting the command of the Constitution with dignity they, too, are contributing to the education of all Americans."

Three other times during his first year he issued similar appeals on this problem and threw his personal prestige behind the constructive efforts of local leaders, school boards, city officials, parents, teachers and students. No longer is there silence—a moral vacuum—in the Presidency on this greatest moral issue facing our nation.

WHILE THE law needs help of this kind, the efforts of persuasion need to be backed by the full power of the law. On school desegregation as in other matters, the Justice Department has taken vigorous and inventive court action.

In Louisiana, for the first time, the Federal Government brought a school desegregation suit, taking action not just to assist the court in restoring law and order, but to initiate desegregation in a new district. Similarly, all necessary steps, including court action, were taken to see that teachers in the desegregated schools of New Orleans were paid their salaries.

### *Equal Treatment in Travel*

This vigilant attention to detail was also exemplified during the Freedom Rides. After the initial violence, at every stage Justice Department officers were on hand and in action to protect the lives of the Freedom Riders—and to protect their right to travel in interstate commerce without racial discrimination. When federal marshals were required, they were sent immediately.

When the crisis passed, the issue was not allowed to fester. The Attorney General promptly brought a formal action before the Interstate Commerce Commission, petitioning for the adoption of enforceable rules requiring desegregation in all aspects of interstate bus transportation, including all eating facilities in terminals.

Following the ICC's unanimous decision to adopt these rules, the Justice Department took all necessary court actions to enforce them. Simultaneously, it persuaded all railroads still countenancing any racial segregation to cease such practices forthwith. And it has brought suit to end segregation in airport terminals where voluntary desegregation was refused.

Although a handful of communities are still resisting, the Freedom Rides and the action of the federal government have together changed the pattern throughout the South. The end of all enforced segregation in connection with all interstate transportation is in sight—within 1962.

### *Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights*

To promote and coordinate effective action by all parts of the Federal Government, in employment and in all other aspects of civil rights, the President established a Subcabinet Group on Civil Rights in early 1961. Assistant Secretary level representatives from all the departments and major agencies meet monthly at the White House, to discuss their common problems in carrying out the Administration's policies. The Subcabinet Group has undertaken to initiate action in affirmative recruitment for federal employment, has cooperated with the President's Committee in the discharge of its responsibilities and has begun to reassess those aspects of all federal programs which have a bearing on the equal rights of American citizens.

One of the ideas coming from an early meeting of the Subcabinet Group was for concerted action to recruit and hire qualified Negroes by all federal agencies operating in regional centers of federal employment. In one city there were reported to be over 15,000 federal employees, with only three Negroes above the bottom clerical or janitorial level—and these three segregated in the Negro section of town. It was decided to take one area at a time, assemblying the regional directors and personnel officers of all federal agencies operating in the area, and outlining a program of positive action to find, train, employ or upgrade qualified minority group personnel. Target dates were set when progress would be reviewed. The meetings were held under the joint auspices of the President's Committee and the Civil Service Commission, with representation from the White House. So far such sessions have been held in Atlanta, Nashville, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Philadelphia, New Orleans and New York.

As a result, federal agency staffs in a number of cities have been integrated

for the first time. Also growing out of this has come concerted federal agency action to bring about the desegregation of eating places and other public facilities in all local buildings where federal offices are located.

Another unpublicized step taken by the Defense Department in the early days of the Subcabinet Group came in response to protests over the use of Army military police, on at least one occasion, to order Negro personnel to leave a restaurant when requested by the manager. After a review of the problem, the Secretary of Defense determined that military police could never be used to enforce segregation practices, that legal advice should be provided by the services to any serviceman in difficulty with local authorities on this issue, and that in areas where local facilities are not available to Negro servicemen, such facilities should, so far as possible, be provided on base for all servicemen.

### *Nondiscrimination in NDEA Institutes*

A step perhaps even more significant was taken by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as a result of a study in connection with the Subcabinet Group. Without any fanfare, Secretary Ribicoff directed that HEW financing of language and guidance and counseling institutes under the National Defense Education Act be henceforth conditioned on an agreement by all participating universities that the institutes will be conducted on a nondiscriminatory basis.

Although more than 150 presidents of colleges and universities throughout the country were informed of this new policy, there was no outcry of any kind. Calmly and with understanding, the great majority of the participating educational institutions, in the South as elsewhere, accepted the new nondiscrimination clause in their contracts.

Six southern institutions did withdraw, but the withdrawal of one, the University of Alabama, was not based on the new policy. Among the twenty-two southern institutions which accepted were the Universities of Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Florida, Florida State, Miami, Emory, Vanderbilt, and William and Mary.

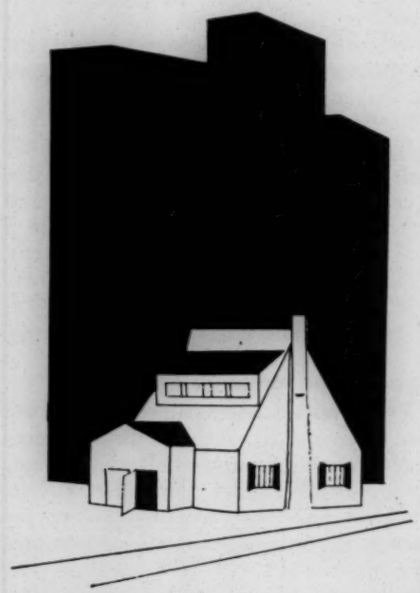
### *Other Administration Efforts*

Through the Subcabinet Group, Administration civil rights policies in various fields have been translated into action by all agencies and departments. One example is the President's policy against participation by federal officials in public meetings or conferences held under segregated circumstances. This policy was first enunciated when, after private negotiations had failed, the President publicly requested the Civil War Centennial Commission to move its commemoration of the firing on Fort Sumter from a segregated local hotel to the desegregated facilities of the Charleston Naval Station.

Later, Negro attorneys attended the dinner of the Atlanta Bar Association for the first time when Secretary Rusk, a native son of Georgia, explained the Administration's policy to local civil leaders.

The main strength of the Subcabinet Group comes from the strength of its parts. Take, for example, the new program to prevent racial discrimination against African and Asian diplomats. The White House staff of the Subcabinet Group has often been called upon by the State Department to assist in efforts to end such discrimination. In all those efforts—whether to desegregate restaurants along Route 40 or to open housing opportunities in the District of Columbia—we have stressed that the only way to stop insulting foreign diplomats is to stop all forms of discrimination against all persons of color. Secretary of State Rusk has made clear that "we cannot solve this problem if it involves a diplomatic passport to claim the moral rights of American citizens."

The point here is that this whole unprecedented effort by the State Department's Office of Protocol was initiated not by the Subcabinet Group but by the Chief of Protocol, Angier Biddle Duke, and it is being carried on persistently and energetically by the Assistant Chief of Protocol, Pedro Sanjuan.



Fortunately, the main parts of the federal civil rights machinery are in relatively good working order. The Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, under Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, has never been more dedicated or more vigorous. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, led by the powerful team of the Vice President and the Secretary of Labor, has brought together on one staff some of the most experienced professionals in the field, headed by John Feild, a former president of NAIRO and director of the Michigan FEPC.

The Civil Rights Commission, with two new members, Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard Law School, and Dean Spottswood Robinson of Howard Law School, is no longer split down the middle. Under its new staff director, Berl Bernhard, the Commission is becoming a far more active instrument of intelligence and public education. A whole section of the Commission's staff, under William Taylor, is providing essential research and field work in support of the studies of the Subcabinet Group.

THE CENTRAL purpose of the Subcabinet Group and of all Administration efforts is to see that the power of all federal agencies and departments is used to promote equal opportunity. The President has made it clear that he wants federal power brought to bear on this problem consistently, intelligently, and effectively.

The President believes that the process of persuasion has proceeded far already, that a consensus of agreement with the great goals of the Constitution exists, and that the movement toward compliance with the Constitution has gained momentum. He wants this momentum to continue—and he expects that all parts of the federal government will take every necessary and proper step to promote it.

In his 1962 State of the Union message, President Kennedy said that "there is much more to be done—by the Executive, by the Courts, and by the Congress." There is no sense of satisfaction. There is full appreciation of the need for the Federal Government and for private organizations and citizens to get on with the job.

To the champions of civil rights the President has made it clear that he considers their efforts—and their criticisms—indispensable. He said in his message honoring Roy Wilkins after thirty years of service, that "it is the nation as a whole which should be congratulated" for having men like Wilkins and Martin Luther King and Whitney Young and the leaders of the Anti-Defamation League and B'nai B'rith "to spur it on to the essential goal of securing the full constitutional rights of all our citizens."

# "THE CONSCIENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT"

By Berl I. Bernhard

*Staff Director, United States Commission on Civil Rights*

**Berl I. Bernhard** joined the Commission on Civil Rights in November 1958, was appointed acting staff director by President Eisenhower two years later, and then named staff director by President Kennedy. He was born in New York City and attended Dartmouth College and Yale Law School (LL. B. 1954). In 1960 he was presented the Arthur S. Fleming Award as one of the ten outstanding young men in the federal government. He is thirty two.

The Commission on Civil Rights has just entered its fifth year. In its young life, it has issued nineteen documents and been the subject of considerable attention in the nation's news media. It has been hailed and praised, denounced and damned. Yet, only a few of its friends and fewer of its detractors have fully understood the purpose and functions of this Federal Commission.

This widespread confusion is not surprising. There are not many agencies within the Executive Branch of the Federal Government whose sole purpose is fact finding and reporting: these are the sole duties of the Commission on Civil Rights and it has no powers other than those that enable it to investigate effectively. The Civil Rights Act of 1957, by which Congress established the Commission, gave the agency three tasks: to investigate sworn complaints of denials of the right to vote on the basis of color, race, religion, or national origin; to gather and study information about legal developments constituting denials of the equal protection of the laws under the Constitution; and to appraise federal laws and policies with respect to the equal protection clause of the Constitution. These duties—together with the requirement for the submission of reports to the President and Congress—constitute the basis of all Commission activities.

It follows, therefore, that the Commission can offer no remedies to individual citizens who complain of specific instances of racially motivated injustice. Its function is to look beyond such cases to determine whether effective remedies are available to persons whose Constitutional rights have been violated. If no remedies are available, or if they are not effective, the Commission has the duty of calling this lack to the attention of the President and the Congress. In theory—and sometimes in practice—this will lead to legislation or executive action to prevent the recurrence of such deprivation of civil rights.

The history of the Commission's early investigations in the area of voting will help trace the process. On the basis of hearings, investigations, and reports from state advisory committees, the Commission, in its first statutory report, found that denials of the right to vote existed and that there were no adequate remedies available to its victims. The Commission proposed that Congress enact legislation to assure proper enforcement of the Constitutional prohibition of racial discrimination in the area of voting. It recommended that the Congress empower the President to appoint temporary federal registrars in districts or counties from which verified reports of racial discrimination against qualified potential voters had been received. This proposal led to the voting referee provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 which, though substantially different from the Commission's recommendation for registrars, was enacted within a year after the submission of the Commission's first biennial report.

Although the Commission's 1959 report included sections on education and housing, its main emphasis was on voting. During its second two-year term, the Commission continued its studies in the area of voting but focused increased attention on other civil rights problems too. Specifically, the Commission studied the civil rights aspects of education and housing, and initiated investigations in the areas of employment and the administration of justice. The result of these studies was a five-volume, 1393 page report, made public in the fall of 1961.

The Commission found some progress and many hopeful signs in its thorough review of the civil rights situation in America. Beyond that, it called to the attention of the President, the Congress and, thereby, of the people the tremendous job remaining.

*Voting*: In spite of some very specific Constitutional language, federal legislation, and numerous judicial decisions on the subject, there are still about 100 counties in which Negro citizens are actively prevented from exercising the right to vote. The Commission also called attention to the dilution of the right to vote caused by malapportionment and unequal electoral districting.

*Employment*: Negroes are still overwhelmingly confined to the least skilled, worst paid, and most insecure occupations. Unemployment, whether cyclical or structural, hits them first and most severely. This condition is perpetuated by barriers against Negro participation in many vocational training and apprenticeship programs. There are labor organiza-

**Members of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, left to right: Dean Spottswood W. Robinson III, of the Howard University Law School; Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame; Staff director Bernhard; Dr. John A. Hannah, chairman of the Commission and president of Michigan State University; Robert G. Storey, Commission vice chairman and head of the Southwestern Legal Center; Dr. Robert S. Rankin, head of the Department of Political Science at Duke University; and Dean Erwin N. Griswold, of the Harvard University Law School.**

tions, particularly among the skilled craft unions, which continue to be instrumental in keeping Negroes within the confines of an economic ghetto.

*Education*: All aspects of discrimination are interrelated, but no one task is more important than assuring this and future generations of American Negroes that racial discrimination in education will not impede the full development of their minds and abilities. Other minority groups have overcome most of these barriers; given equal opportunity and encouragement, the Negro will do the same. However, equal educational opportunity has not yet been achieved, either in the South or elsewhere. Three Southern states still cling tenaciously to rigid racial segregation in all educational institutions. The other Southern and border states have made some progress toward eliminating race as a criterion for school assignment, but the pace has been excruciatingly slow. Moreover, the Commission's study shows clearly that school segregation is by no means limited to the South; the unwritten rules that confine Negroes to certain areas in most Northern and Western cities invariably result in segregated education.

*Housing*: In its 1961 Report, the Commission reiterated previous findings that a considerable number of Americans are being denied equal opportunity in housing because of their race or, less frequently, because of their religion or ancestry. In the light of these findings, the Commission considered the role of the federal government, which is deeply involved in the financing and construction of housing units throughout the country. It concluded that the current policies of the federal government in regard to housing are inconsistent with Constitutional principles and with the professed beliefs of the nation's leaders, both past and present.

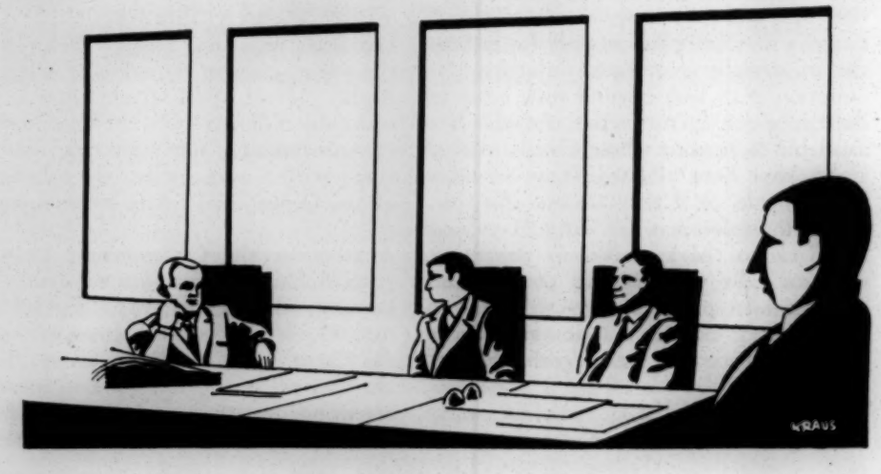
*The Administration of Justice*: Equal justice and equal protection are cornerstones of democracy. It is a saddening fact that there are persons in America who live in fear of unlawful police violence with official connivance. The Commission pointed out that the fact that most policemen do their duty without recourse to unlawful violence merely aggravates the criminal irresponsibility of those peace officers who use their office to terrorize the defenseless.

A reading of the Commission report leaves no room for smugness. The Commission made many recommendations for action by the federal government to cope with some of these problems. It recommended that the Congress abolish literacy tests in all elections, or, in the alternative, that it provide that a sixth grade education be considered sufficient proof of literacy. The Commission also called for legislation requiring every local school board that still maintains segregated schools to file a desegregation plan with a designated federal agency within six months. It also called for the enactment of federal laws providing strengthened criminal sanctions against unlawful official violence and subjecting local governments to liability for the unlawful acts of officers in their employ.

The Commission called on the President to take strong executive action in all fields, especially in the areas of housing and employment. The Commission's recommendations to the President are based on the conviction that the federal government should in no circumstances be involved—however indirectly—in any activities or programs from which any American citizens are excluded on the basis of race or religion. Nor should the federal government's vast influence be neutral in regard to discrimination.

THESE are some of the Commission's recent recommendations. The 1961 report contains a total of thirty-seven recommendations for legislative and executive actions. It is unlikely that all of these suggested actions will be taken at any time in the foreseeable future. But some action is being taken and the Administration, through the Mansfield bill, is seeking to enact into law the Commission's recommendation that literacy tests be abolished as a device to deny the right to vote.

The Commission is, in effect, the duly appointed conscience of the federal government in regard to civil rights. Few persons, and even fewer governments, listen to their consciences at all times. Yet progress toward the goal of equal opportunity seems inexorable. The Commission hopes it is making a constructive contribution to the pace and direction of that progress.



# THE ENFORCEMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

By Burke Marshall
*Assistant Attorney General*

**Burke Marshall,** Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, came to Washington from Plainfield, New Jersey, by way of Yale University, Tokyo (with the War Department 1946 - 1947) and Yale Law School (LL. B. 1951). In 1960, he became a partner in the Washington Law firm of Covington and Burling, specializing in anti-trust law. He is thirty nine.

Professor John Hope Franklin suggested in his recent Sidney Hillman lectures at Howard University that "enforcement, not enactment" is the key test of civil rights legislation. I agree. I think that we as a nation have made important progress in civil rights during the past year, and have done so simply by turning to use many existing tools and powers of the federal government which have not been used—or not fully used—in the past.

This has been on a much broader front than by enforcement of civil rights legislation by the Department of Justice. The Administration has, for example, started on the very long but very important task of ensuring full equality of employment opportunity not only in the federal government but also by the thousands of concerns contracting with the government. This start had not been made before in any affirmative or effective fashion.

There are other advances. A significant one reflecting the tone of the Administration is the creation of a Subcabinet Group, consisting of representatives of all of the important agencies and departments of the executive branch, to meet regularly at the White House. Its purpose, which I think has been realized, is to provide a forum in which the civil rights problems of the United States—and the impact and potential impact of the federal government on them—can be impressed particularly on the parts of the government whose primary responsibilities lie elsewhere.

What follows does not extend to these matters. It is limited to the work of the Department of Justice. But I do not want it to be thought that what follows tells the complete story. Civil rights problems in this country are not exclusively racial or Southern. Northern police misconduct is not principally racially motivated, and the Northern racial problems in administering school systems are not limited to New Rochelle. Irrational, invidious discrimination persists nationally in our housing, labor unions, corporations, hospitals, law firms, and universities, and—together with the lasting effects of past inequities—creates an ugly, persistent economic crisis for minority racial groups. This is a major national welfare and economic problem. Undeniably, however, the most apparent and, in some ways, most difficult legal civil rights problems—the problems which are the Department's responsibility—involve the Negro and the South. Consequently, this report, like our work, focuses on that region and its people.

Even within that limitation an exhaustive compendium of our statutes and activities is beyond the scope of this piece. Nor shall I offer a statistic-studded specialist's memorandum. Rather, I hope to exemplify the Justice Department's increasing civil rights role by describing several of our representative cases involving voting, transportation, and schools.

### *Voting*

In a large number (though by no means a majority) of counties in a small number of states the right to vote is denied to hundreds of citizens by preventing Negro registration in two major ways: discrimination by registrars in the application of qualification tests; and intimidation by (most often) private individuals. Prior to 1957 the Justice Department had only an unwieldy parcel of criminal statutes with which to implement the guarantees of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Criminal cases ran afoul of the South's assumptions in the form of Southern juries.

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 have given us three new tools. First, by proving discrimination or intimidation in court we can ask a federal judge to order the defendants to cease their actions or go to jail. Secondly, if we can prove a pattern or practice of discrimination, any Negro who is thereafter rejected by the Board of Registrars may apply to the federal court for a registration certificate which is valid at all subsequent elections. In determining the qualifications of the Negro applicant, the court *must* determine his qualifications in accordance with the qualifications *and standards* used by the registrars in registering white persons in the past. Thirdly, we now are able to prepare cases thoroughly before filing as we can compel local officials to let us examine and copy their registration records. How do these laws work?

Macon County occupies about 900 square miles in Southeastern Alabama. About 10,000 of the voting age popula-

**Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (right) watches as his staff members research law on use of U.S. marshals for Montgomery, Alabama, bus integration affair.**

tion are Negroes, many of whom are associated with Tuskegee Institute and its related Veterans Hospital. By 1958, all 3000 eligible white persons, but only 1000 or ten percent of the Negroes, were registered. Investigation disclosed that the racially disparate voting figures were the result of myriad discriminatory devices. It developed that, in effect, whites became registered by reaching twenty-one. In fact, the registration books were taken to the homes of illiterates where—despite the state's stringent literacy statute—they were enrolled at their convenience.

The Negro applicant's route was far different. First, he had to ferret out a functioning registration board which, as often as not, had secreted itself in an unlikely part of the courthouse. Moreover, several of the post-1950 boards had to be sought soon after their appointments because they resigned after registering the newly eligible whites. If cornered, the Board subjected Negroes to interminable literacy tests so that, at most, three or four applicants were processed on a registration day. One woman wrote out Article II of the Constitution five different times in an eighteen-month period. Each time she "failed" the "test" because she omitted on her application form the date of the month on which she had moved into Macon County over ten years prior to the date of her application, even though she had lived there continuously ever since. All that the county required was a one-year residence for registration.

State law provides for about thirty registration days per year and some of these may be spent in precincts chosen by the registrars, i.e., non-Negro precincts. In short, most Negroes did not get to apply for registration and those who did were rejected for trivial errors on tests on which the whites received aid and assistance. All of this added up to these astonishing figures. In 1957-58 an average of about fifty Negroes were registered; in 1959 no Negroes were registered; in 1960 eight Negroes were registered. In 1961 to the date of the Federal Court's decree no Negroes were registered.

SUIT HAD been filed in December of 1958 under that part of the 1957 Act which is directed at discrimination by local officials. Delays followed—principally from the absence of a registration board when the suit was filed—and the situation was not dealt with until last year. Out of the trial last March came a strong, detailed court order which directed in effect that only the registration standards theretofore applied to whites could legally be applied to Negroes. The Department has been active in insuring compliance with the order, and obtained suplementary relief in September. The figures are graphic; as of March 1, almost 1300 Negroes had been registered since the court's decree. On the last two registration dates in Macon County an average of about 125 Negroes were processed for registration. Furthermore, throughout this period the District Judge has required the Board to report monthly as to its progress and with our help is constantly scrutinizing the registration procedures to preclude a departure from the terms of his order.

Between 1957 and January 1961, four other cases of this type were brought to court. Since that January, we have completed the last two of these cases—at least to judgment for the United States. In reality the cases are never completed until Negroes go into the voting booth as freely and as comfortably as whites. Fourteen additional cases have been instituted. Of these, three have already been tried, one in a county with over 100,000 people, and a preliminary hearing has been held on a fourth. One important case, brought against the State of Louisiana, challenges the constitutionality of its constitutional interpretation test.

AFTER I TOOK office as Assistant Attorney General, and after consultation with the Attorney General, I concluded that if the Civil Rights Acts were to be vigorously enforced as the President had directed, it would be necessary to seek out specific information about statistically suspicious counties, i.e., those in which the Negro population over twenty-one exceeds abnormally the number of Negroes registered and in which the white population over twenty-one is close to 100 % registered. Accordingly, we have inquired as to whether there is discrimination in a great number of these counties and within the coming months we will make additional inquiries into the rest of them.

One method of inquiry is by inspection of voter registration records. These have been inspected about forty times since the 1960 Civil Rights Act was passed. We have six non-legal personnel, under the supervision of three experienced trial attorneys, in the Division analyzing these records on a full-time basis.

We also interview persons who we believe have knowledge of relevant facts about discrimination. It should be kept in mind that for the untrained person it is not easy to discover legal evidence of discrimination. Local Negro leaders cannot pore over registration records, nor can they find out the experiences of white persons who have been registered. For instance, a state may prescribe that voters must explain a portion of the Constitution. The Negro leaders pass with flying colors, the rank and file do not. Those leaders do not know that in some counties, if a reading and writing test is involved, or an application must be completed, white applicants are assisted by the local officials while Negroes go it alone, fail, and go home to practice.

This is a sketch of what we are doing to secure the right to vote in the face of official discrimination. We have learned that the 1957 Civil Rights Act plus the risk of the appointment of federal refer-

ees under the 1960 Civil Rights Act has been effective in persuading Southern officials to change ways established for three-quarters of a century; that the voting problem exists in less than 200 counties in the South; that it will be possible to resolve the problem in some of these without litigation; and that with competent and hard-working personnel, proper organization, plus cooperation from the United States Attorneys' offices in the South, the eventual result everywhere is inevitable, although a major immediate step could be taken by favorable Congressional action on the Mansfield bill (S. 2750) on literacy and other performance tests which has bipartisan and Administration support.

I should also add that we have learned that in some cases—not as many as might be hoped for, but some—litigation is not proving necessary. The Attorney General has directed me to explore in advance of litigation all possible avenues of self-correction by local officials of whatever abuses and defects have existed. We in fact follow this path in all instances. As the law, and the consecuences of failing to respect it, become more generally known, I am hopeful that this manner of dissolving legal blocks to Negro registration will prove increasingly fruitful.

In some ways, the problem of intimidation—an intimidation mixed with indifference and apathy caused by years of rebuff and the loss of faith in our processes—is the more difficult one. The statute provides that no person shall attempt to intimidate, threaten or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with his right to vote at a federal election. It deals with many forms and causes of fear. For example, a person may be fired from his job because of his efforts to register; his credit may be cut off; the channels of trade may be closed to him; state criminal processes may be used to intimidate him.

WHEN INTIMIDATION occurs, its effect is devastating to the individual Negro involved and discouraging, to say the least, to all Negroes in the area. Consequently if we are going to enforce the statute we must act fast. Fortunately, while intimidation is hard to prove, all of the factors are not on the side of those attempting to prevent Negro registration and voting. Unlike school cases where the defendants are public officials and have at their disposal the resources of the public treasury, here the individual defendants stand on their own. In addition, intimidation cases are usually dramatic and public opinion is squarely with those who are trying to register to vote. Here are examples of the type of situation with which we deal:

Fayette and Haywood Counties lie near Mississippi in southwestern Tennessee. Almost 25,000 people live in each county and in both more than 60 percent of the residents are Negroes. In 1959 no Negroes were registered in Haywood County and only fifty-eight were on the rolls in Fayette.

Significant Negro registration activity began in Fayette County in 1959; there were no registration officials in Haywood County between 1958 and May of 1960. In the fall of 1959 Fayette County's whites cynically excluded Negroes from a local primary election which, the whites explained, was a private affair. The insularity bespoken by this tactic

was penetrated by an immediate voting discrimination suit which, in effect, brought word of the death and burial of the white primary some years before. A consent decree followed early in 1960.

To vote in Tennessee, a resident need only be twenty-one, sane, and law abiding. This absence of tests to be used to exclude Negroes, plus the white determination to retain political dominance, produced classic intimidation cases and the first tests of that portion of the 1957 Act.

The whites prepared and circulated lists of the Negro leaders' names. These persons were denied credit by the banks and merchants, their insurance policies were cancelled, they lost their jobs, and those who were retail merchants were unable to stock their shelves. But the whites, acting on outmoded assumptions, underestimated the Negroes' determination, and registration continued in both counties. Some time early in the summer of 1960, most of the white community decided in effect to depopulate the counties of Negroes by evicting sharecroppers and tenants from the farmland which they had worked for years. Only registrants and their families were given notice and these persons came to know the other pressures that their leaders had suffered from the beginning.

By mid-December 1960, the Department had filed three cases against more than 150 defendants in both counties, including individuals, banks and business associations. Some evictions occurred before we were able to obtain temporary injunctions on December 30, 1960 and in April, 1961, preliminary injunctions for the remainder of the cases were issued.

These cases are not over yet, and further comment is inappropriate. However, they establish our ability to deal with instances of economic reprisal directed at Negroes' efforts to vote. Moreover, this portion of our statute is not limited to privately imposed pressures. In one of the two other cases brought under it (now pending in the Supreme Court), a preliminary injunction was secured against the use of the state criminal processes—arrest, confinement, interrogation, bail, trial—if the processes were being used to deter registration by Negroes.

While these legal victories show progress, the statute alone can never be adequate to cope with the problem. First, we can enjoin the repetition of dramatic, violent intimidation, but that first incident, which is the basis for our subsequent court order, may itself deter the Negro community from further efforts for months or even years. Secondly, the Negro teachers, who are best equipped to lead others, are economically most dependent upon the whites and most susceptible to subtle intimidation of the sort that is difficult to link to voting in the courtroom. These problems will not ultimately be solved except with progress in other basic civil rights areas—the national problems of poverty and limited job opportunities to which I have already referred.

### *Schools*

It is a politically widely advertised fact that the Attorney General has no authority to initiate school desegregation suits. This does not mean, however, that the federal government has no responsibility on this important national problem. With the approval of the Attorney General, we have taken care not to use the lack of legislation as an excuse for inaction.

At a minimum, the responsibility of the Department of Justice in this area is to take any action that is necessary to protect the integrity of orders of the federal courts and to protect and promote the due administration of justice

in communities where school orders have issued. It is my personal belief that at least some, if not all, of the violence and law enforcement problems which have attended school desegregation in the past were caused—or at least were not averted—by reason of a failure to recognize explicitly and give effect to this responsibility. In some cities that failure created a temporary vacuum—a corresponding failure by the local officials and community to accept the inevitable and prepare for it—which proved disastrous.

This year the South and the nation made great symbolic progress in school desegregation. For the first time since 1954, many cities and towns accepted initial desegregation without a single instance of disorder. Particularly notable advances were made by entirely peaceful transitions in Atlanta, Dallas, New Orleans and Memphis.

The Department did what it could to make clear the recognition and acceptance of our responsibility, and to offer to local officials any kind of assistance which it was within the power of the federal government to grant.

FOR THE most part this work was done through informal conferences and a series of trips made by John Seigenthaler, administrative assistant to the Attorney General, and me to the major communities to be affected. In each case we attempted to be useful rather than coercive, suggestive rather than demanding. In each case we discovered an acceptance of responsibility on their part by local officials—in some cases, coupled with a remarkable willingness and ability to provide local leadership. In each case these officials, with the support and encouragement of others, in fact were fully effective in bringing their people into compliance with federal law in a fashion which reflected credit to the nation as a whole as well as to the South.

Where outside factors interfere with this kind of compliance, the Department has an additional litigating responsibility. This year we participated formally as a friend of the court in perhaps a dozen school cases. The St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, case illustrates some of the problems these cases raise. The Negro private plaintiffs filed suit in September of 1952. Numerous procedural delays followed, and the district court did not order desegregation of the school until May of 1960. As a part of its own massive resistance program, in 1960 and 1961 Louisiana enacted several parcels of obstructionistic statutes. The most quaint revived the doctrine of interposition; the most troublesome authorized each parish to abandon its schools by referendum. Interposition was aborted in a case involving the New Orleans school system, but on April 22, 1961, St. Helena Parish voted to close its schools.

The school closing law is ostensibly racially neutral; that is, it was not accompanied by legislative history disclosing the racial purpose. Thus the case presented delicate problems of the judicial probing of the legislative mind and, absent that, a state's abstract obligation to provide a public school system. In this context, the court directed specific inquiries to the parties, to the United States, and all other states' attorneys general. We had previously moved to enter the case as *amicus curiae*, and also responded to the court's inquiries in a brief taking the position that the Louisiana statute was unconstitutional under both the due process and the equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The court held the statute void, and the Supreme Court recently affirmed unanimously.

One other new development in this area is worth brief mention. We believe that the United States is authorized to protect its courts' orders by a civil suit for equity relief without a specific grant of standing from Congress, and have generally been upheld in this position. (A motion by the United States to intervene in the Prince Edward County case was denied, but the narrow grounds of the decision were limited to matters of timing and factors peculiar to that case.) Late last year officials in Louisiana permitted or arranged for the transfer of children from one parish which had been ordered to desegregate its schools to another that had not. We brought suit to desegregate the schools of the second parish, accepting children from the first, as the only realistic implementation of an order of our courts.

### *Transportation*

The right to travel in interstate commerce without distinction of race has been won since World War II largely by private plaintiffs on an arduous case-by-case basis. In several of the cases the Government participated as *amicus* at the Supreme Court level. In 1955 the ICC held that the non-discrimination provisions of federal law governing interstate carriers and their facilities meant race as well as rates. Before 1961, however, progress was spotty. The Justice Department was thought to be without authority to protect such private rights affirmatively and the limited resources of the ICC did not permit an effective enforcement campaign.

In 1960 the Supreme Court held that federal law protected interstate travelers from racial discrimination in facilities used regularly by interstate carriers, whether or not the facilities were owned or controlled by the carriers. The Freedom Rides followed in the spring of 1961. After a tense week following the first outbreak of violence, in which every effort was made to induce local and state officials to meet their responsibilities, the events demanded direct and large scale federal intervention. Some Alabama officials looked on as violence erupted in Montgomery. The right of citizens of the United States to elemental protection of the law, and to travel securely among the States, was at stake. Whatever the justification for complaint against the publicity methods used by the Freedom Riders, the legal situation and our responsibility were perfectly plain. Ordered liberty means the protected exercise of unpopular rights or it means nothing. It

was under these pressures, and for these reasons, that the Attorney General was compelled to send a substantial number of deputy marshals to Montgomery.

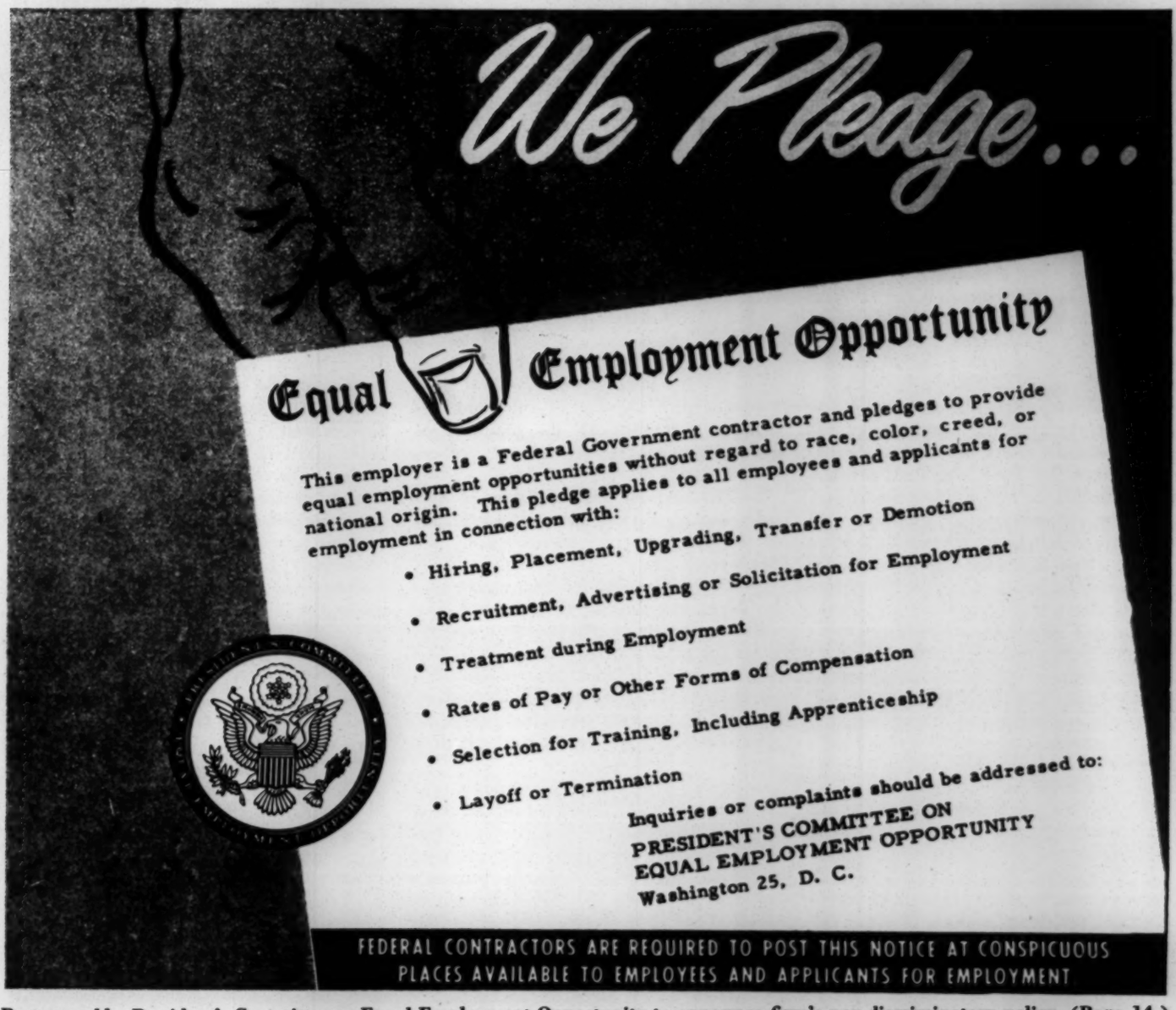
This necessity also mothered the Division's resuscitation of the much criticized Debs case theory, i.e., that the Federal Government has a litigable interest in interstate commerce free from private interference. On that basis we sued successfully to enjoin the U. S. Klans from interfering with the Freedom Rides and to compel the police of Montgomery, Alabama, to fulfill their obligation to protect persons engaged in lawful—though locally unpopular—activity.

Next, the Attorney General petitioned the ICC to issue comprehensive regulations forbidding racial distinctions in facilities used by interstate common carriers. These regulations were issued on September 22, 1961, and they became effective on November 1. We have brought suits to enforce compliance with them in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Basically similar airport cases have been instituted in Alabama and Louisiana.

The results of this in a way are remarkable. Since May hundreds of bus terminals in hundreds of Southern cities and towns have been officially and formally desegregated. As a corollary we have been able, without litigation, to persuade the eighteen railroads operating in the South to take action to desegregate hundreds of additional rail terminal facilities. Where there were localities with continuing problems, we took action as promptly as possible to eliminate them. Virtually all rail and bus terminals are now at least formally desegregated, both officially and by the carriers. I think that everyone would admit that any remaining problems are now only a question of a short time.

This happened because of the basic respect the people of all parts of the United States have for the law, so long as they know the law is in fact—to return to the beginning of this piece—going to be enforced as well as enacted. We have used, in all three areas I have referred to, legal tools which were not generally known of, but tools which were always there, ready to be picked up. They have been used only to enforce principles of federal and constitutional law as to the basic framework of which there has been no serious dispute for some years.

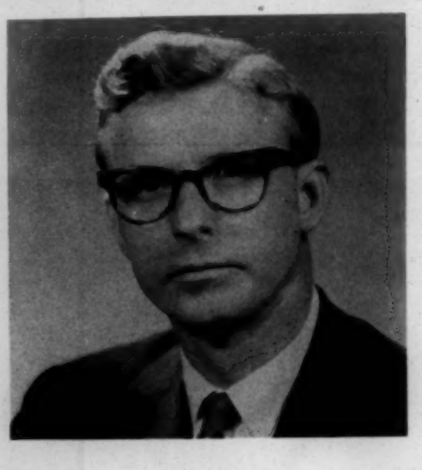
I think that there is a great deal more work of this kind which can be done in this way.




**Poster used by President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to announce firm's non-discriminatory policy. (Page 14.)**

# EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

By John G. Feild
*Executive Director*
*President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity*



**John G. Feild** became executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity after more than ten years of service in the civil rights field. From 1956 to 1959 he was executive director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission. He has served as consultant on intergroup relations problems for a variety of public commissions and private agencies and in 1956, was national president of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO). He was born in Little Rock, Arkansas, and attended Wayne State University in Detroit. He is thirty nine.

We are now in the second generation of executive action by the Federal government aimed at insuring equal employment opportunity. There have been many orders in this field since Executive Order 8802 was issued by President Roosevelt on June 25, 1941. But none has been more extensive or more implemented by administrative authority than Executive Order 10925 issued by President Kennedy on March 6, 1961. In the past, there was relatively little administrative effort to make federal sanctions work on a comprehensive, across-the-board basis.

I do not mean to detract from the efforts and achievements of previous committees. Their work and progress laid the groundwork for the new executive order and the new President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Without that groundwork, it is doubtful that the powers afforded the new Committee in E. O. 10925 could have been provided.

The primary administrative responsibility for applying the provisions of the executive order rests upon the governmental agencies. The Committee is interdepartmental; its role is one primarily of reviewing, coordinating, guiding, and providing supporting and auxiliary services to those agencies. Specifically, the Committee has assumed responsibility for:

1. Undertaking programs of "affirmative action" with government contractors and government agencies aimed at the enlargement of equal employment opportunities regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

2. Processing and resolving complaints filed by individuals under the provisions of the executive order and the Committee's Rules and Regulations.

3. Administering a comprehensive compliance reporting system.

4. Reviewing and auditing agency practices and procedures for implementation of the program.

The overall program of the Committee affects more than 60,000 government contractors and more than 20 million workers.

We have not yet been able, of course, to get all phases of the program into full operation, but we have moved along. Among the steps taken during 1961:

—The promulgation of rules and regulations pertaining to the practices of government contractors. (None had existed before).

—The revision and adoption of new rules and regulations governing practices of federal agencies toward their own employees.

—The designation of compliance and employment policy officers of high rank within each agency. A basic training program for employment policy officers and orientation and review sessions for compliance officers were also put into effect.

—A review of individual agencies' regulations concerning federal employment.

—A comprehensive study and recommendation for the operation of the most effective compliance reporting system was completed late last year. This involved thorough review of various proposals by the Business Advisory Committee of the Bureau of the Budget; similar review and discussion of feasibility with the contracting agencies; consultation with selected major contractors and subcontractors; technical discussions with representatives of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Census Bureau, the Labor Management Reports Section, and the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance of the Social Security Administration, as well as continuous discussion with representatives of the Bureau of the Budget. The compliance reporting system is now in operation and should provide the most effective tool yet devised for insuring equal job opportunity.

—The Committee also completed and reviewed the first comprehensive survey of employment practices within the federal establishment (embracing 2,196,557 employees.) A spot check of 15 agencies is now underway, and a second government-wide survey will be made in May. It also held, in 1961, six regional conferences of all federal facility directors on federal employment practices.

—New procedures for the processing of complaints filed under the executive order are now bringing about an increasing degree of corrective action in employment practices on the part of government contractors and agencies. Complaints have been filed with the Committee and the agencies at an unprecedented rate.

—Beyond these daily operations, a wholly new program designed to enlist

the cooperation of labor organizations has been set up. A community relations and information program has been organized, designed to inform business, labor and civic groups of the requirements of the executive order and the procedures of the Committee and the federal agencies. This includes use of mass media as well as an active program of direct consultation with trade, personnel and industrial relations associations, bar associations, labor councils and organizations, civic, religious and minority groups, and state and local agencies which have regulatory authority concerning merit employment practices. The primary objective of this program has been to help those affected by this executive order to understand that a new and meaningful approach is being taken.

MAJOR CONTRACTING agencies such as Defense and Atomic Energy have cooperated in administrative studies to find the best ways, within the regular structure of government procurement, of assuring that government contractors make good use of minority manpower. These studies have resulted in Defense Department approval of a program designed to provide technical services within the regular procurement structure, utilizing the compliance reporting system to help identify problem areas. This will bring about a new type of relationship between the contracting agency and the government contractor. The concept behind this new program is that a constructive partnership between industry, government, labor and community resources must be developed on a realistic basis, utilizing the knowledge gained in recent years in personnel management. It is designed to reach thousands of government contractors and subcontractors on a systematic basis.

The Committee has also undertaken consultations with a number of other federal agencies playing crucial roles in the manpower development and employment practices. For example, it has coordinated its efforts with the Bureau of Employment Security, which now seeks to establish nondiscriminatory employment procedures and practices on the part of state employment agencies. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training has set up new nondiscriminatory standards and is promoting the voluntary establishment of such standards on the part of Joint Apprenticeship Councils.

The Committee has also coordinated its efforts with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, especially in the field of vocational education programs. New ideas and activities have been launched on a pilot basis and will soon be extended on a more general basis. Each of these programs will have a limited number of specialist personnel assigned to implement the policies.

A SUBCABINET level committee, coordinated by the White House, has served to bring about an extraordinary degree of emphasis on the goal of equal opportunity among federal agencies. A wide variety of individual agency actions, as well as government-wide programs, have

**Courtlandt Gross, president of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation (second from left), signs a "Plan for Progress" with the Equal Employment Opportunity Committee as Vice President Johnson, President Kennedy and Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg look on. Below, the Vice President, at left, opens the Committee's first meeting.**

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**Equal Employment Opportunity officials include (left to right) Hobart Taylor, Jr., Special Counsel; Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Executive Vice Chairman; and Mr. Feild.**

emanated from this committee. Many of these have been activated under the joint leadership of the Civil Service Commission and the staff of the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

IN summary, I believe that during its first ten months the Committee has developed a comprehensive program designed to implement each of the four major responsibilities outlined earlier.

A new integrity, both as to procedure and substance, has been built into the complaint process. There has been improvement in the ability of the agencies and the Committee to deal with these situations effectively and to achieve corrective action. Among the improvements to date are the following "firsts" in Negro-white relationships:

¶Negro tobacco production workers in integrated facilities in North Carolina.

¶Wider job assignments and upgrading opportunities in aircraft in Georgia, North Carolina, California and other areas.

¶Integrated job assignments and upgrading opportunities in electronics in Nashville, Dallas and New Jersey.

¶Production and technical jobs in electronics in South Carolina.

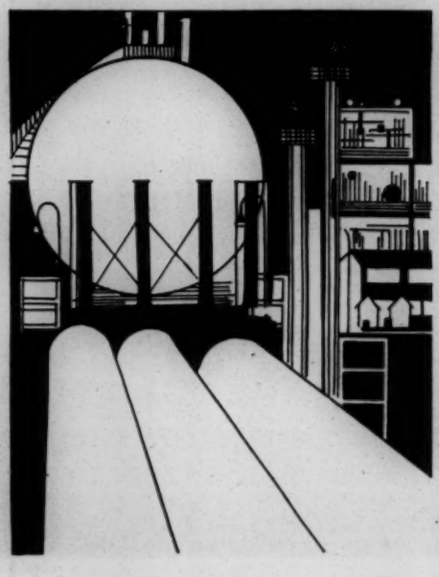
¶Production assignments in appliances and chemicals in Nashville.

¶Technical and clerical assignments in the oil industry in Southern Illinois.

¶Building trade assignments in construction in Florida and Louisiana.

¶New upgrading opportunities in shipbuilding on the West Coast.

¶Individual job adjustments in a variety of widely scattered situations throughout the country.



THIS type of corrective action is becoming a regular part of contract administration within the agencies. Hopefully, it is symptomatic of restored confidence on the part of minority groups in the fact that this Administration intends to act promptly and effectively on complaints. The rate of complaints being filed with this Committee is more than double that processed by the Nixon Committee during its peak of operation in 1958. This Committee has had more than 600 complaints filed with it in its first nine months; throughout the previous eight years only 1,042 complaints were received.

In addition to these efforts, the Committee has programs in the fields of in-service training, and supportive activities in the employment and educational areas. It also seeks to bring about the widest possible public understanding and support for the goals of the executive order.

One other important activity will close this preliminary report: the Plans for Progress program.

Shortly after the first meeting of the Committee on April 11, Vice President Johnson called a meeting of the presidents of the fifty largest defense contractors. Out of that meeting developed a strong spirit of cooperation by these large employers. After that meeting, negotiations were undertaken with the Lockheed Corporation concerning a number of complaints filed by employees in its Marietta, Ga., plant. Out of those consultations came the idea for development of a Plan for Progress for Lockheed. On May 25, in White House ceremonies, the Vice President and Courtlandt Gross, then president of Lockheed, signed a joint statement setting out what the company and the Committee would do to insure equal employment opportunity in all company operations.

By the time the Lockheed Plan was signed, negotiations were underway with a number of other contracting firms. In July, eight more firms signed their own Plans for Progress as worked out in cooperation with the Committee. In December, twelve more firms signed their Plans with the Vice President—bringing to 2,500,000 the number of employees covered by the program. At this writing, some fifty-two companies have developed their own Plans for Progress.

In the year ahead, the major contracting agencies will develop similar affirmative action programs with hundreds, perhaps thousands, of contractors. All of them will pledge their continuing determination to guarantee this most basic right—equal opportunity without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

# ECONOMICS OF EQUALITY

Tom Kahn

The civil rights organizations have produced no detailed studies of the Negro's economic plight as it relates to national trends. Not until the March on Washington did the movement project a clear set of economic demands. They were essentially correct, but sketchy, and have since been pretty much forgotten. They need to be revived and popularized.

Several of the organizations, notably SNCC and CORE, have begun to recruit numbers of working class and unemployed Negroes, many of them youths. Attracted by the militant direct-action of these organizations, the new recruits become restless when activity ebbs and often drift away. To a large extent, this will be a perennial problem. Still, more intensive internal social-educational programs will certainly polish some rough diamonds and yield high-level leadership with deep roots in the community.

The task is not easy; it would be a pioneering effort in many ways similar to the worker-education programs developed by the early labor movement. Occasional area conferences are not enough. In techniques (though presumably not subject matter,) the civil rights organizations might take their cues from some of the radical political sects. Infused with the spirit of the movement, continuous classes in politics, economics, Negro history, etc., might take on a meaning they never had in the formal classroom. They should be combined with practical training in leadership and organization skills (writing, speechmaking, stencil-cutting, mimeographing, etc.)

Again, the civil rights organizations will not ultimately be able to enlist and maintain the participation of the Negro masses on the basis of a middle-class integrationist ideology. Nor can they do so on the basis of abstract economic analysis. But such analysis can lead to -- must lead to -- the formulation of dramatic economic demands that express real needs, arouse popular support, and stimulate greater awareness of basic issues.

The civil rights movement, as a first step, should make its economic demands explicit. The March on Washington, I believe, points the way with its key demand for a massive federal works program to put all Americans back to work.

A number of proposals have been advanced to solve the problem of unemployment. While space does not permit extensive analysis of these proposals, the major criticisms of each may be briefly outlined as an argument for the massive federal works program.

1) The Administration's proposed $11 billion tax-cut is the centerpiece of the Administration's program to reduce unemployment to ...4%! One fourth of the dollars involved go to the corporations to stimulate investment, the remainder go to individuals to stimulate consumption. But corporate profits are already at an all-time high; why assume that tax savings would be invested when available capital is not. Besides, the Council of Economic Advisors estimates that 70% of current business investment in plant and equipment is for modernization and replacement (read: automation) rather than expansion.

Professor Killingsworth makes a more profound criticism of the tax-cut in terms of the structural or class character of unemployment:

> Despite a steady (but slow) improvement in the average educational level of the work force, the change in the pattern of demand for labor has created a large surplus of poorly-educated workers and serious shortages of certain kinds of highly-educated workers. Because of the new employment patterns in the economy, a general increase in spending for goods and services by consumers and an increase in investment by business firms -- which are the hoped-for effects of the proposed $11 billion tax-cut -- would soon result in acute shortages of many kinds of highly educated workers without greatly reducing the present surplus of poorly-educated workers. The bottleneck in the supply of workers at the top of the educational ladder would seriously impede the continued economic expansion that is essential to reduce to tolerable levels the shocking rates of unemployment that we find today at the middle and bottom of the educational ladder.

Like Myrdal, Killingsworth emphasizes the need to improve the quality of the labor supply, and wryly observes that "while the Administration urgently presses for the $11-billion tax cut, we are actually spending around $100 million this year for manpower retraining."

2) Manpower retraining and education on a massive scale is indispensable to achieving and maintaining full employment in a technologically revolutionary society. But the immediate employment benefits of retraining are limited. Many blude-collar workers are beyond retraining, eg., miners, laborers and other unskilled workers over 40. Nor are educationally disadvantaged youth likely candidates for training in skilled jobs. And for what jobs do we retrain service personnel, who will soon feel the impact of cybernation? Before retraining could reach maximum effectiveness, the primary and secondary school systems will have to be radically improved. Even then, large numbers of marginal workers will not be able to make the necessary adjustments.

3) A shorter workweek has been advocated by the labor movement, on the grounds that rising productivity means that fewer manhours are required to create ever greater abundance of goods and services. Andrew J. Biemiller, director of the AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, has estimated by purely arithmetical calculation that another million jobs would result from each hour cut from the standard workweek; hence, a cut to 35-hours would produce five million new jobs.

The problem is that "purely arithmetical calculations" are wide of the mark since manhours are not exactly interchangeable units. There are skilled manhours and unskilled manhours. How does the shortening of the workweek of an automobile worker create a job for a displaced miner? It could, in fact, create a job for a machine. In his study on cybernation for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Donald N. Michael writes that the shorter workweek approach

> is intended to maintain the ability of workers to consume the products of cybernation and, in the case of blue-collar workers, to maintain the strength of unions. This would retain the consumer purchasing power capacity for x workers in those situations where the nature of the cybernation process is such that x men would do essentially the same work as x plus y men used to do. But when the task itself is eliminated or new tasks are developed that need different talents, shorter shifts clearly will not solve the problem. The latter conditions are then more likely ones as cybernation becomes more sophisticated.

The shorter workweek will doubtess be a concomitant or result of full employment, not the cause. Walter Reuther and other labor leaders most prominently associated with the shorter workweek demand before it loomed so large in official AFL-CIO policy have indicated that they do not consider

it a full-employment panacea, but see it as part of a program including a tax cut, public spending, and a liberal monetary policy. Nonetheless, so long as the shorter workweek remains the labor movement's key demand, the AFL-CIO will be suspect of protective unionism and indifference to the plight of masses of unemployed workers.

By contrast, the demand for a massive federal works program can be a natural rallying point for virtually all the unemployed. Such a program would do what others cannot--abolish class unemployment by providing job opportunities even for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Says Mr. Michael,

> If our understanding of the direction of cybernation is correct, the government will probably be faced for the indefinite future with the need to support part of the population through public works. There is no dearth of public work to be done, and it is not impossible that so much would continue to be needed that an appropriately organized public works program could stimulate the economy to the point that a substantial portion of the work force could be re-absorbed into the private sector. That is, although the proportion of workers needed for any particular taks will be reduced through the use of cybernation the total number of tasks that need to be done could equal or exceed the absolute number of people available to do them.

The civil rights movement should have a special interest in massive federal works program because it can provide jobs and additional purchasing power for the unskilled and semi-skilled categories in which Negroes are so heavily concentrated. No less important, Negroes will especially benefit from the fruits of public works: slum clearance, school and hospital construction, decongestant highway and road construction, new parks and playgrounds, carefully-planned public housing, etc. We can at least begin the rational reorganization and decentralization of our cities.

Some economists object that a public works program would have an air of "make-work" or "handout" that would demoralize workers. This need not be true. It depends upon the value society assigns to the work being performed. Certainly a public works program carried out by the guardians of the status quo -- who regard poverty as a moral flaw and those on relief as chiselers -- would have the predicted results. But under new political leadership genuinely committed to "getting America moving again," such a program could be cast in radically different terms: not as a "make-work," not even merely as an assault on unemployment, but as a historic crusade for the physical and social reconstruction, literally the rebuilding, of the nation. If unemployment did not exist, a national face-lifting would still be needed if our social services, our very patterns of life, are to catch up with Twentieth Century technology. In a rational and humane society, conscious of its own developing needs, participants in a reconstruction program would be accorded the respect reserved in the past for the financially successful.

To achieve its economic and social goals, a public works program would require democratic central planning. Which public projects, in which locations, will maximize employment? What kinds of financial control should be devised to assure independence from private banks and insurance companies? Prospective public housing tenants must have a way in determining where their new homes will be and what they will look like. Only intelligent planning can create neighborhoods that are racially, culturally, educationally and economically integrated.

Fair and full employment through a massive federal works program -- this is a civil rights demand. Vigorous agitation and direct action around it should become central for the movement.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1964.

# Maryland to Avoid Use of Dogs To Quell Negro Demonstrators

Special to The New York Times

ANNAPOLIS, Md., March 4—Simultaneous negotiations and demonstrations by militant college students here tonight won from Maryland authorities a pledge that state troopers would not use police dogs against civil rights marchers "unless there is a riot."

This was described as an "important victory" Negro spokesmen said it would be "more important for the state of Maryland than for us."

Student leaders of the Negro protest movement in Princess Anne, a rural college town down the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, were also given a promise by Gov. J. Millard Tawes that the administration would "exert all the powers of its office" to get through the Legislature next week a statewide public accommodations law.

In return, Negro demonstrations on the troubled Eastern Shore will be deferred, the students said, "to give the legislators a chance to work."

### Confer in Statehouse

The Governor and a group of his top aides, including Col. Carey Jarman, State Police Commandant, conferred with the Princess Anne students for two hours inside the historic Statehouse here while 75 youthful demonstrators from the Congress of Racial Equality staged a singing, handclapping sit-in on the second floor of the Capitol.

The CORE demonstrators numbered about one-third of a larger group that had gathered during the afternoon on the outside of the Statehouse. Officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had pleaded with the CORE group to go home as the meeting broke up.

But a young white student, Philip Perkins of College Park, Md., called together some followers and successfully detoured them up the broad marble steps of the Statehouse to a position outside the Governor's office.

### Asks for Decorum

At one point Clarence Mitchell 3d, a young Negro legislator from Baltimore, appealed to the students sprawled on the floor outside the only exit from the Governor's office to "maintain the decorum of the nonviolent movement and refrain from singing until the Legislature is out of session."

The Legislature, in its final hours here, was struggling to pass a controversial bill combining an income tax increase with a $16.3 million teacher salary increase. The students maintained silence until Mr. Mitchell returned to announce a dinner recess. Then they resumed their singing.

Princess Anne, a 300-year-old settlement of 1,300 persons, last week became the first place in the country in 1964 to use police dogs and fire hoses against Negroes demonstrating for equal rights. Students at Maryland State College, the town's only activity other than a scattering of stores, blocked the main street and were dispersed by state policemen using K-9 dogs. Sixty-two students were injured in the conflict with the police last Wednesday.

Civil Rights

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NYC 38
March 29, 1963

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: NEW YORK AREA CONTACTS

FROM: NORMAN HILL, ASSISTANT TO THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR

Before the Senate of N. Y. State is a bill sponsored by Senator Ivan Warner to amend the state civil rights law so that those arrested, detained or convicted for engaging in "peaceful demonstrations" to resist discriminatory treatment because of race, creed or color shall not be denied public employment, licenses, or other rights extended by the state.

This bill has immediate bearing on all CORE participants in direct action. The benefits are crucial and needed. We ask you to write NOW urging your Senator and Representative yo support this bill.

* * * * *

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# FEDERAL ACTION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

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## FEDERAL ACTION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

*The Commission's 1961 report documents and analyzes discrimination in five volumes titled* Voting, Education, Employment, Housing, *and* Justice, *and recommends a broad federal legislative and administrative program.*

**U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

"No single, limited approach will bring an end to discrimination. . . . Assuring the right to vote, fundamental as that is, will not quickly assure equal protection of the laws in other aspects of the Negroes' life. Similarly the opening of new career opportunities to a particular minority will be of little use if its members have had no opportunity or reason to prepare themselves for such careers—or if they are barred from living near the 'new' places of work." Housing segregation helps produce segregated schools, which are generally inferior. Inferior schools perpetuate unequal employment. To complete the circle, restricted career choice undercuts the motives for pursuing education to the full extent of one's capabilities.

"Urban renewal is not in itself a civil rights problem, yet discrimination —in housing, in education, in employment—contributes in major degree to the creation and preservation of the slums. If they are to be abolished, discrimination will also have to go. Metropolitan . . . programs not primarily concerned with civil rights objectives may fail if they do not deal with questions of discrimination as well.

"The close relationship of civil rights to other areas of public concern may also mean that measures not directly aimed at discrimination may be helpful in eliminating it." The Commission's study of voting in Southern "black belt" counties, for example, strongly suggests that programs to stimulate, diversify, and industrialize depressed, one-crop agricultural areas "may ultimately do more than lawsuits to improve the economic, political, and legal status of black belt Negroes" by reducing their economic dependence and vulnerability to reprisals.

The Federal Government's responsibility for achieving equality of opportunity for all is far from exclusive. But it is a heavy, and as yet undischarged, responsibility and it is the statutory concern of the Commission. Underlying the Commission's recommendations are "the belief that the Presidency, and indeed the whole federal establishment, is preeminently a place for moral leadership . . . [and] the principle recently stressed by President Kennedy that 'Federal money should not be spent in any way which encourages discrimination, but rather . . . [to encourage] the national goal of equal opportunity.' "

### *The Power of the Law*

**Voting**

A wide variety of voting eligibility requirements can be, and are, used to deny the right to vote on grounds of race and color. Acting under the Fifteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, Congress should limit the grounds for disqualification, in all state and federal elections, to age, length of residence, confinement, or conviction of a felony; proof of six grades of formal schooling should satisfy all "literacy" and

similar tests. Congress should consider providing federal enforcement of population equality in both Congressional and state electoral districts.

**Education**

Compliance with the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions is notoriously slow and too often merely token. Congress should require "every local school board which maintains any public school from which pupils are excluded on the basis of race, to file a plan for desegregation with a designated federal agency within six months after the adoption of such legislation," whether or not a court suit has been brought. The plan should provide for first steps toward compliance "at the beginning of the following school year, and complete desegregation as soon as practicable thereafter." Congress should direct the Attorney General to take appropriate enforcement action, and to give appropriate protection to school board members, school staff, school children and their parents, and citizens helping them, "from bodily harm, harassment, intimidation, and/or reprisal by officials or private persons."

**Housing**

Private lending institutions which benefit from federal programs and are supervised by federal agencies hold more than 60 per cent of the country's nonfarm home mortgage debt. On racial and religious grounds they deny large numbers of Americans equal housing opportunity and help make housing "'the one commodity in the American market . . . not freely available on equal terms to every one who can afford to pay.' . . . The Federal Government, either by executive or by Congressional action, [should] require all financial institutions engaged in a mortgage loan business that are supervised by a federal agency to conduct such business on a nondiscriminatory basis."

**Employment**

Similarly, internal nondiscrimination and nonsegregation should be required of all unions using National Labor Relations Board services.

**Justice**

While lynching may have become extinct, discriminatory law enforcement, police brutality, and official condonation of and connivance in private of violence are widespread. Existing civil rights legislation has suffered from crippling weaknesses, such as the requirement of "specific intent" to violate a victim's constitutional rights as distinguished from the general criminal intent to hurt him. Congress should consider extending the penalties of section 242 of the U.S. Criminal Code to all those "who maliciously perform, under color of law, certain described acts including the following:

"1) subjecting any person to physical injury for an unlawful purpose;

"2) subjecting any person to unnecessary force during the course of an arrest or while the person is being held in custody;

"3) subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraint in the course of eliciting a confession to a crime or any other information;

"4) subjecting any person to violence or unlawful restraint for the purpose of obtaining anything of value;

"5) refusing to provide protection to any person from unlawful violence at the hands of private persons, knowing that such violence was planned or was then taking place;

"6) aiding or assisting private persons in any way to carry out acts of unlawful violence."

The Department of Justice should revise some of its policies and procedures that hamper federal criminal prosecutions for unlawful violence. It has taken advantage only once—and then successfully—of its statutory authority to institute prosecution by a sworn information to avoid the delay and the hazard of seeking indictment by a hostile grand jury. It has excessively relied on signed complaints, despite the fact that many victims are unaware of their rights, are fearful of retaliation, or assume that fed-

eral officers are closely linked with local policemen. It has suspended both investigation and prosecution as soon as state authorities have taken steps to prosecute local officers, making federal re-entry impractical if the state action proves ineffective. It has entrusted prosecution to U. S. Attorneys who are unfamiliar with the complex civil rights case law and, indeed, to a few who are openly hostile to Civil Rights Act prosecutions.

Civil suits brought by victims of police brutality are often fruitless because the policemen cannot pay the damages and the governmental entities that employ them will not. Congress should consider making all bodies that employ police liable for their misconduct.

To promote equal justice, Congress might empower the Attorney General to bring civil proceedings to prevent the exclusion of persons from jury service on account of race, color, or national origin.

### *The Use of Public Money*

**Withholding of funds**

Federal support of discriminatory institutions is unconscionable. Complete nondiscrimination and nonsegregation should be a condition for all federal aid to state employment agencies, institutions of higher education, public libraries (where the requirement was enacted in 1956 but has not been fully enforced), training and recruitment programs, and urban renewal plans. Mortgage insurance and loan guarantees should be restricted to nondiscriminatory builders and lending institutions. Up to 50 per cent of school grants-in-aid should be withheld on a basis proportional to the number of bi-racial but still segregated school districts within a state.

Nondiscrimination should be vigorously enforced in all federal employment, all employment supported by government aid funds (as well as contracts), and all labor unions dealing with government contractors.

**New programs**

The Commission recommends a number of new federal programs: For desegregating schools, direct technical assistance and training of personnel; matching grants for employment of social workers and specialists in desegregation problems; and loans for districts from which state or local funds are withdrawn as a result of desegregation.

To expand nondiscriminatory employment opportunities, expanded and new programs of assistance to vocational education, apprenticeship training, and retraining of jobless workers; helping the jobless move to find jobs; and federally subsidized employment, training, and special placement services for youths.

To extend equal opportunity in housing, improving relocation requirements for urban renewal and extending them to the federal highway program, which now has no relocation program.

To improve the quality of state and local police, working out a program of grants-in-aid to raise selection tests and standards, give better training in crime detection, constitutional rights and human relations, and support continuing education for policemen.

**Need for statistics**

The Commission is aware that many agencies have abandoned keeping racial records for legitimate fear that they can facilitate or invite discrimination. It has found, however, that statistical data are often necessary for policy planning and evaluating local, state, and federal programs in terms of equality of opportunity, and believes that means can be found to prevent discriminatory use. It recommends that information be systematically kept on voting registration and eligibility, school enrollment, employment and employment opportunities, availability of home mortgage credit, and related problems of discrimination. (*1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report.* Book 4, *Housing*, available through Readers Service)

Consumer Boycott

Reprinted from THE REPORTER 660 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

# The Not-Buying Power Of Philadelphia's Negroes

HANNAH LEES

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# The Not-Buying Power Of Philadelphia's Negroes

HANNAH LEES

PHILADELPHIA

WHEN FOUR HUNDRED ministers in one city advise their congregations not to buy something, a lot of whatever that something may be goes unbought and the company that makes it is quickly aware of the fact. For a month and a half, starting March 19, the congregations of four hundred Negro churches in Philadelphia have not bought Sunoco gas or oil for their cars and trucks or Sun fuel oil to heat their homes. Last January for exactly one week they were not buying Gulf gas or oil. Last October for two weeks they were not drinking Pepsi-Cola. And last summer for two months they were not eating any cakes or pies made by the Tasty Baking Company.

These periods of mass inaction have been the result of a joint decision reached last May by the pastors of those four hundred churches. They call it their Selective Patronage Program and their purpose is simple and forthright: to persuade—they reject words like "force" or "demand"—one company after another in Philadelphia to employ more Negroes in prestige jobs.

Their method is equally simple and forthright. A delegation of ministers, sometimes five, usually four, calls on whatever company the group has decided to investigate and politely inquires how many Negroes it employs and in what jobs. The companies have given this information willingly so far, and they might as well; the ministers usually already know, unofficially. The first meeting is always exploratory, but a second meeting is then requested a week or two later. At this meeting the ministers, though still quiet, still polite, are specific about what they want. At first it wasn't very much. Lately, as with the present Sun boycott, it has become a good deal. Whether they are now asking too much only time will tell.

With the Tasty Baking Company, the second firm they visited and the first one where they encountered opposition, the ministers asked the company to hire two Negro driver-salesmen, two Negro clerical workers, and three or four Negro girls in the icing department, where the workers had traditionally been all-white. They were not interested in the fact that the Tasty Baking Company already had hundreds of Negro employees. What they are interested in is placing Negro workers in positions of dignity and responsibility. Their aim is to change the public image of Negro workers. The Tasty Baking Company did not have any Negroes driving trucks or working in its office.

### 'Until Further Notice'

When Mr. Pass, the personnel manager of the company, and Mr. Kaiser, the president, pointed out that they had no need, just then, for more driver-salesmen or clerical workers, the ministers said politely but firmly that they still hoped these people could be hired within two weeks. If not, the four hundred ministers they represented would have to advise their congregations on the Sunday following not to buy any Tasty cakes or pies until they were hired.

Mr. Kaiser understandably felt pushed and resistant. The Negro driver-salesmen and clerks and icers were not hired within the two weeks, and the ministers did tell their congregations not to buy any Tasty cakes or pies until further notice. Printed advertisements to this effect mysteriously appeared in bars, beauty parlors, and barbershops. Nobody knows how many thousand dollars' worth of sales the Tasty Baking Company lost during those summer months, but there are 700,000 Negroes in Philadelphia and a large proportion have some connection with those four hundred churches. When the boycott was officially called off two months later from four hundred pulpits, the Tasty Baking Company had in its employ two Negro driver-salesmen, two Negro clerical workers, and some half-dozen Negro icers.

The Pepsi-Cola Company, which was called on last September, was also resistant to the ministers' requests. On October 2, a boycott was called from four hundred pulpits. Two days later the spokesman of the delegation received a telegram saying that Pepsi-Cola had hired the requested personnel. But the boycott lasted two weeks, because it is a policy of the ministers not to call a boycott off until the new employees are actually at work.

Gulf Oil, which was approached last winter at the height of the heating season, showed no interest in meeting with the ministers. When three weeks had gone by without an appointment being arranged, a boycott of Gulf products was called the next Sunday. The day after that the switchboards at Gulf were jammed with calls canceling oil contracts. Gulf then moved so quickly to meet the ministers' demands that the boycott lasted only a week. But here a new factor entered: the union. One of the ministers' stipulations, that the new Negro employees must not be the first to be laid off, conflicts with seniority provisions in Gulf's union contract. Union officials met with the ministers and explained that they were sympathetic with their

aims, but not when they collided with union bargaining. Three Negro truck drivers had been hired and after thirty days joined the union. All has been serene, but seasonal layoffs have begun by now. If drivers with seniority are laid off first, the union is not likely to take it lying down. The ministers may decide to finesse that one.

Bond Bread, Freihofer Bread, Coca-Cola, and Seven-Up all seem to have found the ministers' requests reasonable when they were called on. So, apparently, have Esso, Cities Service, Atlantic, and Mobil. None of these companies has had to cope with a boycott. Atlantic, which already had some Negroes in clerical and executive jobs before the ministers came to call, says it now has twenty-five Negroes in white-collar jobs, including a chemist, a psychologist, and a former football hero in sales promotion. They say that they are well pleased with the quality of work these employees do and with the general office morale. The ministers mention Atlantic frequently as an example of how smoothly their project goes when everyone co-operates.

THE ORIGIN and operation of the Selective Patronage Program are somewhat shrouded in mystery. It acknowledges no leaders, and no one will say who called the first meeting. "Some of us just got together," they say, "and decided we could not in good moral conscience remain silent while our congregations patronized companies that were discriminating against Negroes." The names of the ministers who have called on the various companies are on public record, but there is a different delegation for each company and a different spokesman. The Reverend Alfred G. Dunston, pastor of the Wesley A.M.E. Zion Church, has been the spokesman with Sun Oil. The Reverend Leon Sullivan of the Zion Baptist Church was the spokesman with the Tasty Baking Company. The Reverend Joshua E. Licorish, of Zion Methodist Church, was the spokesman with Gulf and with the union.

The Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, which investigated the Tasty boycott at the request of the Chamber of Commerce—and found no illegal discrimination but no evidence of positive integration either—mentions Dr. Noah Moore, a bishop in the Methodist Church, the Reverend Lorenzo Shepard, pastor

of the Mount Olivet Baptist Tabernacle, and the Reverend Leon Sullivan as prominent in the campaign. But no one will say who makes up the priority committee, which meets —always at a different place—to decide on the next target and what they will ask for. They have, they say, no officers, no by-laws, no minutes, no dues, and no treasury.

"But it is the best-organized unorganized program you ever saw in action," one of them said to me. "We can call a boycott of a quarter of a million people within twenty-four hours and call it off within twenty-four hours." A quarter of a million is probably not too high. Lined up solidly behind the ministers are fraternal organizations, social clubs, insurance agents, bartenders, beauticians, the N.A.A.C.P., and the Negro newspapers. Even local dealers whose sales have been hurt by the various boycotts seem to go along with the program.

### Unorganized 'Advice'

Highhanded and arbitrary as the Selective Patronage Program may seem, it is hard to find anything illegal or even really unethical in it. The ministers are simply exercising their democratic right to "advise" their friends what to buy and what not to buy. They are, of course, using their buying power to pressure these companies to hire employees they may not need at the moment, but their position is that if they waited for any of these companies to *need* that many Negro employees they would wait a long time. "We have waited too long already," one of them said.

A consistent complaint of both liberals and conservatives has been that Negroes did not do enough for themselves, did not exercise enough leadership in solving their own problems. These Negro ministers are exercising leadership and, so far, with impunity. The Tasty Baking Company consulted both the Chamber of Commerce and their own lawyers to see if any counteraction were possible. The conclusion seemed to be that it would be pretty hard to take a group of unorganized ministers to court, and even if they could it would not help Tasty's position much.

The ministers point out that some three thousand Negro boys and girls graduate from Philadelphia high schools every year and usually end by taking the jobs that nobody else wants because they are the last to be chosen. Many of them, the ministers admit, are not as highly qualified as they should be, but even the qualified ones have to fight the preconceived idea that they are not qualified. This, essentially, is the battle the ministers are trying to fight for them.

There are some new elements to the Sun Oil boycott now in progress. The ministers are feeling their strength and pushing harder than ever before. They may be pushing too hard, but perhaps they have to, to find out how far and how fast they can move. They phoned Sun at the end of January and requested a meeting. Sun arranged a meeting for February 3 in a very relaxed mood. A year ago Sun had asked the Reverend Leon Sullivan and Dr. Jerome Holland, president of Hampton Institute, to advise it in setting up a program of increased Negro employment in white-collar jobs. At that time it had hired two Negro clerks. It had records of hundreds of Negro employees at its Marcus Hook refinery, some in responsible supervisory jobs. It had just decided to include three Negro colleges in its yearly talent search. Sun felt it was in the clear.

The ministers didn't agree. They weren't interested in the number of Negroes working in the refinery. Negroes had always held jobs like that. "You hired two Negro clerks a year ago, but none since," they said. "Two in an office force of fifteen

hundred isn't much, is it? And you have no Negroes driving trucks. And even though you plan to include Negroes in your talent search, you haven't actually hired any."

Sun said business had fallen off. They had had to move more slowly than they planned, but were now going ahead as fast as they could.

At the second meeting, two weeks later, the ministers quietly dropped what must have seemed to Sun a bombshell. They wanted Sun to hire twenty-four Negro employees: nineteen additional office workers, three permanent truck drivers, and a motor-products salesman. When? Within the next month.

Sun said that wasn't possible, not within a month. There would not be anywhere near nineteen new job openings in the office in that time. And how could it hire three new truck drivers when they were just about to lay off thirty-five as the heating season ended?

IT MAY BE a coincidence that what the ministers have asked for at Sun is just about equivalent to the number of white-collar Negroes now employed by Atlantic. Philadelphia is the home office of both Sun and Atlantic. Each of them has about fifteen hundred people working in its home office. The ministers say that twenty-five Negroes in an office force of that size is not much to ask; that they can be found and will have to be if Sun wants any Negro customers around Philadelphia. The Urban League could supply them, say the ministers; they themselves could supply them if asked.

Sun has not, so far, asked the ministers to recruit for them, but it has been in touch with the Urban League. By March 16, the last meeting before the boycott deadline of Sunday, March 19, Sun had interviewed nineteen Negro applicants for clerical work, and had hired one of them. The others, they said, did not have the necessary qualifications. Sun had also hired one Negro salesman and upgraded one man from mechanic to truck driver. The ministers had accepted Sun's stand that it could not take on new truck drivers while about to lay off old ones and said they would settle for upgrading to truck driver three of their men who were already employed by Sun.

The boycott was called on March 19 and is still in progress. As of late April, Sun had hired about half the workers requested by the ministers. There were seven more Negro girls in the home office, there were two Negro salesmen, and three drivers had been upgraded from work in the garage and the refinery. Sun says that from now on it will hire people as needed, interviewing both white and Negro applicants without discrimination. When asked about the loss in business, spokesmen for the firm shrug and say it is hard to estimate. They seem unruffled and without resentment, but say flatly that they cannot do more. And there is no reason why they should if they can get along without Negro customers. The ministers estimate, however, that Sun is losing some $7,000 a week. And the number of Negro customers Sun may have to get along without seems to be increasing.

Those four hundred unorganized ministers now plan to spread their boycott progressively, first across the state and then, they say, across the country if necessary. On Sunday, April 9, they began the first part of what they call the second phase of their program. All the Negro Masonic lodges across the state announced a boycott of Sun products. Their members number 25,000 and they claim to be able to

influence several times that many. Perhaps they can. If Sun has still not hired the requested twenty-four Negro workers in another couple of weeks, the ministers say the boycott will spread to all the churches across Pennsylvania, and after that to all the men's and women's clubs. And after that they will go beyond Pennsylvania.

Wouldn't it have been more logical, I asked, to start with all the churches in Pennsylvania?

"A boycott of the Masons is easier to control," I was told, "and easier to call off in a hurry if Sun fills its quota. We could easily call on a boycott of all the churches, but it might take a while to call it off. We don't want to hurt Sun. We aren't mad at anybody. We just want to see our boys and girls in decent jobs."

**Danger Ahead**

Do the ministers have this much power? They probably don't know themselves yet. They must feel there is a certain poetic justice in big business feeling pushed by its traditionally most subservient employees. They may feel there is a special poetic justice that Sun Oil, owned by the Pews who for years controlled the Negro vote in Philadelphia by dropping money where it would do the most good, should now be having to negotiate with the new Negroes. But this proposed state-wide and possibly nation-wide boycott which originated with four hundred unorganized ministers is loaded with dangerous possibilities. George Schermer, executive director of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, has been glad to see these Negro ministers exercising leadership. As long as they can function in this amorphous state, he is all for them, he says, but if they can make good on this spreading boycott, it may be hard not to develop an overt organization with leaders and factions and ultimate corruption. At the very least, any real organization could sooner or later run into some sort of conspiracy suit. These are the dangers ahead of the crusading ministers.

"Power corrupts, you know the old saying," I reminded one of the ministers. "Aren't you afraid that all this mushrooming power may land you in trouble?" He smiled gently. "No, honey," he said, "because we haven't any heroes to feed on that power, we haven't any leaders or bosses. And we aren't going to have any. As long as we can make out without them, we'll do fine." As long as they can, he is probably right.

Former

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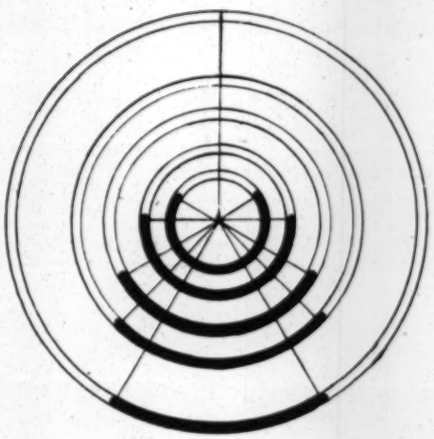
## EVALUATIONS OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING METHOD

by
MYRON WOOLMAN



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# Evaluations
# of the
# Progressive Choice Reading Method

## Summary Overview

The theory and principles underlying The Progressive Choice (PC) Method are concerned with insuring that the learner is given information in doses which are (1) small enough for him to swallow, (2) given at a sufficiently slow pace for him to digest, and (3) agreeable enough to be palatable and to produce real feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment. The method also is designed to provide trainees with evidence of increasing ability to reach clearly defined goals. Finally, and above all, the PC Method is designed to develop increasing independence and responsibility, based on demonstrated mastery of the materials being learned. In addition to developing reading skills, the Progressive Choice approach has been used for developing pilot skills (Woolman, 1955), missile skills (Woolman, 1960), and conceptual skills (Woolman, 1962; Holt and Valentine, 1962). The following description of the Progressive Choice Method briefly indicates the general schema.

## The Progressive Choice Programming Method

### Sequential Organization

The body of information to be learned is broken down into discrete elements which are then organized into a sequence based on the following criteria:

(1) The learner is responsible to learn only one new learning unit at any given time.

(2) Each successive unit to be learned is as dissimilar as possible from the one preceding it.

(3) The learner must demonstrate that he can integrate the unit he is learning with all previously learned units.

### Functional Requirements

(1) Each unit to be learned should add to the learner's skill in meeting both the overall and specific objectives of the program.

(2) At any given time, what is learned should be perceived by the learner as being functionally useful.

(3) Each successive unit is of a positive nature. The trainee learns only material he can use; negative information, such as why alternative procedures are wrong, is avoided.

Informational Requirements

(1) The learner must always know his precise status in the program and be informed as to the relevancy and correctness of his responses immediately.

(2) The information and content of the initial body of material is designed to appeal to the needs, interests and values of the typical entry trainee. However, after the trainee experiences success in the program, the content of the material is gradually shifted to provide him with the techniques, language and skills necessary to effective function on completion of the program.

Motivational Inputs

(1) The program is designed initially to be consistent with the fundamental needs, interests and values of the learning population.

(2) The program specifies the goals and sub–goals to be met and continuously informs the learner as to his degree of success in meeting the goals.

(3) Progress is based on demonstrated mastery. As the learner moves through the program, he becomes increasingly independent.

(4) Progress in the program results in increased responsibility and authority. As he moves through the program, each trainee increasingly participates in the instruction of others who have not yet reached his level of achievement.

The Expanding Field of Choice

The Progressive Choice Method is designed so that at the outset, there is very little possibility of making incorrect choices. The learner achieves success at any given point in the program by making a choice which is appropriate for the particular context. As the learner demonstrates his ability to make consistently successful choices, he is given new information to learn. Thus, at the beginning of the program, there is very limited field of choice (to reduce the probability of error), but at the end of the program, there is almost limitless choice. As learning proceeds, the number of possible choices increases on the basis of demonstrated proficiency. The learner theoretically continues to respond with a very high probability of success, even when the program increases in complexity so that the number of possible errors has increased astronomically. Thus, The Progressive Choice Method reduces to a system of continually assuring that a learner master the possible choices at a given level before imposing the requirement that he learn another unit of information. Ultimately, he must demonstrate that he can successfully make appropriate and meaningful choices at the greatest level of complexity contained in the program. At this point, he has satisfied the original program objectives.

The general schema was first conceived in 1950 and used as a model for developing reading skills for individual children. A formal analysis of the general position was made in the writer's doctoral thesis (Woolman, 1955) and in a later paper (Rotberg and Woolman, 1963). Bloomer, in a series of experiments with normal first grade children, demonstrated that the PC Reading Method produced significantly higher reading scores at the end of the first grade (Bloomer, 1961).

Davy, using several alternative reading methods, as well as PC, demonstrated that the PC Reading Method was the most effective for teaching mentally retarded children to read (Woolman and Davy, 1963; Davy, 1962). The present analysis is concerned with investigating the success of the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program in developing reading skills in adolescents and young adults from culturally deprived neighborhoods.

## The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program

The APC Reading Program is a system of literacy training in which the learner first learns to comprehend terms orally and then, in a series of steps, learns to get the same meanings when the terms are presented visually. The APC Reading Program: (1) is designed to permit students to progress at their own rate of speed, (2) uses materials which are directed to the interests and values of the population, and (3) provides a detailed step-by-step procedure, which provides a tight synchrony between the workbooks used by students and the Instructor's Manual. The Instructor's Manual provides within itself, the techniques to be used by the instructor, as well as a program to provide a fundamental grasp of the pedagogical principles underlying the reading program. Thus, the instructor learns the procedures and concepts as he sees its effects on his trainees.

There is no requirement for classrooms or school facilities. The program can be used in community-action settings, churches, union halls, recreation halls, or available school facilities. Although it may be used by teachers in school settings, instruction can also be given by a literate adult, who has no teaching background.

## Objectives of the APC Reading Program

The APC Reading Program was designed to develop reading skills at a functional level in persons with a history of failure and avoidance of school-like situations. There were three major objectives:

(1) To produce a reading program which would insure a sixth-grade reading level to any trainee completing it successfully.
(2) To produce a reading program which would motivate dropouts and pre-dropouts to maintain sustained involvement in the literacy-skill program.
(3) To develop a literacy program which could be completed rapidly and which would produce substantial gain in reading skills within 150 training hours, or less.

Summary of Results

In the three pilot studies completed to date the results were:

(1) Washington Action for Youth (8 subjects):

Mean gain in scores on Stanford Achievement Test was 1.28 years after 40.3 hours of training time. Student reactions were positive; less than 25% of trainees dropped out of their own volition. Ratings of students by counselors indicate significant gains in verbal skills, task involvement, and social skills.

(2) Washington, D.C. Schools:

A summer–school class of 15 underachieving junior high school students were used as subjects. Mean gain was 1.50 years on the Stanford Achievement Test after 45 hours of instruction. There were no dropouts during the summer session, despite the necessity to use public transportation. Student reaction was extremely positive.

(3) Bank Street College Study:

The Bank Street College Study, used 102 trainees from Job Opportunities in Neighborhoods (JOIN), and The Police Athletic League of New York City as subjects, of which 22 received both pre–and post–tests. Gain was about 5 months on standard reading tests in a mean time of 22 hours. Observed student reactions to the program and their taped interviews were strongly positive.

Summary of Conclusions

On the basis of available data:

(1) The APC Reading Program is an effective tool for increasing literacy skills rapidly, though it is not known whether it is capable of producing a minimal sixth–grade reading level in less than 150 hours.

(2) The APC Reading Program does appear to motivate and involve the trainee population for which it was designed.

## Summary of Recommendations

(1) Further experimental studies are warranted to determine the value of the APC Reading Program both in school and community–action settings.

(2) Procedures within community–action programs should be carefully structured to obtain greater efficiency in the development of literacy skills.

(3) An extension to the APC Reading Program (The Vocabulary Expansion Program) is required to improve literacy, comprehension, and employment readiness.

# EVALUATIONS OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING METHOD

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The dropout and adult illiterate is usually a product of a socially isolated and economically disadvantaged community with its own special customs, dialect and attitudes. Life within this community or ghetto is culturally isolated and often hostile. The dropout frequently bands with his peers, both for social exchange and defense. The special language, customs, and attitudes within the ghetto have little value when used outside its confines; in contrast to most members of the society, the ghetto-member must learn new terms, customs and attitudes before he can adapt successfully to the society at large. As voice-to-voice communication with non-ghetto members is rare, he must learn largely through the printed word or through the entertainment mass-media, but the information provided is of little value for adjustment to the outside world. The illiterate is an informational amputee, dependent on others to deliver whatever information they wish, when they wish to do so. He is blind to the obvious and seeks to hide his ignorance; he fears to move from the known and the familiar to the unknown and alien. In an age which gives power to those with knowledge, the illiterate is increasingly unable to cope with adult responsibility.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the elimination of illiteracy is a prerequisite to developing the kinds of job skills which provide stable employment in our increasingly technologically complex society.

The Bureau of Labor Standards of the U.S. Department of Labor (U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1962) recently stated:

> *The teenage drop-out, whether a delinquent or a non-delinquent, begins his adult life economically and socially handicapped. Since more than two-thirds of these youngsters, according to National Education Association figures, have average or above average ability, the high drop-out rate is not only tragically limiting to the individuals involved, but also is a costly waste of potential to American Society as a whole (p. 5).*

The projection of national population figures points to a serious aggravation of this social sore:

> *....the number of drop-outs will likely increase during the 1960s because of the greater number of high school age youth. The Department of Labor estimates that of the 26 million new workers entering the labor force in the present decade, some 7.5 million will not have completed high school. Of these, about 2.5 million youth will have completed only the eighth grade or less (p. 6).*

Statistics relating literacy level to delinquency, crime, welfare status and unemployment have attested with monotonous regularity to the fact that the illiterate is at a disadvantage and that large proportions are supported by the state in both institutional and non-institutional settings. The adult illiterate has a low income, unstable family relationships, and a higher probability for commitment. Illiterate mothers have a greater number of illegitimate children; illiterate inmates of criminal institutions have a greater probability of recidivism.

The school dropout is a frustrated adolescent at the peak of his energy level, who faces low employability and a future of little more than social parasitism. The victim of these societal inadequacies is limited largely to non-productive behavior as a consequence of low literacy levels and consequent low job skills. A report of the Sub-Committee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency of the Senate Judiciary Committee (U.S. Senate, 1961) stated:

> *Today in many communities youth unemployment is a serious and economic problem. Unless remedial measures are found and applied, this problem may soon reach critical proportions all over the country with a direct bearing on the youth crime rate which has risen sharply each year for the last decade. Teenagers in the labor market have the highest rate of unemployment of any age group, generally about double the national average. Many experts in the delinquency field feel that this unemployment is a factor contributing to youth crime (p. 16).*

Reading skills and a carefully organized body of information offer access to the values, customs, and language used outside the ghetto-community; literacy represents the most powerful force for penetrating the ghetto and providing information required for surviving in the general society. The rapid and economical development of mass literacy skills represents the access route from community isolation and personal dependency to participation in our society as a productive and useful citizen.

# The Progressive Choice Reading Method

## Historical Perspectives

The Progressive Choice (PC) Reading Method has a substantial developmental history. The Method rests on a rather substantial theoretical and research foundation which probably merits recapitulation if the reader is to see some of the studies discussed here in their proper perspective as pilot tests of a method which has already undergone a number of experimental tests.

The Progressive Choice Reading Method was initially developed as a technique for producing reading skills by Woolman in 1950 and was the result of experimentation involving theoretical principles of discrimination and generalization as applied to the reading situation. Woolman further extended the theoretical base of the PC Reading Method in his dissertation entitled "The Effect of Varying the Number of Choices in the Identification of Very Similar Stimuli" (Woolman, 1955). The study used humans to test some of the major learning variables now contained in the PC Reading Method. The Method has been found effective for normals in six experimental studies conducted by Bloomer, who has made a summary table covering the six studies (N-561) which presents relative grade level on standard tests at the completion of first grade for Progressive Choice trained children and children trained by conventional methods (see Table 1). Briefly, six% of PC children and 29% of control children had scores below 2.0. Forty-two percent of PC trained children and 18% of the controls scored above 3.0. As is evident in both the Progressive Choice and conventional reading methods, slightly more than 50% of the scores were at second-grade level. Thus, as compared with conventional methods at the end of first grade: Bloomer's data show that significantly fewer PC children failed to score at second-grade level and that a significantly greater number of PC-trained children than controls scored at third-grade level. The mean achievement by grade level for all PC-trained children was 2.88. A description and evaluation of the PC Reading Program, from Bloomer's point of view, may be found in the article, "Reading Methodology: An Experimental Test of Some Alternative Organizational Principles" (Bloomer, 1961).

*Table 1*

*Summary of Six Bloomer Studies*

*Comparing PC and Conventional Reading Methods*

*Achievement Level End of First Grade by Percent*

| Teaching Method | Number of Classes | Number of Pupils | Percent of Pupils At Each Grade Achievement Level 1.0–1.99 | 2.0–2.99 | 3.0–3.99 | Total Percent |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Progressive Choice | 7 | 178 | 6 | 52 | 42 | 100 |
| Combined Other Methods | 15 | 383 | 29 | 53 | 18 | 100 |

*Chi Square = .38.21 P less than .001*

A review of research on the reading skills of mentally retarded children by Ann Davy (Davy, 1961), revealed that there had been some success in teaching reading skills to "educable" mentally retarded children. There was, however, no evidence that "trainable" children had been systematically taught to read prior to her study. Davy, using an adaptation of the Progressive Choice Reading Method, showed positive results for each of thirteen trainable pupils with Stanford-Binet IQ's as low as 43 in a study which was carried on over a two-year period.

The Progressive Choice approach has applications in areas other than reading. The following excerpt from an analysis by Dr. Thomas Edwards, Senior Reading Consultant of Science Research Associates provides a concise statement on the various applications of the PC Method (Edwards, 1964).

> *....Too frequently materials are developed and published which are not firmly based on a systematic rationale which has internal consistency and is securely anchored in validated learning theory. Woolman's application of his Progressive Choice System to basic education and vocational training does not seem to be vulnerable to this criticism. Rather, it reflects a knowledge and application of currently popular systems for teaching reading, programmed instruction methods, personality factors effecting educational achievement and the relating of basic education to employability through pre-vocational education and vocational training.*

*The significant and unique characteristics of Woolman's Progressive Choice Method are as follows:*

1. *The materials to be learned are carefully programmed and presented in small, readily digestible units.*
2. *A rigorous sequence of skill or concept development is imposed which follows definite principles.*
3. *The learner is constantly required to make responses throughout the entire program.*
4. *Through continuous feedback, the learner is constantly aware of the adequacy and relevancy of his responses.*
5. *Learners progress only on the basis of demonstrated proficiency using built-in evaluation methods.*
6. *Learners are required to achieve specified goals and subgoals.*
7. *Both intrinsic and extrinsic motivational devices are used.*

*As applied to reading, the Progressive Choice Method is divided systematically into three cycles. These three cycles provide for a gradual, systematic progression from the very simple to increasing complexity; from regular and invariant phonene-grapheme relationships toward greater variance and irregularity. Each cycle is further subdivided into segments, with each segment consisting of two or three learning elements to be practiced and mastered before the learner proceeds to the next segment.*

*Another very unique and interesting aspect of Woolman's plan is the systematic programming of socially acceptable attitudes, values and behavioral patterns in the reading selections. This he accomplishes (a) through the systematic regulation of the topical content of his materials and (b) by building into his system opportunities for students to achieve status through achievement in the materials themselves and then assisting students in lower cycles.*

## *Components and Status of Woolman's Materials*

*Woolman's plans for a sequential development of basic education materials to lead toward and articulate with vocational materials is a very positive feature of his scheme. His proposed sequence in this development and accomplishments to date are as follows:*

### *1. Reading*

*The reading materials, based on the Progressive Choice Method, have been completed. As indicated above, they are designed to provide mastery of basic reading skills starting from total illiteracy and moving up to the eighth-grade level after an estimated 200 to 300 hours of instruction.*

2. *Vocabulary Expansion*

*The vocabulary expansion materials are currently under development and are designed to extend the range and depth of the reading vocabulary using various self–instructional methods to learn word meanings based on historical, social studies and literary content materials. Entry into this vocabulary program is planned to follow the basic reading skills program. It will consist of 100,000 base words and will finally total 500,000 words.*

3. *Quantitative Program: Science and Arithmetic*

*The quantitative program is also in the development stage. Its introduction is planned for the time when the learner has developed a greater facility in reading and an expanded vocabulary. This movement into the quantitative program is being designed to provide understanding of arithmetic operations while acquiring basic information about various sciences.*

4. *Basic Electricity Program*

*On completion of the basic science program, the learners may move into the basic electricity program area. This basic electricity program will be somewhat simpler than the one which Woolman designed for the Bell Telephone Laboratories employees. Learners will be required to extend and deepen arithmetic skills and move up to simple algebraic and trigonometric relationships in the course of completing the program. It is expected that this program will be within the grasp of a substantial proportion of the learners who complete the basic science program (pp. 13–14).*

## The Basal Progressive Choice Reading Program

### A Program for the Mentally Handicapped

The Basal Progressive Choice (BPC) Reading Program was designed to teach reading to the mentally retarded and/or culturally deprived child. It has been tested with encouraging results. The results of a study supported by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH-1010) are presented in our Progress Report, "Developing Symbolic Skills in the Mentally Handicapped", (Woolman and Davy, 1963). An overall comparison between Experimental and Control subjects is presented graphically in Figure 1. Note that Figure 1, demonstrates (1) that more Control children than BPC children showed no improvement in reading scores on the PC Marginal Diagnostic Reading Test and that more BPC-trained children showed gains in scores than did Control children. The difference between E and C children in reading score gains were highly significant. (Woolman and Davy, 1963).

### Reported Consequences of BPC on Transitional Children

The BPC Program was also tested in a sub-study involving 10 classes of Transitional first-grade children in Galena Park, Texas. Transitionals in this system are those children who are placed in Special (small classes - no more than 20 children) on the basis of emotional immaturity and/or cultural deprivation and have been judged as unable to perform adequately in Regular classes. Four of these Transitional classes (N=66) were given BPC training and six classes (N=103) continued with the reading method in general use (Controls). At the end of the first year in these classes, the children could be assigned to the Regular school program (either first or second grade). The school system assigned 41% of the Control children, and 56% of the BPC-trained children to Regular classes at the end of the first year of the program. Assignment to Regular classes was based on teacher evaluation, retesting of children and professional judgments. The vital question involving the Transitional child was not whether or not he was assigned to Regular classes, but how well he did once he got into Regular first or second grade. Accordingly, the Supervisor of Special Education was requested to ascertain performance and behavior in the Regular class situation. He was specifically requested to determine (1) whether they could perform their work at or above grade level, and (2) whether they could meet the more rigorous behavioral standards imposed by Regular teachers. The results of our inquiry are shown in Table 2.

*Figure 1*

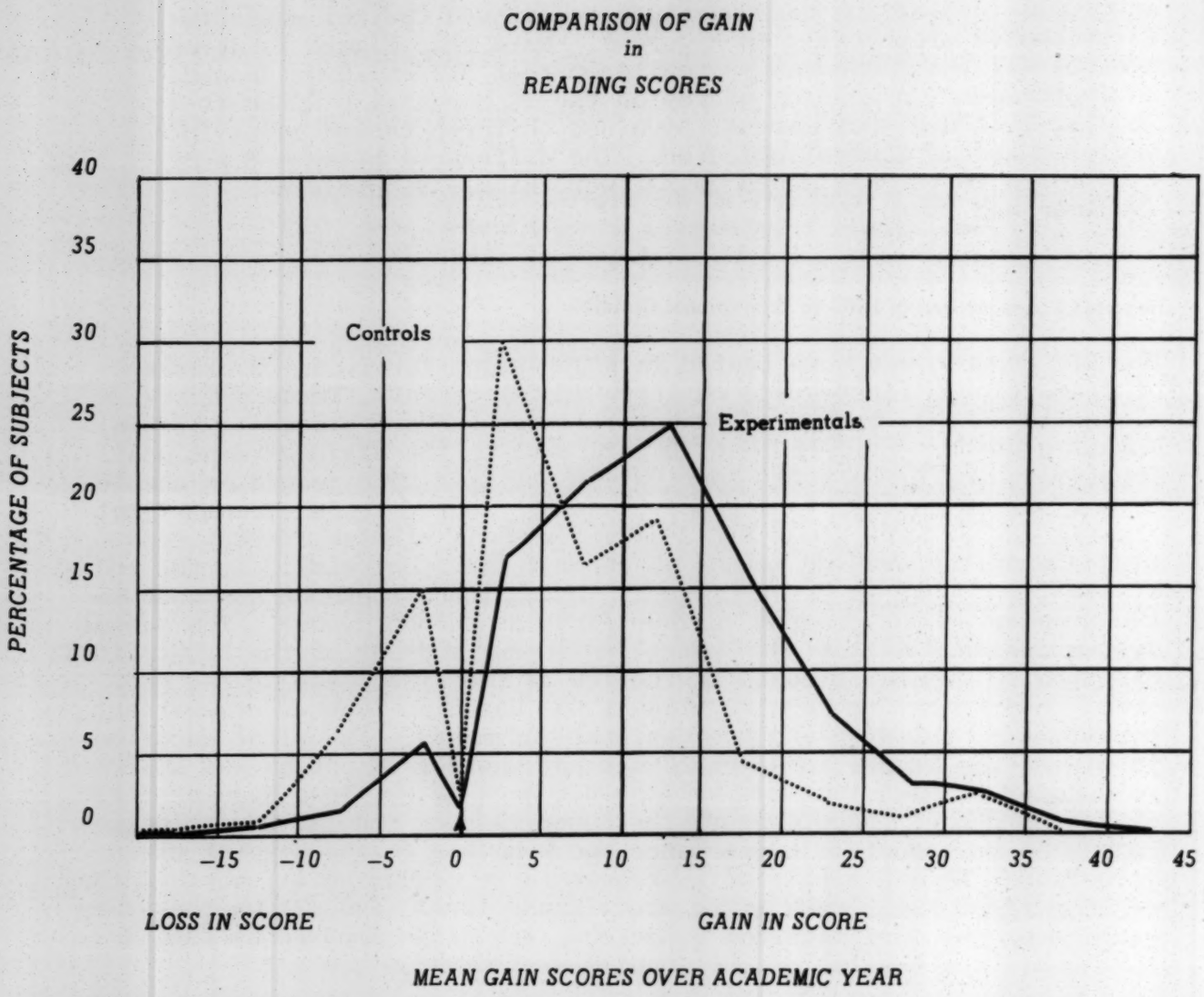


*Figure 1: Mean gain scores on PC Diagnostic Reading Test for all subjects showing percentage of subjects in each interval when all items are scored.*

*TABLE 2*

*Percentages of Transitional Children Assigned to Regular Classes Performing At or Above Grade Level*

| *Grade Level Assignment* | *Type of Training Previous Year* | *Number Assigned* | *Number Judged at/above Grade Level* | *Percentage Judged at/above Grade Level* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Regular First Grade* | *BPC Trained* | *13* | *13* | *100.0%* |
| | *Control* | *15* | *8* | *42.1%* |
| *Regular Second Grade* | *BPC Trained* | *18* | *18* | *100.0%* |
| | *Control* | *20* | *0* | *0.0%* |
| *Total* | *BPC Trained* | *31* | *31* | *100.0%* |
| | *Control* | *39* | *8* | *20.5%* |

The results shown in Table 2 indicate that all BPC-trained children were evaluated as doing satisfactory work after assignment to the Regular classroom and that about one Control child in five was given a similar evaluation.

# The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program

**A Program for the Culturally Deprived Adolescent**

The Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program is a self-contained method of teaching reading skills in which the information exchange between the student and the instructor is highly detailed and systematized. The Program is designed to permit: (1) teaching of a class of students by a literate, adult, non-teacher as well as by a certified teacher; (2) training to be conducted in any well-lit room as well as in a classroom. Reading skills are developed by presenting the material in small, readily digestible bits and building up reading skills in cumulative fashion. The content of the materials is designed to be consistent with the needs, interests and values of the learner, particularly in the initial stages of the program. However the content gradually shifts to functional language and concepts useful beyond the limits of the classroom or ghetto. The objective of the APC Reading Program is to provide a reading-skill level and a conceptual framework which can facilitate both employability and life adjustment.

The objectives of the APC Reading Program are:

1. To produce a sixth-grade reading-skill level within 150 hours of literacy training, regardless of initial reading achievement level.

2. To permit effective development of literacy skills, using untrained instructors in whatever space is available.

3. To provide motivation for the learner within the program itself.

4. To provide an attitudinal frame of reference and a functional vocabulary which facilitates adjustment outside the ghetto community.

5. To permit each learner to progress at his own optimal pace.

6. Ultimately, to develop an eighth-grade reading level within 300 hours of literacy training, regardless of initial reading achievement level.

**The Washington Action for Youth (WAY) Pilot Test**

The purpose of the Washington Action for Youth pilot study was to test the use of The Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program as a method for rapidly increasing the literacy level of Washington D.C. school dropouts with very low reading-achievement levels.

This project was viewed as giving an initial estimate of the efficiency of the APC Reading Program. We were concerned with its ability to maintain the involvement of students with a history of avoidance of school and obtaining some evidence as to whether real gains in reading skills occurred. If successful, we should have some evidence as to whether the APC Reading Program was a rapid tool suited for development of literacy skills in this underachieving population. We assumed a subject population which was relatively static, resistant to "schoolish" methods, suspicious of promises and false hopes, and without genuine hope of achievement. They were in a literacy program as a "last-straw" and lacked any genuine expectancy that it would really make "any difference". On the other hand, it was assumed that they would become aware of their handicap on the job market, and of the social and economic disadvantages implicit in their low literacy level; this would provide a latent motivational advantage, once they perceived themselves to be making progress.

The most serious error which we could make, in our judgment, was to provide an artificial working climate and/or a selected group of students which could combine to produce an inflated estimate of the value of the method. A selected student body could inflate the reading gains and therefore fail to predict what would occur in actual use; a residential program with a small student-instructor ratio, along with heavy time concentrations might produce even more spectacular results which would have no value for other Community-Action Programs since it could not be replicated in non-experimental settings. On this basis, our efforts were directed to trying out the APC Program in a situation which would give a conservative estimate of its value for community action.

In essence, we were seeking to try out the APC Reading Program under conditions which could be duplicated in any community. The subjects were to be, if anything, less effective than run-of-the-mill dropouts. The instructor was to be totally untrained as a teacher and was to have no background in the area of literacy. Similarly, classroom facilities were to be whatever was available. If the program worked under these "minimal yield" conditions, then, it presumably would be even more effective under more favorable circumstances.

Clearly, while the development of literacy skills is a prerequisite to self-sufficiency, it offers comparatively little practical gain if it merely shifts the reading level from comic books emphasizing pictorial display to comic books which contain a greater proportion of language content. The two major objectives were: (1) to produce an increase in reading-skill level, and concomitantly, (2) to improve self-confidence and independence. Testing of the effectiveness of this pilot program was, therefore, along both these dimensions.

### The Subjects

Subjects were dropouts with reading deficiencies, who ranged in age from 14 to 22 years. Both sex and race were irrelevant to the assignment of subjects to the APC Literacy Program. The fact that the WAY Counseling Center was in a neighborhood with a predominantly Negro population, resulted in an almost exclusively male Negro population. A WAY counselor had to recommend, and the potential APC trainee had to agree to enter the program. There were no criteria for entry related to interest, previous scholastic success or intelligence-test scores. The sampling was directed to obtaining a group of subjects from whom it would be possible to generalize to the population of underachieving, jobless, adolescent dropouts.

### Scheduling

As the APC Program was designed to permit each student to maintain his own individual pace, the subjects were in a relatively free scheduling situation as compared with the usual school situation. The literacy-training room was available for about three hours on most days. Initially, subjects were restricted to about one hour of literacy training per day. However, this time limit was removed, after approximately two weeks, when several students expressed a desire to use the program for the entire three-hour time block.

The program permitted flexible adaptation to both job training and employment; students who had other responsibilities showed up only one or two days a week; some students dropped out for several weeks and then resumed their literacy-skill training. Though this resulted in considerable fluctuation in attendance, it posed little hardship for the instructor as students could pick up their APC Programs and begin where they had left off. This freedom in scheduling was of particular importance as many of these young people had failed to develop the habits and attitudes necessary for punctual attendance; an open schedule permitted them to maintain progress without posing a requirement for punctuality. Trainees should obtain sufficient intrinsic satisfaction from the program's built-in success experiences and initial avoidance tendencies should tend to dissipate, if the program is to be effective with this population. Attendance and punctuality tended to improve once it became evident that lapses in attendance reduced the rate of acquisition of the very reading skills they were there to attain.

### The Instructor

The instructor was a clincically trained psychologist who was a member of the WAY staff. He totally lacked experience, both as a teacher and in the field of literacy. Further, at the outset, his clinical training and experience were in direct opposition to the structure inherent in the APC programmed materials; as his background was largely Freudian, the theoretical base underlying the construction of the program was uncongenial to both his experience and his interests. However he made a valiant effort to comply with the requirements of the program; but because of his lack of rapport with a programmed approach, he tended to follow the APC procedures mechanically. On the other hand, he displayed a warmth of manner and a genuine concern for the trainees which quickly claimed their confidence. Thus, the instructor was (1) untrained as a teacher; (2) disinterested in learning theory and programmed methods; (3) genuinely concerned with the students; and (4) followed the APC materials in a rote manner. The use of a psychologist as an instructor was considered to offer neither a positive bias (as would have occurred with a knowledgeable researcher doing the training) nor a negative bias which would be expected if the APC procedures were not followed.

### The Training Room

The room within the Counseling Center in which training was conducted was largish (10' x 25'). The APC Literacy Training Program was only one of the functions it served. It was also used for meetings by counselors and for conferences of various kinds. Thus, the room was not always available to students when they arrived. Sometimes, by necessity, there was no forewarning and APC trainees arrived and were required to wait for several hours before they could begin training or were told that no training could be given that day.

### The Tests

1. The Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) battery was selected for use at the beginning (pre-test) and end of literacy training (post-test) for the following reasons:

(a) The SAT is a high reliability reading test with widespread usage in the schools. Evaluations based on its scores would be meaningful to most educators and officials in the reading-skill area.

(b) It contains reading sub-tests within the battery consisting of: (1) Word Meaning, (2) Paragraph Meaning, and (3) Arithmetic Concepts.

2. The PC Marginal Diagnostic Reading Test is designed to evaluate very low levels of reading capability and may be used to get scores from non-readers as well as readers. It had already been used to evaluate mentally retarded children and demonstrated both good reliability and good teacher and student acceptance (split-half r = 95 for N = 170). It was used (with some change in directions) for the dropout population in the belief that it would be more sensitive than the SAT at very low reading-skill levels. We hoped in this way to obtain pre-test scores on subjects who simply could not, or would not, attempt the SAT.

3. The Social Effectiveness Evaluation Form (SEEF) was designed to obtain subjective ratings of change along three behavioral dimensions:

(a) Verbal Fluency Scale: Level of observed skill in the use of language.

(b) The Environmental Scale: Level of observed skill in adjusting to others in whatever social environment observation is possible.

(c) The Situational Involvement Scale: Level of motivation combined with ability to adapt, and to sustain involvement in completing a task.

The counselor to which the client was assigned was considered to be the most objective and knowledgable rater. Further, as counselors were clearly without favorable bias toward the APC Literacy Program, the chances of an inflated rating were believed to be minimal. Two SEEF ratings were made on each trainee by his WAY Counselor:

(a) within two weeks of the trainee's entry into the APC Literacy Program, and

(b) immediately after the literacy post-tests were administered.

SEEF ratings were sent immediately to IER and were not available to the counselor for reference. At the time of the first rating only one SEEF was supplied for each counselor. As the time interval between ratings was two to four months, there seemed little likelihood that the post-test ratings would be influenced by recall. On the basis of the precautions taken, the professional nature of the raters, and the time interval between ratings, it is assumed that the two successive SEEF ratings represent reasonably independent and unbiassed judgments by the WAY Counselors.

4. Other Evaluations included an effort to obtain evidence on IQ scores for those trainees who could write well enough to complete the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability (Intermediate Examination).

The WAY Instructor was also requested to periodically subjectively evaluate his students' (1) reading-skill development and (2) changes in attitude and behavior, in his best judgment as a clinical psychologist.

**Problems of Retaining Students in the Literacy Program**

Emphasis on immediate employment for clients took precedence over their entry into the literacy upgrading program. As a consequence of this quite understandable bias on the part of employment counselors, loss of students to employment programs was continuous and consequently, the size of the sample remained quite small. Eight students managed to stay in the program long enough to be pre-tested and post-tested. The following extract from a memo by the WAY APC Project Coordinator summarizes the problems faced in attempting to obtain a sample of students over a three-month period:

> *Since the inception of the Progressive Choice Program at the Youth Employment Counselling Center with mid-October's pre-testing, a total of 43 youths have been seen for some type of assessment via testing. Of these, 30 youths completed the entire pre-test battery which included the Stanford Achievement Test, Progressive Choice Diagnostic Reading Test, and (appropriate) intelligence test (i.e., the contingency being that, depending on achievement as measured by battery median on the S.A.T., youth whose academic level surpassed 4th grade level were given the Otis Self Administering Test, while the others took the S.R.A. Non-Verbal Test). Of these 30, 17 have actually begun PC, and 8 continued to progress steadily up to post-testing on January 6 and 7 of this year.*
>
> *Both time and content involvement for the 9 who dropped PC was minimal - for I feel that none of these youths became sufficiently involved with the material to justify calling them "drop-outs." The implication here, that of the "intrinsic" motivational properties incorporated into the materials will be explored further in this note.**

*M.A. Bernstein, Project Coordinator for Research, WAY to Dr. Roy J. Jones, Director of Training, WAY. "Appraisal of the Progressive Choice Method in the Youth Employment Counseling Center, January 13,1964.

The Reading Test Results: Eight students were pre-tested on the Stanford Achievement Test. Several others did not fill in their pre-tests and their post-test scores were not used as it could not be definitely ascertained whether they were non-readers or were simply resisting the pre-test situation. They were excluded, as a body, since it was quite possible that their inclusion would have substantially inflated the size of the mean difference between pre- and post-test scores if, in fact, only one of these trainees had been resistant.

The amount of time these eight trainees were actively involved in the program varied from 11 to 77 hours. Mean participation time was 40.3 hours. The mean weekly time per student was slightly in excess of four hours. (See Table 3 for the findings.)

**Results of the WAY Pilot Study**

Data from Washington Action for Youth based on only eight subjects indicated (1) a gain of 1.28 years on the Stanford Achievement Test in 40.3 training hours as well as substantial gains on the PC Marginal Diagnostic Reading Test; (2) significantly higher ratings by counselors in terms of verbal skills, social awareness, and task involvement; and (3) gains in general adjustment (reported by counselors, instructors, and trainees).

*Table 3*

*Stanford Achievement Test Difference–Score Results*

| *Stanford Achievement Test (SAT)* | *Means on Pre–test* | *Means on Post–test* | *Mean Difference* | *t Ratio* | *Significance* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Reading* | *4.88* | *6.16* | *+ 1.28* | *3.34* | *p > .01* |
| *Combined Subtests** | *4.71* | *5.50* | *+ 0.79* | *3.11* | *p > .01* |

** Combined subtests include Word Meaning, Paragraph Meaning and Arithmetic Concepts subtests.*

The mean gain of 1.28 years on the Stanford Achievement Test in a mean of 40.3 hours of attendance and participation was highly encouraging. The mean gain on the SAT as a whole was .79 years, which suggests that there was probably some generalization to the other sub-tests. Despite the small size of the sample, the SAT reading-test results are highly significant. They permit the assertion to be made, with a high degree of confidence, (chance factors would produce these gains less than one time in a hundred) that the gain in reading scores was not attributable to chance. On the other hand, because there were no alternative reading methods with which to compare these results, no statement can be made comparing APC to possible successful alternative approaches; it is only possible to state that the improvement in scores was highly significant and indicates genuine progress despite the small sample size.

Seven of the eight trainees were given pre-and post-tests on the PC Marginal Diagnostic Reading Test. Each trainee showed gains (ranging from +5 to +19 points); the mean gain was 9.57 for all subjects tested. The differences between pre-and post-test scores on this test were highly significant indicating that the gains in mean score were not attributable to chance; the differences between the pre-and post-test means reflected a real gain on this test.

*Table 4*

*The Progressive Choice Diagnostic Reading Test Results**

*TRAINEES IN STUDY*

| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | Group Mean Scores |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Pre-Test* | 68 | 81 | 85 | 72 | 76 | 81 | 73 | 76.57 |
| *Post-Test* | 82 | 91 | 90 | 91 | 83 | 86 | 80 | 86.14 |
| *Difference Scores* | +14 | +10 | + 5 | +19 | + 7 | + 5 | + 7 | 9.57 |

**Scores show number of correct items on test.*

In addition to the data obtained on the tests, ratings from counselors were obtained on the Social Effectiveness Evaluation Form (SEEF) previously described. (See Table 5.)

The SEEF Rating Results: The SEEF data indicate that counselors tended to give higher ratings to their APC clients after three months, than they had given initially. The results were significant for all three sub-scales and also were significant for the SEEF as a whole. These findings were consistent with counselor comments and with reactions by APC clients.

Counselor and supervisory statements indicate that initial attitudes towards the APC Program improved only after seeing its effect on clients. In this light, the ratings by WAY counselors may be viewed as reflecting some perception of positive change in their clients over this period. Whether or not this change can be directly attributable to the APC Reading Program cannot be determined on the basis of the data on hand. More important for this study is the fact that the attitudes of counselors did improve. This is highly encouraging since counselor cooperation is considered to be crucial to the success of literacy programs in the community-action-program context.

*Table 5*

*Gains in Social Effectiveness Score (SEEF) Ratings by WAY Counselors*

| | *Mean Pre–test* | *Mean Post–test* | *Mean Difference* | *t Ratio* | *Statistical Significance* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Environmental* | 6.63 | 7.88 | + 1.25 | 2.24 | YES |
| *Verbal Fluency* | 6.38 | 7.50 | + 1.13 | 3.02 | YES |
| *Situational Involvement* | 5.63 | 7.13 | + 1.50 | 1.87 | YES* |
| *Total Score* | 18.63 | 22.50 | + 3.88 | 1.90 | YES* |

**Using a single tailed test.*

Though the Washington Action for Youth situation was far from ideal, it accuractely reflected the real life conditions to be faced by a literacy-development program in most community-action settings. Since then, our experiences in various community-action settings indicates that the WAY situation was typical rather than unique. An effective approach to providing literacy skills in a community-action context must be able to cope with administrative complexity, organizational emphasis on immediate employment rather than literacy-skills development, slip-ups in direction and control, and the multitudinous and inevitable problems incident to working with organizations which are themselves in process of birth and development.

## The Washington, D.C. School System Pilot Tests

The pilot data obtained from Washington Action for Youth was an indication that the APC Reading Program had promise in a community-action setting using available facilities and personnel. Although the sample was small, the results were sufficiently encouraging to seek other tests of the value of the APC Reading Program. An opportunity presented itself through the Washington, D.C. School System which had been testing the Basal PC Reading Program, designed for use with mental retardates. As part of their 1964 summer-school program, they wished to try the experimental APC Reading Program with a class of underachieving junior-high-school students. Although the materials were provided by IER, no assistance was given either inside or outside of the classroom. A teacher who had already used the BPC Reading Program with retarded children, was assigned to teach the reading class for a period of one month (45 school hours) in MacFarland Junior High School. Their major findings are contained in a rather lengthy report (Pitts, Payne 1964) to the D.C. School System and in a memo summarizing the findings which has kindly been made available to us. Excerpts from this memo follow:

> *In this study results for students in the Progressive Choice Program were highly encouraging.*
>
> *Junior high school children considered typical underachieving normals (Mean IQ – 95) gained a year and six months over a single summer period providing forty–five hours of instruction.*
>
> *All children showed remarkable involvement in the program as attested by their comments, attendance, and completion of the entire six week summer program. Not one student dropped out. The most significant aspect of this finding relates to the Mac–Farland students who did not live in or near Garnet area and, therefore, were required to pay carfare every day for six weeks. Attendance was excellent.**

**Anne W. Pitts, Reading Coordinator, District of Columbia Junior High Schools and Frances C. Payne, Chairman, Basic Track, MacFarland Junior High School to Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D.C. A memorandum, "Report on the effectiveness of programmed instruction: An adaptation of the Progressive Choice Reading Method", September 14, 1964.*

These results were of interest as subjects were still in a school setting. If adolescent children could obtain substantial gains in literacy level within the school environment, it seemed reasonable to expect that they should be able to perform better in their subject areas. This should result in more satisfaction and less frustration in the classroom context. The fact that none of the children dropped out of the summer-school program would indicate that the APC Reading Program might well have value in reducing the dropout rate. One other interesting aspect of the Pitts-Payne study was that it obtained a gain of 15 months with 45 hours of instruction time; the gain was of a similar order of magnitude to the 15 months gain in SAT scores obtained in 40.3 hours in the original WAY pilot study.

This similarity in findings has special point when it is considered that one group (dropout subjects) was taught by a clinical psychologist in a community-action context and the other by a trained teacher in a public-school setting using underachieving junior high school students. Both groups obtained substantial gains in reading skills, considering the amount of time involved in the training. The common factor was the use of the APC Reading Program.

### The Bank Street College Evaluation

Bank Street College of New York City performed a four-month pilot test of the APC Reading Program under a grant from the Office of Education. The Bank Street College study had limited objectives:

1. To make a preliminary analysis of the APC Reading Program as a system of literacy training for New York City dropouts.

2. In the event the results appeared to be favorable, to make a large-scale test of the APC Reading Program.

Bank Street College made arrangements with Job Opportunities in Neighborhoods (JOIN) and The Police Athletic League (PAL) to obtain the necessary space, subjects, and data. Five JOIN and two PAL literacy-training units were formed. Students were dropouts, the instructors were public-spirited members of these organizations. Most instructors had no prior experience as teachers or instructors. Instruction time spent in these experimental programs was without compensation. The following excerpts from the Bank Street College Report (Schwarz, 1964) recapitulate the major findings:

> *The observed reactions of students to the program were overwhelmingly positive. The anecdotes which support this judgment are too numerous to enumerate here, so only representative observations will be offered. ...*
>
> *In every group when the students finished the first book in one session, they were visibly amazed at themselves and couldn't stop there, even though some had come to the first session with the intention of making it the last.*

*It is not overstating to say that almost every youngster at some time finished a book toward the end of an instructional period and was asked if he wanted to stop or go on. The decisions were unanimously in favor of continuing immediately. In one group, where instruction was on a one to one basis and in three hour blocks of time, students wouldn't take a break and tutors finally would ask for one.*

*One incident which would touch anyone's sensitivity was of two boys who took the Cycle I Test at the close of an instructional period. The Bank Street Consultant and APC Representative were present that day and noticed that everyone except the two boys had left. The instructor said she knew they were waiting for her to score the tests. She did so, and they had not passed the compounding part.*

*The consultant questioned whether the outside noises interfered with accurate hearing, and the two boys were told that they had passed all except one part. They wanted to take that part again immediately. They did and passed it.*

*Though it was already long past the end of the session and though the instructor couldn't help them, they spent an additional half hour working at the new materials. One of the boys was the brother of a boy who recently was apprehended holding up a store and was shot attempting escape. He ran home and died in his brother's arms. This boy was <u>that</u> brother. . . . .*

*The feature of being able to proceed at one's own rate of speed and to check one's own work by folding back the page rather than having to appeal to the often disliked teacher image elicited many looks and comments of satisfaction.*

*There was evidence also that a majority of the students was interested and involved in the story material. They laughed aloud, made responsive comments, criticized characters and authors, etc.*

*As indicated earlier, these observations are representative of many more. They would seem to say that the program and materials have a unique appeal to the dropout population. Further, the psychological conditions considered necessary to effective learning – intrinsic motivation and involvement – seemed to be present (Section 1, pp. 9–10).*

The dropout rate initiated by the students during the Bank Street evaluation was less than 20%. Schwarz states:

> *Of the 102 participants, only 20 dropped out of the program. Of that number, ten dropped out of one group. The high dropout rate in this group leads to a very interesting insight which should be a guide in the selection of future instructors. The instructor often seemed to be the sterotype of the directive, authoritative teacher. Her teaching style would not allow the programmed materials to be used as specified (Section 1, p. 7).*

Comments on the pre-and post-test results indicate that testing is quite difficult with this population and requires a more rigorous type of situation.

> *In view of the above-described testing situation, and of the many uncontrolled factors, we can only conclude that the Woolman Reading Program did in general, tend to improve the reading ability of the students. Evaluation of the amount of improvement is impossible on the basis of our data. Only well-designed and controlled research can give us the necessary information for evaluation of its use with adolescent school dropouts (Section, 2, p. 6).*

The following table (Table 6) represents a summary of the responses of 22 students in the Bank Street study who were given taped interviews to obtain personal reactions to the APC Reading Program (reported in Section 1, page 6 of report). The interview was structured inasmuch as each interviewee was given the same basic questions, however the specific language of the interviewer was modified to accomodate to different subjects.

Table 6

Student Reactions
to the
APC Reading Program by Percent*

| Question | Yes | No | No Clear–cut Reply* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Has reading program helped you to read? | 54.5 | 9.1 | 36.4 |
| Did books seem stupid or babyish at beginning of program? | 54.5 | 36.4 | 9.1 |
| Do books still seem stupid or babyish? | 4.5 | 86.4 | 9.1 |
| Would you recommend changes in books? | 18.2 | 72.7 | 9.1 |
| Do you think other people like yourself would want to be in this reading program? | 100.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |

*Data in this table, obtained from Bank Street Report, has been slightly modidied for purposes of clarity.

The five basic interview questions are shown in the first column of Table 6. Six out of seven respondents answering the first item (excluding No Clear-cut Replies) perceived themselves as having improved in reading skills. A majority of the respondents felt the program was "stupid" or "babyish" at the outset, but more than 95% of the respondents did not think so at the time of the interview. (Items 2 and 3). More than 80% of the students responding did not think the books should be changed. Finally, every one (100%) of the respondents asserted that "people like themselves" would want to be in the APC Reading Program.

### The Galena Park, Texas School System

The Galena Park School System, like the Washington, D.C. School System, became interested in the APC Reading Program after successful use of the Basal PC Reading Program in teaching reading skills to (1) mental retardates and (2) emotionally immature and/or culturally deprived elementary-school children.

This system first tried the APC Reading Program with a class of 15 severely underachieving junior high school students in a crash program in May and June of 1963. The Director of Special Education, (F. E. McGahan) has asserted that children have gained in both school performance and test scores in various areas as of the beginning of the new school year. The reaction by school authorities and teachers to the initial pilot study were extremely positive. At the request of the school system, three additional classes (76 students) are being pilot tested during the current school year. The data compiled by the Galena Park School System, on the results of the first pilot study have been requested and are presently being compiled.

### Additional APC Pilot Studies in Progress

In addition to the APC pilot studies previously described, there are several field tests now in progress on which very little data are yet available. The status of each of these will be covered briefly:

#### Mobilization for Youth

Data from summer-school testing have not yet been fully analyzed. In a recent letter, Alan Cohen, MFY Director of Reading, states that the program was very successful at a fourth-grade level (much below the age level at which it was designed to be used). After several months of study and exposure to the APC Reading Program in various MFY contexts, Cohen expressed his tentative conclusions: "PC is a good method. APC needs some revision, but as it stands now, it is the best existing program for non-reading kids. Its potential is great. ...."*

**S. Alan Cohen, Director of Reading, Mobilization for Youth to Dr. Myron Woolman, Director, Institute of Educational Research. A letter, October 8, 1964.*

### The Charlotte–Mecklenburg Study

The APC Reading Program was placed into effect in six classes in a Charlotte, N.C. junior high school as a part of a project coordinated through the North Carolina Fund. This program is of special interest as the classes consist of culturally deprived, low-achieving adolescents. Comparable Control children have been pre-tested. We plan to obtain our first post-test evaluations during December 1964. If low-achieving junior-high students can obtain reading skills as rapidly as now appears possible, this should result in changes in related behaviors, including school-dropout, job-skill development, court offenses, etc. It is possible that this study will be expanded to permit evaluation of by-product behaviors in the event that the literacy results appear promising.

### United Planning Organization

A project has recently been activated to provide literacy skills to 80 underachieving D.C. dropouts as a follow-up of the initial WAY pilot study. Trainees involved have low reading achievement and participate as part of the UPO work-study program. The fact that students are UPO employees has produced a highly stable work situation. Subjective reports on student progress are positive, though post-tests have not yet been given to any of these subjects.

### Action for Boston Community Development

The APC Reading Program has recently been put into effect in two counseling centers operated through ABCD. The programs have recently gotten into operation. Estimates of the program's effectiveness will not be available for some time. Initial counselor acceptance and cooperation in ABCD has been very good. The program is now facing the typical problems involving its relationship to the job-skill programs and its degree of administrative support.

## Discussion

The major objectives of the APC Reading Program are to:

1. Provide a system which will improve literacy skills efficiently and economically in the absence of special facilities and/or a traditionally trained teaching staff.

2. Provide a system of literacy training which would sustain the attention and involvement of the school dropout, potential dropout or young adult, regardless of race, cultural background and sex.

Operationally, the first objective was to achieve a minimum sixth-grade reading level in 150 hours, or less, for a trainee within the normal range of intelligence regardless of his initial reading level. Our second objective was to minimize the number of trainees who would drop out of the program of their own volition.

The results from Washington Action for Youth, the Washington, D.C. School System and Bank Street College can be summarized as follows:

> Trainees given the APC Reading Program gained in reading skills at rapid rates. The data supports an expectation that there will be a substantial mean gain on standard tests of reading achievement in less than 50 hours of exposure (WAY mean gain = 1.28 years in 40.3 hours; D.C. Schools mean gain = 1.50 years in 45.0 hours; Bank Street College = 0.4 years mean gain in 20 hours).

As none of the tests continued long enough to complete the full program, (150 hours), these data fail to fully test the validity of the first objective of the APC Reading Program, namely, that each trainee who completes the program will be able to read at, or above, the sixth-grade level. However, the data obtained are promising and do indicate the possibility that this first objective may be achieved using the program as it now exists. However, a test of adequate duration to determine whether or not the APC Reading Program can meet this objective has yet to be done.

With reference to the second objective, the WAY Project Coordinator reported that trainees rarely dropped out of the APC Reading Program of their own volition. He estimated that more than 75% of the trainees would have remained in the program had administrative reassignment not occurred. In the D.C. Schools Study, every student in the class continued in the program through the entire six-week summer school session, despite the fact that public transportation was necessary for attendance. In the Bank Street College Study, only 20 of the 82 students participating dropped out of the program of their own volition; half of these were being instructed by one teacher who, according to the writer, (Schwarz, 1964) failed to use the APC Reading Program properly.

Although ideally we would want 100% retention of trainees, the APC Reading Program appears to meet the second objective (trainee involvement and retention) reasonably well. The program does appear to obtain the necessary depth of student motivation from the adolescent and young-adult population in these pilot studies to maintain them in the literacy-training situation.

Thus, with reference to the initial objectives of the APC Reading Program, based on available data our initial conclusions are:

1. The APC Reading Program appears to provide a rapid method of improving literacy skills. The samples are insufficient to indicate how general these increases in skill will be for the population as a whole. The data reflects only partial completion of the APC Reading Program and fails to provide even pilot data on the upper limits of attainment which would be achieved by trainees who fully completed the APC Reading Program.

2. The pilot data indicate that the APC Reading Program involves and motivates a high proportion of dropouts and pre-dropouts.

By June, 1965 we expect to have evidence on the level of achievement obtained by junior high school students who complete the APC Reading Program, obtained from six classes of students from Charlotte, N.C., and three classes from Galena Park, Texas. Data on these students will be valuable for assessing the effects of completing the entire APC Reading Program in a school setting.

However, even if both school systems indicate that the APC Reading Program can meet both objectives within a formal school setting, we will still be unable to assert with certainty that the APC Reading Program can meet the same objectives in a community-action setting with dropouts and young adults. Unless the program is fully tested in non-school settings, using non-teachers as instructors, its true value as a social weapon cannot be adequately evaluated.

**Problems in the Community–Action Setting**

One problem that we have been reluctantly forced to recognize is that Community-Action Programs (CAPs) as presently constituted, have, to date, been unsuited as testing grounds for the APC Reading Program. Emphasis in these programs is on activities which will immediately improve the earning power, rather than life preparation of the CAP client. Setting up the necessary machinery to develop literacy skills within these agencies requires administrative support, counselor involvement, and a general commitment to providing a literacy-skill foundation on which to build job-skills. These requirements (plus

the time interval required to delay reading skills) are often inconsistent with the emphasis on immediate employment. The fact is that CAPs (1) have usually sent only a small fraction of their low-literacy trainees into the APC Reading Program; (2) have consistently withdrawn students from these programs for job placement and/or job training; and (3) have failed to follow the required testing and teaching procedures correctly. Our observations of CAPs are consistent with the following extract from The Bank Street College analysis (Schwarz, 1964):

> *It was recognized even before the reading programs were instituted that the way in which the programs were organized was not conducive to systematic testing and evaluation of the effectiveness of the Woolman Reading Program. In the first place, neither the organizations sponsoring the reading program nor the participating students were primarily interested in the reading program per se. Their primary focus was on jobs for the students (Section 2, p. 1).*

Schwarz's further statements indicate her experience paralleled our own with regard to administrative forces operating to reduce the number of trainees completing the APC Reading Program. Although only 20 of the 102 students dropped out of the program on their own initiative, more than three times as many were dropped because of administrative requirements. She states:

> *Administrative arrangements within the sponsoring organizations, e.g., teacher going on vacation or leaving, were also responsible in part, as was the fact that many of the students were given jobs and left before completing the sessions or taking the "post-test" (Section 2, p. 3).*

It must be recognized that in the community-action setting the immediate economic needs of the trainees are understandably prepotent for both the counseling staff and the trainees. The consequence is that literacy trainees consistently drop out of the literacy program temporarily or permanently, of their own volition or by direction of the counselors, to get employment for immediate income. If the literacy program were viewed as an organic part of a paid job-skill development, this pattern of agency-inspired dropouts could be sharply curtained by the simple expedients of classifying literacy-skill training as an organic part of the job-training system.

**Recommendation: Further Testing of the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program in Both School and Community-Action Settings**

Further experimental studies are warranted to determine the value of the APC Reading Program, both in school and community-action settings.

**Recommendation: A Suggested Procedure for Systematizing Literacy Training in Community–Action Programs**

It is recommended that programs develop procedures to insure that low literacy-level trainees have a complete opportunity to sharply increase their literacy levels. The following set of procedures exemplifies a pattern which would provide both the incentive and the opportunity to increase literacy levels rapidly:

1. All trainees entering CAPs should be given a standardized reading battery to determine initial reading-achievement levels. All trainees reading at or below a sixth-grade reading-achievement level would automatically be funnelled into a Literacy Improvement Program (LIP). These low literacy-level trainees should probably be given a concentrated (six hour per day) program until they could demonstrate reading levels above sixth grade level or have spent 300 hours in this LIP phase.

2. Trainees who could not achieve literacy skills above sixth-grade level within 300 hours would continue as LIP trainees as long as they actively participated in the Community-Action Program on the assumption that the higher their literacy skills the greater their potential job security after leaving the Community-Action setting. Most of their training time after this first intensive phase, would be devoted to job skills.

3. Trainees who completed the APC Reading Program and scored at or below eighth-grade level, would be retained on a part time (one or two hours per day) basis until their reading achievement scores exceeded the eighth-grade level. During this phase they would be given Vocabulary Expansion Programs, methods to improve reading speed, etc.

4. Trainees whose test battery was initially above eighth-grade level on a post-test, would be entered into the job-skill program on a full time basis.

5. Job-skill training should be developed around the use of printed materials - rather than "voice-to-ear" methods to (a) further improve reading skills, (b) provide training in the use of manuals and other job-related information, and (c) demonstrate unambiguously the function of reading skills as the one technique which gives access to economically useful job-related information.

**Recommendation: The Development of the Vocabulary Expansion and Employability Phase**

The present Accelerated Progressive Choice Program is estimated to require 125 to 150 hours for completion. The learner has a reading capability but is still largely limited to his ghetto vocabulary and has little understanding of the skills involved in obtaining and maintaining stable employment. On completion of the complete APC Reading Program it is strongly recommended that a Vocabulary Expansion and Employability program be developed to (1) stablize and improve reading comprehension, and (2) provide information related to typical employment forms, interviews and relationships with superiors and peers on the job.

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Jim McCain

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MYRON WOOLMAN
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333-1505

CORE NEW YORK PILOT TEST OF IER LITERACY MATERIALS

Agenda for Initial Orientation Session, December 19, 1964

I. Brief remarks will be made by the participants from both CORE and IER in the following order:

CORE participants:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mr. James McCain | (3 minutes) | |
| Mr. Louis Smith | (3 minutes) | |
| Mr. Gordon Carey | (3 minutes) | |
| IER participants: | | |
| Dr. Myron Woolman | (15 minutes) | |
| Mr. Irwin Schpok | ( 3 minutes) | |
| Mrs. Joan Bacchus | ( 3 minutes) | (Total time: 30 minutes) |

II. Each Instructor-trainee will be given a Cycle I, Segment 1 Workbook and a Manual. Mrs. Joan Bacchus will then discuss, in a fairly detailed fashion, the mechanics of the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program. Synchrony between the student workbook and the instructor's manual, overall format, procedures, symbols, learning levels in the program, and teaching devices which are unique to this program will be covered, with the first two letters in the segment used as illustrations of the topics being discussed. (time: 15 minutes)

III. A demonstration of the appropriate use of the materials and of the kind of interaction which should take place between student and instructor will be presented by Miss Pat Lowery (IER), who will take the part of the student(S) and Mrs. Bacchus, who will be the instructor(I). Miss Lowery will move through those workbook pages devoted to teaching the first letter (M), making appropriate responses as well as typical inappropriate responses, in an effort to point up all the possible procedures an instructor may have to follow in order to move a student through the program successfully. (time: 15 minutes)

IV. An Instructor-trainee will take the part of the student and Miss Lowery will be the instructor. She will move the trainee through the second letter (O). The use of Miss Lowery as instructor this time will point up the fact that although this is a tightly programmed literacy tool, with detailed and highly specific procedures which must be followed, the slight variation on the use of those procedures, introduced by the personality of the individual instructor, is not only possible, but desireable. (time: 10 minutes)

V. The Instructor-trainee who functioned as the student with Miss Lowery will continue as the student and another trainee will be the instructor. Mrs. Bacchus and Miss Lowery will assist, but as minimally as possible at this point. (time: 15 minutes)

VI. The Instructor-trainees will be split into Group A and Group B. Each trainee will be given a copy of the Cycle I, Segment 7 Workbook and the Manual. The first letter (N) in Segment 7 will be taught. Within Group A and Group B, teams of two will be formed, one trainee will function as the student and his team-mate will function as the instructor. When requested to do so, the team-mates will reverse roles. Miss Lowery will be responsible for one group and Mrs. Bacchus for the other, and will move from team to team, answering questions, pointing up inappropriate use of the program, making suggestions, etc. Dr. Woolman will move among both groups in the same fashion. (time: Total of 30 min.; - 15 min. + 15 min.)

VII. Each Instructor-trainee will be given a copy of the Cycle I CHECKOUT and the instructions an instructor must follow to administer the CHECKOUT effectively. Mrs. Bacchus will explain the functions and procedures involved in a Cycle CHECKOUT. Mr. Schpok will make a brief statement on the CHECKOUT, in terms of adequate data collection. (time: 15 min.)

VIII. Each Instructor-trainee will be given a copy of the Cycle II, Segment 3 Workbook and the Manual. Miss Lowery will make a brief statement on what is taught in Cycle II and will emphasize the increasing complexity of the program, from Cycle to Cycle. The teams in Groups A and B will continue to work together in the manner outlined in VI above, using the first few exercises in Segment 3. (time: 15 minutes)

IX. Each Instructor-trainee will be given a copy of the Cycle III, Segment 4 Workbook and the Manual. Mrs. Bacchus will make a brief statement on what is taught in the third and last Cycle of the program. Dr. Woolman will select one trainee to take the role of instructor and the other trainees will function as his class of students. When significant errors are made in the instructor's use of the program, either Dr. Woolman or Mrs. Bacchus will provide an explanation of the correct usage. (time: 15 minutes)

X. Four trainees will be selected to instruct and will be assigned two or three of the actual students present. Each student will be given a Cycle I, Segment 1 Workbook and the Instructor-trainees assigned students will proceed to instruct them. The remaining Instructor-trainees will be asked to observe the process. After 30 minutes, the observer-trainees will instruct and those who have been instructing will observe. After 30 minutes, the actual students may leave the session. (Total time: 1 hour; 30 minutes + 30 minutes)

XII. Remarks by Mr. James McCain will close the session.

General Comments:

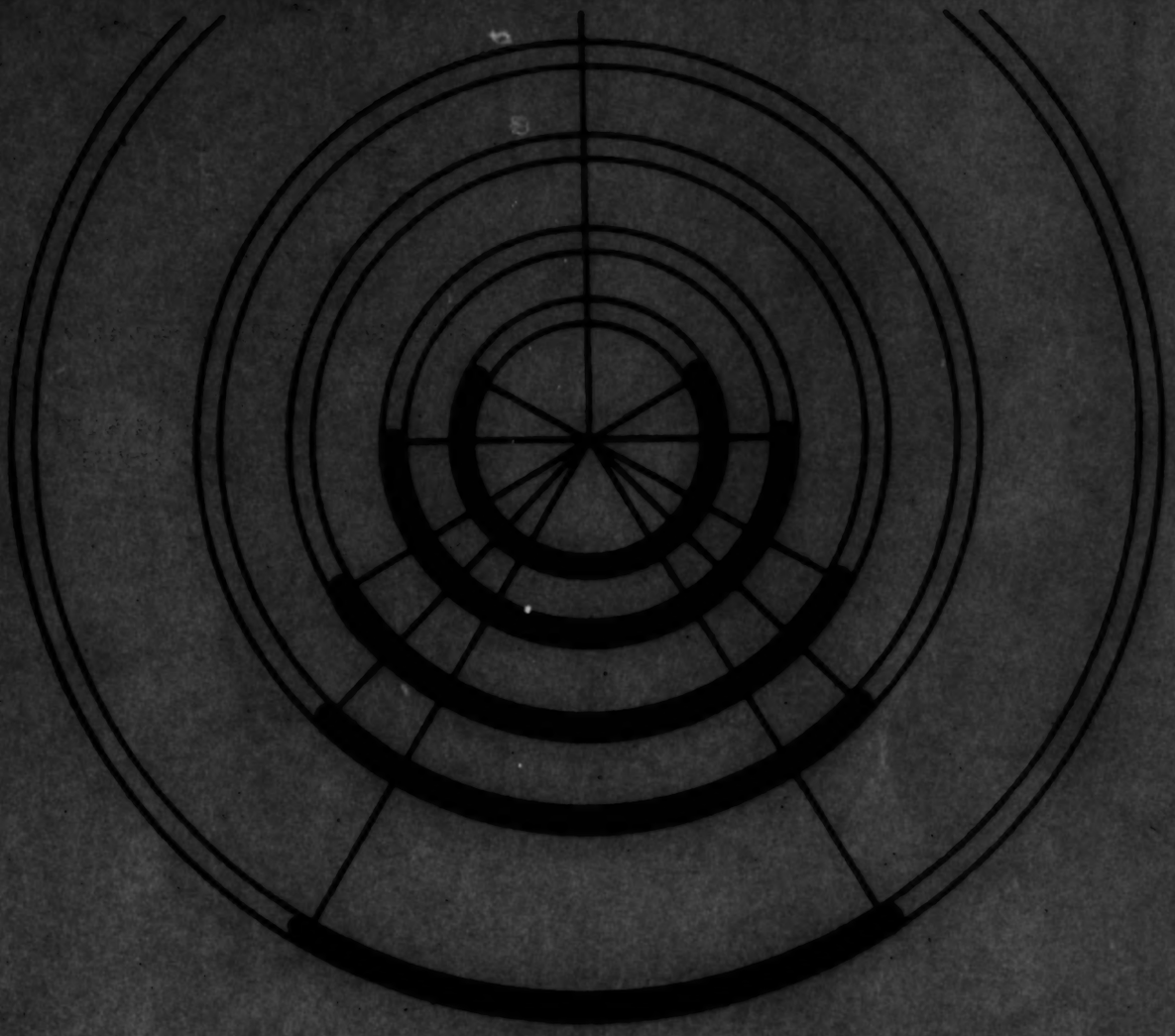
In an orientation of this nature, the primary purpose is to insure that the Instructor-trainees develop a genuine and functional grasp of the methods and materials they will be using. But it is important for the CORE and IER participants to remember that while they feel a deep commitment and an enthusiasm for the Literacy Program, most of the trainees will be neutral, some may even be resistent, and some will see it as an exciting project. Therefore, another of our purposes will be to obtain the enthusiastic support of the trainees for the entire Literacy Program as well as of the value and usefulness of the specific reading program they will be using.

It seems adviseable to have those CORE staff people directly involved in this project (Mr. McCain, Mr. Smith and those of his staff present, as well as any others CORE may want to suggest) participate in the session not only as observers, but as trainees.

It would be advantageous for one CORE staff member to be assigned the task of being responsible for careful data control and collection and to work rather closely with Mr. Schpok, Data Analyst for IER.

James T. McCann

The Institute Of Educational Research, Inc.



# THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING PROGRAM

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The demonstration of the value of the Progressive Choice Reading Method has been due largely to the efforts of Dr. Richard H. Bloomer, who has developed support materials, taught the method to his students, and performed the vital experiments which have given evidence of its effectiveness. Also, special appreciation is expressed to Ann Davy, who demonstrated the value of the Progressive Choice Reading Method in teaching reading skills to retarded children under difficult teaching conditions.

I would also like to add my thanks to the members of the project team who have worked so diligently to develop the P C Reading Method into synchronous programmed form: Ruth Ann Davy, Project Director; Mrs. Franklin Ramirez, Technical Research Associate and Misses Patti Lowery and Marcia Isabel Woolman, Research Assistants.

Myron Woolman

Myron Woolman, Ph.D.
Director

# THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING PROGRAM

By
Myron Woolman

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Information important enough for dissemination is generally recorded in the visual codes termed "printing" and "writing." The mounting complexity and technicalization of Western civilization has increased the relative importance of the decoding skill we term "reading." The rapid digestion of large masses of printed documents by scientists, technologists, professionals and the population at large has become not only a necessity for maintaining technological growth, but may be decisive for survival. The major criterion for evaluating a civilization is the amount and quality of reading done by its members. Thus, the development of mechanisms to produce rapid and precise reading skills is vital for the development of individual careers central to the growth of science and technology, and an index to the level of civilization itself.

Typically, reading consists of the following operations:

1. A writer transforms words into a visual code which is functionally equivalent in meaning to the use of the same terms in common speech.

2. A viewer of the written or printed symbols perceives the visual pattern as a meaningful code, and transforms the symbols into meaningful terms which are functionally equivalent in meaning to those of the writer.

Thus, reading is defined as the operation of decoding meaningful visual symbols into speech equivalents. The reader must be able to establish

some congruency between visual patterns and meaningful aural patterns; or, more succinctly, the reader must translate a visual input into its voiced equivalent. The meaningfulness of a word's visual pattern thus depends on a prior acquisition of its meaningful aural pattern.

The large body of proactive and retroactive inhibition studies attests to the fact that order of presentation of the stimuli is an important factor in retention.[1,2,3,4] Further, the probability of a

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[1]Kurt Koffka, "Perception: An Introduction to the Gestalt Theorie," 1922, Classics in Psychology. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. Pp. 1169-1196.

[2]Carl Hovland, "Human Learning and Retention," Handbook of Experimental Psychology. New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1951. Pp. 613-689.

[3]John A. McGeoch and Arthur L. Irion, Psychology of Human Learning. New York: Longsman, Green & Co., 1942.

[4]The proactive and retroactive inhibition studies were largely concerned with the mechanics underlying such variables as Primacy, Recency and Reminiscence. Later, these variables were placed into a learning theory rationale involving discrimination and generalization effects by Gibson and others.

Eleanor J. Gibson, "A Systematic Application of the Concepts of Generalization and Differentiation to Verbal Learning," Psychol. Rev., XLVII, May, 1940. Pp. 196-229.

correct response during learning has been shown to make a material contribution to learning outcomes.[5,6,7,8] Several experiments with human subjects add emphasis to (1) the importance of sequential relationships, (2) similarity relationships, and (3) response requirements for human learning.[9,10,11] The present Progressive Choice Reading Method was

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[5]Frank Restle, "A Theory of Discrimination Learning," Psychol. Rev., LXII, January, 1955. Pp. 11-19.

[6]J. O. Cook and T. S. Kendler, "A Theoretical Model to Explain Some Paired Associate Learning Data," Symposium on Air Force Human Engineering, Personnel, and Training Research. Washington: National Academy of Sciences, National Research Council, 1955. Pub. 455.

[7]B. F. Skinner, The Behavior of Organisms, An Experimental Analysis. New York: Burrhus Frederic, 1938.

[8]B. F. Skinner and B. Ferster, Schedules of Reinforcement. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957.

[9]M. Woolman, "The Effect of Varying the Number of Choices in the Identification of Very Similar Stimuli." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1955.

[10]I. C. Rotberg and M. Woolman, "Verbal Paired-Associate Learning as a Function of Grouping Similar Stimuli or Responses," Journal of Experimental Psychology, January, 1963. Vol. 65, No. 1. Pp. 47-51.

[11]These studies were performed while the author was a member of the staff of the Human Resources Research Office, George Washington University, and should be completed within the year. Their data offers support for the following statements: (1) the sequence of presentation of material vitally affects learning outcomes; (2) the number of choices which the learner must make (all other factors constant) affects learning outcomes. It should be noted that both these factors affect the probability of a correct response.

designed to control (1) sequence of letter presentation, (2) similarity of sound and letter shape relations, and (3) the response conditions.

A general requirement in the organization of the Progressive Choice Reading Method was that the number of possible response alternatives should be increased only on the basis of demonstrated proficiency. Thus, as learning proceeds there is a progressive increase in the number of choice alternatives facing the learner. The Progressive Choice Reading Method is designed to increase in complexity on the basis of the learner's demonstrated proficiency.

## AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO READING THEORY

In Europe during the middle ages, reading instruction was viewed as a necessary condition for religious instruction. The "Primer" was originally a collection of those religious articles necessary to the layman as defined by the Council of Mainz in 813 A. D. The Roman alphabet was later added, followed by a word list and, in time, the "Primer" became the standard book for reading instruction. Protestantism, with its emphasis on personal interpretation of the Bible, required broader masses of skilled readers. With the translation of the Bible from the Latin into the various European spoken languages in the sixteenth century, a body of important literature related to the spoken language was available to the layman for the first time. Further, Protestant doctrine gave the individual a responsibility for reading this material in the vernacular language.[12] Thus, the Bible provided a great bridge across the chasm separating spoken from printed speech.

### Initial Alphabetical Emphasis

In America, prior to Horace Mann, emphasis was given to the names, shapes and sequences of letters as contained in the alphabet. Ancient alphabetical drills, inherited from the Hebrews and the Greeks and transmitted by the Romans into Western civilization, were still the

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[12] Nila Benton Smith, American Reading Instruction. New York: The Silver Publishing Company, 1934.

basic approach to teaching reading skills.[13] Catechistic learning of the alphabet, as a prelude to the development of reading skills, still reflected the older relation between reading and religious instruction; this alphabetical substratum is clearly evident in the McGuffey Reader. Horace Mann, influenced by Prussian methods of teaching reading, contended that reading skills were largely a matter of deriving meaning from familiar terms, and that the units which were most familiar to children were words, not letters.[14] Mann increased emphasis on those visual and sound patterns which make up meaningful words and decreased emphasis on naming of letters as demanded by spelling. Mann's concern with the meanings of terms, rather than their elements, is strikingly similar in rationale to the now popular "whole-word" approach.

## The Whole-Word Method

The whole-word approach did not emerge full blown with the advent of the Gestaltists. It had been used sporadically prior to the appearance of the Gestalt rationale: In Germany, as early as 1657 it was used by Comenius; and in America, the whole-word approach was used by Worcester in a primer dated 1828.[15] At the end of the nineteenth century, Cattell

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[13]Sally Childs, "In Clinical Programs: Sound Reading," New Frontiers in Reading. International Reading Association Conference Proceedings, 1960. P. 102.

[14]Emmett Albert Betts, Foundations of Reading Instruction. New York: American Book Company, 1946.

[15]Ibid., p. 377.

demonstrated that familiar words are read as whole compounds, rather than letter by letter, and provided evidence which appeared to support a whole-word approach.[16] With the advent of the Gestalt psychologists (Wertheimer, Kohler and Kaffka), a rationale appeared for teaching reading by total word configuration rather than letter elements. Although the Gestaltists did not themselves apply their position to the teaching of reading, the Gestalt framework was consistent with Cattell's earlier work and congenial to the development of primers such as "Look and See."

Brown, summarizing reading research during the past fifty years, states:

> ...while the general shape of a word has some cue value, the clear view of letters is a more important factor in word identification...the adult reader is able to identify words at a glance but it may be that this ability is best developed out of letter-by-letter reading.[17]

Clearly, the fact that words can be perceived as meaningful wholes does not begin to argue that reading should be taught in this manner. Further, Katona's recent work is viewed by Brown as offering support to reading methods which emphasize general phonetic principles despite problems arising from variations.[18] And, in considering the problem of

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[16]Dolores Durkin, Phonics and the Teaching of Reading. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962.

[17]Roger Brown, Words and Things. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958.

[18]Ibid., p. 72.

phonic variation, Brown's[19] position is consistent with that of Childs:[20] Both hold that English is fundamentally a phonetic system, in that words are generated by fairly consistent signals rather than a semantic system in which each word has its own distinctive structure. Their analysis favors some type of phonetic training, requiring that the learner appreciate the significance of the internal elements within the word. The experimental evidence is both scanty and ambiguous, but appears to suggest that reading by whole words is facilitated by learning the letter elements as well.

Critique of Phonic and Whole-Word Methods

Methods of teaching English reading skills which emphasize phonic elements are vulnerable to two major criticisms:

1. As English is phonically inconsistent, a phonic approach is complicated by the fact that different words use the same letter to signify different sounds and, conversely, different letters may signify similar sounds.

2. As training focuses on sequence of sound patterns generated by letter sequences, there is a tendency for children to learn to read sounds rather than meaningful words.

Spache, in a detailed analysis of the evidence relevant to the phonics approach states:

> ...There is no such group of accepted beliefs as a phonetic method...we discover that learning phonics is apparently completely a memorization process based upon repetitive drill.[21]

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[19]Ibid., p. 70.

[20]Childs, op. cit., p. 102.

[21]George D. Spache, "Limitations of the Phonetic Approach to Developmental and Remedial Reading," New Frontiers in Reading, V. International Reading Association Conference Proceedings, 1960.

He concluded:

> ...about all we can say from the phonics research is, first, that phonics instruction probably aids word recognition but secondly, that there is very little evidence on any given amount of any particular kind of phonics instruction.[22]

On the other hand, the whole-word approach has produced its own difficulties.[23] Disenchantment became apparent when the data revealed that:

1. Substantial proportions of students were not able to organize the letter sequences necessary for adequate spelling.
2. As reading vocabulary increased, problems inherent in pattern recognition (confusion of similar patterns, reversals, displacements, etc.) became important classroom problems.

Thus, the use of phonics appears to result in a class of problems produced through emphasis on the internal sound patterns of the words rather than word meanings. Conversely, the whole-word approach tends to de-emphasize structural components and to produce perceptual uncertainties which leads to poor spelling and confusion between similar pattern configurations. Each has proven to have both virtues and weaknesses in

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[22] Ibid., p. 108.

[23] Brown, op. cit., p. 72.

the search for a simple method of providing reading skills.

The Linguistic Approach

The Linguistic approach of Bloomfield and Barnhart, explicated and presented in Let's Read,[24] is an effort at systemization differing in some details from the assumptions implicit in the typical whole-word approach. As explained, Barnhart,[25] who is an openly partisan exponent of the Bloomfield method, states that Bloomfield's approach involves vast numbers of associational patterns and the conversion of letters to sounds. The aim is to "convert any new written words to sounds."[26] In an earlier summary statement, Barnhart declares: "The basic procedure... is to concentrate upon establishing patterns of letters and sounds regardless of meaning, to provide the child with a constantly growing set of sound-letter consonants by means of which he converts letters to sounds and almost automatically converts sounds to meaningful words..."[27]

The experimental results obtained in a comparison between the Bloomfield Method and a conventional phonics method showed no significant differences at the end of first grade. This experimental evidence was neatly tabled by Barnhart with the following speculation: "Since word attack skills are cumulatively developed, it appears that a full evaluation of the Bloomfield plan can be obtained only upon completion of the program in the Third or even Fourth grade. Further...it is

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[24]Leonard Bloomfield and Clarence L. Barnhart, Let's Read. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961.

[25]Ibid., p. 6.
[26]Ibid., p. 7.
[27]Ibid., p. 6.

necessary that the linguist, the reading specialist and the educational psychologist unite their efforts...for the purpose of preparing a program of reading instruction in which the linguist's concept of word-attack will be integrated in the present day 'reading for meaning' theory."

The Bloomfield approach may be summarized as a whole-word approach based on the following rules:

1. The formation of a number of terms by rotating consonants around a given vowel. For example, Can, Dan, fan, man, are the initial terms. This rapidly evolves into such sentences as, Nan can fan Dan. Can Dan fan Nan?, etc. In similar fashions, the second series of lessons rotates consonants around the letter I (pronounced as in "big "). Thus it begins with big, dig, fig, etc.

2. As each successive vowel phases into the program, the learner is responsible for terms using the prior vowel sound (s). Thus, in the I exercises, the learner quickly faces Min had a pin. Can Nan win at Tag?, etc. The The Bloomfield method thus requires the learner to cumulate his skills in reading vowel-centered terms as he progresses.

Critique of the Bloomfield Approach

Bloomfield's linguistic approach is an interesting variation from the traditional phonics and whole-word approaches. In this writer's view, Bloomfield's method should have functional value for children of above average intellectual endowment, emotional stability, and a cultivated home environment. The Bloomfield method appears to assume the following existing capabilities prior to beginning the reading program:

1. The ability to discriminate between very similar letter forms.

2. The ability to pronounce the type of sequenced similar terms which have traditionally been used as tongue twisters Peter picked a peck...)

3. The ability to establish the meaning of the sounds and thus to develop comprehension "automatically," to use Barnhart's term.

More affirmatively, the limitation to a single new vowel in each exercise should offer a significant advantage. Also, Bloomfield's precise descriptions of basic relationships between sound and form should be helpful to the conscientious parent and teacher.

In summary, the Bloomfield method appears to assume the prior development of word meaning. It has a rudimentary cumulative-vowel structuring principle which should have teaching value. The writer believes that the method would tend to increase variance by favoring advantaged children and adding still further to the disadvantages of those already in culturally deprived environments. This expectation could possibly be checked by Barnhart with available data, and provide a more precise view of the possible value of the Bloomfield approach.

## THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE APPROACH

The Progressive Choice Reading Method, which follows, differs substantially from the approaches previously described. It should be appraised as an effort to provide a systematic growth pattern in reading skill development. Its goals are: (1) to facilitate the development of reading skills by children, (2) reduce reading deficiencies, and (3) simplify the teaching task. Though the experimental results to date are promising, Progressive Choice should be viewed as a method in process of development rather than a crystallized system.

Every method of teaching reading is directed to the attainment of reader comprehension and speed. The differences separating the methods are in terms of the process of achieving these twin objectives.

Nila Smith, in a recent critique of several reading studies, presented some characteristics which should be embodied in any effective reading method:

> Provision for differentiation is evidenced in several different ways: In carefully controlled vocabulary which advances in small increments, (and) in carefully planned skill development programs which gradually extend in scope and sequence.[28]

The Progressive Choice Reading Method is concerned with both these criteria: It emphasizes comprehension while expanding the learning domain in small step by step increments; the learner is given a new element only when he proves mastery of learning materials to that point.

The Artificially Consistent Phonetic Framework

A major confounding factor permeating the teaching of English reading skills is the phonic fluctuation imbedded in the English language. The vocabulary in reading primers is generally limited to the use of the high frequency terms contained in the Lorge-Thorndike and Dale-Chall word lists. As these terms are based on usage and disregard phonetic consistency, our conventional primers force the child to contend with constantly shifting sound-letter combinations from the outset of their reading skill development.

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[28] Nila B. Smith, "Differentiating Instruction to Provide for the Needs of Learners," New Frontiers in Reading, V. International Reading Association Conference Proceedings, 1960.

One important feature of the Progressive Choice Method is its emphasis on consistency in the relationship between sounds and shapes in the initial stages of learning. The major effort (in the initial stages) is to provide a situation in which the same response can be made correctly to the same letter or letter sequence regardless of the frequency of usage.

Sound-Shape Invariance

In the Progressive Choice Reading Method, phonetic consistency in the initial phase of learning is considered to be a major criterion for teaching reading skills. The consonants in the English language are quite consistent in terms of their associated sounds. Also, the selection of one major sound for each vowel provides an artificial framework in which sounds and letter shapes approximate a one to one correspondence. Thus, the learner has only one possible sound to give for any shape, and one shape for any sound. By reducing the number of choices he can make, we reduce the probability of error, and thus simplify his learning. The reduction in stimulus-response fluctuation is obtained by abandoning the criterion of frequency of usage for the initial reading words, and adhering to terms which are (1) phonetically consistent with one another and (2) already exist in the spoken language of the learner or can be readily taught. By imposing the restriction that each letter can have only one sound (within narrow limits of variation) the stability of the learning situation faced by the novice reader is increased.

The letter shapes associated with a given sound fluctuate in both size and form in most primers. To improve stability, the Progressive Choice Reading Method uses only upper case letters initially to reduce the number of different forms to which the learner responds. This sharply reduces the probability of errors of stimulus generalization, in which the learner responds to one pattern as if it were another. Upper case forms are used as they are more distinctive and require less motor skill to print. This latter point is particularly important as the PC learner prints from the outset of his training as part of the learning process.

Delaying Alphabetical Names

The temporal sequence in which the alphabetical names of the letters is learned is another important factor affecting the complexity of the learner's stimulus field. The alphabet provides a sequence of names of letters, but these names have no function in reading *per se*. Children who have learned both alphabetical names and sounds for the letters are thus faced with the choice of voicing the sound or the name in the presence of any given letter. In this view, the alphabetical name of a letter becomes an important source of learner error if introduced when the child is primarily learning to organize basic reading skills. The principle that the number of choices should be minimized requires the exclusion of alphabetical names until a later stage of the program. This position differs from that presented by Durkin who states:

> As a source of help in identifying correct sounds--the names of the letters are relatively insignificant. However, as a way of facilitating communication in the teaching--learning

> situation, knowledge of the names of letters is very significant and, for this reason, ought to be seen as still another kind of readiness for phonics.[29]

The view held by the writer is that Durkin over-emphasizes the importance of the alphabet as a communication device, and fails to assess the problems it creates. Increased learning difficulty is introduced into the student learning situation through the use of alphabetical names and through a teacher convenience. Admittedly, it appears to be an unnecessary complication. The learner does need the alphabet when he spells aloud and requires such sequential alphabetical devices as the dictionary, thesaurus and alphabetical listings. The alphabet can be delayed until these skills have function. The elimination of the alphabet as an initial learning requirement is consistent with the requirement of initial simplicity. In the Progressive Choice Reading Method, the learner has only one sound to associate to one shape in the initial phase (Cycle I). As the alphabetical names of the letters and their sequence are inconsistent with the rationale for the method, they are delayed until they are functionally useful for extending the learner's vocabulary and organizing information into alphabetical sequences.

The Criteria

Certainly, the evidence points to the fact that readers ultimately are able to read whole words as units.[30] The matter of primary concern is the way by which this whole word skill level is achieved.

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[29]Durkin, op. cit., p. 19.

[30]Brown, op. cit., p. 67.

In the PC Reading Method it is assumed that meaningful reading is achieved most rapidly and efficiently by moving up a graded series of steps requiring the learner to demonstrate (1) that he can relate meaningful print to those terms which he can already understand in common speech; (2) that he can compound elements into successively larger aggregates; and (3) that he can read with understanding the same body of terms when presented in printed form. The objective is to progressively increase the capability of the learner to translate the code we call "print" into terms which are already meaningful to him in oral form.

In ascending order of difficulty, the criteria necessary to establish a reading capability are:

1. The Speech Knowledge Criterion: The ability to understand verbal stimuli when transmitted to the ear.

2. The Discrimination Criterion: The ability to distinguish differences amongst the letter forms.

3. The Identification Criterion: The ability to assign the proper sound to the proper form and the ability to print the proper letter-form on hearing its particular sound.

4. The Compounding Criterion: The ability to write the correct letter sequences on hearing meaningless blended sounds such as tob, bot, kal, lak, etc.

5. The Visual Meaning Criterion: The ability to select out meaningful words from meaningless letter sequences when presented in the form of print and to assign the same meaning to these terms as when heard in the form of speech sounds.

Great care must be taken to establish the fourth criterion as there is always the danger of confusing the sound producing and/or spelling capability from reading. It is especially important to establish the ability to reverse the meaningless compound letter sequences on hearing blended sounds and that the learner can make blended sounds in different sequences (OM and MO) when the order of the printed forms is reversed.

This ability to reverse directions is vital and is developed at the compounding (4th) level. However, if the learner can only compound, as required by the fourth criterion, he is only able to correctly relate the blended sounds to the print. To establish that he can read he must also show that he knows the difference between printed words and printed meaningless sounds. If meaningless print is interpreted as if it reflects meaningful language or if meaningful words are interpreted as mere sounds, the learner fails to meet the fifth criterion. The reader must be able to differentiate between the meaningless and the meaningful. The aphasic reader often makes the proper sounds but fails to attach the correct meaning. He is therefore only meeting the fourth criterion and has failed to connect the printed letter sequences with the words he uses in speech. The reader must satisfy all five criteria and if he fixates at any one of the lower levels, he develops a specific problem which can be overcome by techniques outlined in a later section of this paper. The PC Reading Method is designed to systematically move the reader through each of the five criteria in turn and markedly reduces the number of reading problems in terms of the evidence now available.

## HISTORY OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING METHOD

The Progressive Choice Reading Method was designed by the author in 1950 while he was a graduate student at Columbia University. Initial results with individual students were very encouraging and formed the basis for a paper titled "A Discrimination Method of Teaching Reading", written for Professor Fred S. Keller. The question raised at that time was whether the writer was obtaining success through unknown idiosyncratic factors, related to personality characteristics, or whether the method could be used with equal success by others. This question was answered when Bloomer, after reading the paper and observing the author, was also successful in employing the Progressive Choice Reading Method with several problem readers. Dr. Bloomer's account of the origin of the method[31] is substantially correct except for the fact that the writer's daughter was entering second grade after leaving a first grade class in which reading skills were not taught.

In a recent speech Dr. Bloomer gave this account of his initial participation in the Progressive Choice Reading Method:

> ...Some ten years ago, Dr. Myron Woolman, currently at the Human Resources Research Office in Washington, and I were both graduate students at Columbia. Dr. Woolman was experimenting with the building of complex discriminations in rats. About the time that some of his work was coming to fruition, his daughter, then in first grade, changed schools. In the old school, they had not taught reading. In the new school, reading had been taught to a considerable degree, and the child had the option of learning to read or going back to kindergarten. Dr. Woolman applied the principles that he had been using to teach rats, to reach his daughter. In two weeks she was reading at first grade level.

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[31] R. H. Bloomer, An Approach to the Teaching of Reading. An Address to the Buffalo Invitational Conference on the Progressive Choice Reading Method. New York: State University College of Education at Geneseo, May 1961.

I'm sure that this kind of story is familiar to all of you, for to a similar story we owe the inception of the "word method". Such unusual circumstances, of course, have relatively little meaning in the history of ideas, unless they can be verified. Several parents in the school of Dr. Woolman's daughter heard about his accomplishment and asked him to teach their children. This he did on an experimental basis, and was successful. During this period Dr. Woolman and I had a number of discussions on the reading problem, and I decided to teach some children to determine whether or not this was an individual phenomonon. My efforts, similarly, met with some very real success, but, again, the fact that two graduate students, with a fair degree of training, can teach children to read, does not make a method.

We both taught children individually for three years. Then, about seven years ago, I began to teach courses in reading and saw the need for the conversion of the Progressive Choice method to classroom use. I, therefore, set about to build the necessary scaling techniques and to adapt the program to its present level of development. Since then several hundred children have been taught by the Progressive Choice technique in experimental classroom situations. It has been used with mentally retarded children and emotionally disturbed children, as well as with normal children in the classroom. The results to this point have been encouraging. Considering the fact that a good number of teachers are using it both in the classroom and in remedial reading situations, we are no longer concerned that this is a private method.

The present paper is an effort to describe a more fully systematic organization of the PC Reading Method than was originally used. In addition to factors such as phonetic consistency, maximal stimulus discriminability, progressive growth in size of the learning units, use of upper case letters, the organization of material into three reading cycles, and the emphasis on meaning which were previous-

Validational Progressive Choice Studies

Bloomer's experimentation is mainly responsible for building the body of evidence supporting the practical utility of the Progressive Choice Reading Method in the classroom. He taught the Progressive Choice Reading Method to his student teachers both at Wichita University and Geneseo State Teachers College, and developed the necessary support materials for these students: Manuals for teacher use in the classroom, a phonetically consistent word list, and indices relating similarity between letters and similarity between sounds.[32] In addition Dr. Bloomer ran a series of studies to compare the effectivenss of the Progressive Choice Reading Method with conventional methods, using first grade children as experimental and control subjects. He performed six studies in all and, in all cases, the children given the Progressive Choice method were superior at statistically significant levels to children taught by conventional methods.

Schools, teachers, test instruments and conditions differed in each study. However, subjects were, in each case, normal first grade children randomly assigned to classes. The experimental (Progressive Choice) teachers were recent graduates of Geneseo State University with limited classroom experience, who had recently been taught the Progressive Choice Reading Method by Professor Bloomer. They used the Progressive Choice manuals and materials he had developed, rather than reading materials used by the school. To insure natural use of the Progressive Choice Reading Method, there was no supervision at any time.

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[32]George S. Haspiel and Richard H. Bloomer, "Maximum Auditory Perception (MAP) Word List," Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorders, XXVI, May, 1961, No. 2. Pp. 156-163.

The children were tested at the beginning of first grade and at its completion, using such tests as the Gates Reading Readiness Test, The Metropolitan Achievement Tests, and the Gates Primary Test.

Recently, Dr. Bloomer summarized the results from four of his studies in an article in the Reading Teacher[33] in which he also presented his interpretation of the principles underlying the Progressive Choice Reading Method. As this represents a summary, we quote from his procedures and results:

PROCEDURE

Population: The four experimental and six control classes were in three central schools in communities of 5,000 to 7,000 population. Pupils in two of the schools were randomly assigned classes; pupils in the third were alphabetically assigned.

Teachers in the experiment: The experimental teachers averaged 5.0 years of teaching and 12 graduate hours. The control teachers average 7.8 years of teaching and 14.3 graduate hours. To control the factor of differential motivation of teachers to succeed, one experimental teacher was randomly selected by the principal and the experimenter. The other three were volunteers. No significant difference appeared in final test scores of the experimental teachers.

Each control teacher was aware of the experiment and that comparative measurements would be made of her class at the year's end. Each taught with the program she had customarily used. No significant differences appeared in final test scores of the control teachers, indicating equivalent performance levels in control classes.

The method: Experimental teachers taught from a specially prepared, mimeographed workbook systematically presenting the Progressive Choice Method. Twenty-five workbook units were followed by a reader with twenty phonetically consistent stories. Each workbook unit presented a letter in isolation with its more frequent sound followed by words made of any previously learned letters and the unit letter. Words were combined into meaningful phrases; special exercises taught discrimination between the unit letters similar in shape or sound.

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[33] R. H. Bloomer, Reading Methodology: "An Experimental Test of Some Alternative Organizational Principles," The Reading Teacher, January 1961.

When all letters and their most frequent sounds were learned the children began the phonetically consistent readers, readability controlled by word length, average time per day for teaching reading was approximately an hour and a half. On completion of method material, experimental teachers used a basal reader supplied by the school, which all children in the experimental groups finished by the year's end. Individual reading in supplemental readers followed the experimental course of study.

Control teachers used basal reader material they had used the previous year, which all but one followed closely. The other used an individualized reading approach where each child worked with a different book. The amount of time spent in reading was at the teacher's discretion; each control teacher reported spending considerable time with upper and middle groups in independent reading of supplemental readers.

Tests: Initially the Gates' Reading Readiness Test was given to experimental and control classes the last week in September. Final tests in June were Gates Primary Reading Tests for Word Recognition, Sentence Reading, and Paragraph Reading. All pupils who had not taken both initial and final tests were excluded from the study. Data were treated by analysis of co-variance.

## RESULTS

In no case was any mean of any control class superior to mean performance of any experimental class. Average superiority of the experimental group was 4.3 months in word recognition, 3.4 months in sentence reading, 2.9 months in paragraph reading, and in average reading, 3.4 months.

Reading readiness: Readiness scores for the two groups were not the same. The advantage was in favor of the experimental group, the difference significant beyond the .01 level. When readiness was held consistent by analysis of co-variance (in other words, when the experimental and control groups were made equal in readiness scores by a statistical procedure) the experimental group was superior to the control group in word recognition, sentence reading, and reading average. Difference between experimental and control groups in paragraph reading can be seen as a function of difference in readiness scores.

After the seventeen-week experimental program, the experimental pupils were grouped and given their basal reader materials. At this time the pupils were largely able to read independently; hence preparation time for each story was lessened considerably. Words which they could not figure out with their phonetic skills were necessarily taught by sight, and a small amount of time was spent on meanings of words not previously encountered.

The pupils completed the first year of their basal reading program, including pre-primer, and reader, in less than half the time normally required. The fastest children read and discussed all the stories in approximately four and one-half months. All experimental pupils had

completed all the basal reader material by final testing. Most read numbers of supplementary books as well. In essence, these children not only learned to read better, but covered material more efficiently.

More recently, Bloomer has made a summary table covering the six studies (N-561) which presents relative grade level on standard tests at the completion of first grade for Progressive Choice trained children and children trained by conventional methods (See Table I). Briefly, six percent of PC Children and 29% of control children had scores below 2.0. Forty-two per cent of PC trained children and 18 per cent of the controls scored above 3.0. As is evident in both the Progressive Choice and conventional reading methods, slightly more than 50% of the scores were at second grade level. Thus, as compared with conventional methods at the end of first grade: Bloomer's data shows that significantly fewer PC children failed to score at second grade level and that a significantly greater number number of PC trained children than Controls scored at third grade level. The mean achievement by grade level for all PC-trained children was 2.88.

TABLE I

SUMMARY OF SIX EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

COMPARING PC AND CONVENTIONAL READING METHODS

Achievement Level of First Grade Pupils by Percent

| Teaching Method | Number of Classes | Number of Pupils | 1.0-1.9 | 2.0-2.9 | 3.0-3.9 | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Progressive Choice | 7 | 178 | 6 | 52 | 42 | 100 |
| Combined other Methods | 15 | 383 | 29 | 53 | 18 | 100 |

Chi Square=138.21 using actual frequencies (P less than .001)

Davy, in a recent study exploring the Progressive Choice Reading Method, obtained extremely encouraging results in teaching reading skills to mentally retarded children. The study is, however, subject to criticism on several grounds: (1) it lacked a control group; (2) Davy taught the class herself and was probably more motivated and knowledgeable than could be expected of the typical teacher; (3) the evaluations of student skills used a non-standard test. On the other hand, there are no standard tests developed for a mentally retarded population. Also, the difference in performance between initiation and conclusion of training provides a basic type of control similar to that used in the biological and physical sciences where measurable changes in the material under observation are customarily used as indices. With reference to the fact that Davy taught the classes, it is clear from her thesis and the writer's personal knowledge that she was handicapped by available teaching time and poor facilities.

The Davy study was conducted in active coordination with the writer. The criterion tests were designed to avoid spurious reading scores based on (1) guessing; (2) mock-reading skills where words are correct but correctness is based on relating words to particular pictures, cards, shapes, locations, facial expressions, etc. These tests were designed to insure that the children demonstrated that they understood the meanings of the words they read. The author was not present at the time of testing, but did assist in designing the procedures. From later discussion of the test administrations with Davy, it seems evident that these tests were executed with commendable care

and precision. The summary and conclusions from the Davy Study follow:

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

An experimental reading program using Woolman's Progressive Choice Method was conducted for a two-year period in a school for trainable-retarded children. A total of thirteen children participated at some time in the program. Three children received two full years of instruction, seven children received one full year of instruction, and three children received a total each of only a few months instruction in reading.

The children were taught by the Progressive Choice Method, devised by Dr. Myron Woolman and adapted for retarded children by the writer. Principles of invariance and discrimination of letters and their sounds were the basis of the carefully controlled and structured program. The results of testing before and after long vacations showed that the children generally retained a large percentage of learned material. Children who participated in the program for one year progressed from a non-reading level and achieved ability to recognize and write most of the letters in the alphabet and to read the letters in a few simple words. In two years, three more mature children, aged eleven to thirteen, with minimum help, progressed from no functional reading to the level of reading stories such as "Little Bow," and "Clown Peter," which are considered appropriate for normal children at approximately second-third grade reading level.

There was evidence throughout the two-year period that the reading achievement of the children was useful to them. Some children began reading simple books independently, as well as reading signs and labels. Parents reported that children who were learning mainly letter sounds would pick out familiar letters from their environment and give the appropriate sound.

Apparently, it was possible to make the reading lessons meaningful and interesting, because there was only very rarely evidence of loss of interest during lessons. The children seemed able to concentrate on their work for periods of twenty to twenty-five minutes daily.

After reviewing the few available reports of reading methods and achievement of other trainable children, and observing several classes in reading where the sight-say method was used, the writer can say that she has seen no evidence of as great or as rapid achievement in reading as that produced with the Progressive Choice Method.

It appears that the results of this study give evidence that a Progressive Choice approach to the teaching of reading may be more efficient and effective in teaching severely retarded children than methods commonly used.[34]

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[34]Davy, Ruth Ann, Adaptation of Progressive-Choice Method for Teaching Reading to Retarded Children. Washington: Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Reprint.

Although the Davy study offers no definitive proof that the Progressive Choice Reading Method will necessarily be effective in teaching mentally retarded children to read, it offers strong encouragement in this direction. Further evidence on this score should be obtained through a carefully controlled study being performed by the Institute of Educational Research under a three-year grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.[35] This study, titled "A Programmed Reading Method for the Mentally Handicapped" is now in its initial phase. It has been designed with control groups, the use of standard tests, and will have a minimum sample of 500 retarded children assigned to the Progressive Choice Reading Method. On its completion, a more complete statement as to the functional value of the Progressive Choice Method will be available.

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35"A Programmed Reading Method for the Mentally Handicapped," A Research Proposal by the Institute of Educational Research, Principal Investigator: Myron Woolman, Project Director: Ruth Ann Davy, M. A. Awarded, June 1962.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING METHOD

### The Training Objectives

Factors controlling the design of the Progressive Choice Reading Method were dictated by the following major objective:

> To produce meaningful reading skills under conditions which minimize learner confusion, while optimizing rate of acquisition.

Obviously, problems of personality, background, capacity and the classroom learning situation are important factors limiting rate of acquisition. Within these limits, the sub-objectives were:

1. To require that the learner establish his ability to comprehend meaningful terms and expressions.
2. To provide situations for the learner which facilitate his ability to discriminate between the letter forms.
3. To present material to the learner under conditions of optimal stability.
4. To hold the learner responsible for material in gradual increments.
    a. Mastery of the body of material being learned is required before adding a new increment.
    b. Evaluations of objective performance are made periodically to insure that the learner has fully integrated each new element. Special emphasis is given to evaluating the learner's ability to incorporate the new element into word situations in which he must select and print the best word for a meaningful context.

### The Three Reading Cycles

In the initial stages of learning, the Progressive Choice Reading Method makes use of an artificial phonetically consistent language structure as a device to simulate a phonetically consistent language such

as Latin or Spanish. At this stage, a given letter form always relates to a recognizably similar (not identical) sound. We have found that subtle shades of sound difference can be disregarded safely; the learner's problems increase sharply when there is a premature requirement that he relate several distinctive sounds to the same letter-form. When a learner is able to read at a phonetically consistent level meaningfully, he can rapidly convert to the requirement for sound and letter variation at a later stage in the program. Once the learner has achieved his basic reading skills, the number of sounds associated with the critical vowels is increased under controlled conditions. The Progressive Choice Reading Method therefore operates in three learning cycles:

Cycle I: Phonetically Consistent Element Cycle.

Cycle II: Phonetically Consistent Compound Cycle.

Cycle III: Variant Cycle.

Cycle I: The Phonetically Consistent Element Cycle is characterized by the following:

1. Each form (letter) has only a single invariant sound (O-ah).
2. The various letter forms are presented in terms of relative sound-shape dissimilarity; i.e., an angular form, such as "M," is followed by a circular form, such as "O."
3. The pool of letters is presented to the learner sequentially, that is, one by one.

Cycle II. The Phonetically Consistent Compound Cycle

Once the learner has established that he can meet the criteria

for all twenty-six elemental forms, he moves into Cycle II. Here again he moves through a rigorously controlled Porgressive Choice Presentation sequence. His objectives in this cycle are to meet all four reading capability criteria for the following:

1. Invariant compound vowels: Diphthongs and other combinations such as, "oa," "eigh."

2. Invariant consonant compounds: These include the combinations "th," "ch," "ph," "kn," etc.

3. The operator "e": The transformation of an internal short vowel into a long vowel through the use of a final "e."

4. The lower case mode: At the beginning of the second cycle the learner can read and print in upper case. The first segment of Cycle II he learns to print in lower case as well. In addition he learns to use upper case for proper nouns, to begin sentences, etc.

Cycle III. The Variant Cycle: In this cycle the learner is given various idiosyncratic forms of the elements and compounds covered in Cycles I and II. Again, he is phased through the material using a Progressive Choice sequence and is required to establish comprehension at each criterion level before proceeding.

1. The variant elements: The various sounds associated with each of the vowels are presented. Thus, he progresses through families of words in which the same vowel form has alternative sounds (map, potato, baggage; empty, racket; really, identify, etc.)

2. The variant compounds: These include diphthongs such as "ow," "ou," and "ough."

   a. The learner is ultimately required to establish comprehension by selecting and constructing the most meaningful word from various alternatives.

   b. He is required to print and pronounce words which include elements and compounds which vary in sound for the same letters and have the same sound for different letters.

c. He is required to write complete sentences, from dictation, which include both variant and invariant elements and compounds.

3. Naming letter forms: He is required to learn the alphabet as a sequence of names for the sounds he can already use. He demonstrates his capability by placing groups of words into alphabetical sequence, spelling words he can read by sequencing of alphabetical names of the letters.

Learner Response Requirements

Throughout the program, learner responses were organized in accordance with the following criteria:

1. Multisensory Involvement: Wherever possible the learning experience is required to involve as many senses as possible; the learner prints the forms because this involves touch, sound, kinaesthetic and visual sensory inputs.

2. Independent Meaningful Interpretation and Selection: Learners are required to demonstrate comprehension of speech forms, select and match visual forms and show that they understand that the meaning of printed terms is the same as the same terms in speech. The learner must show that he can ultimately perform every task without help or guidance.

3. Evaluation of Proficiency: Throughout the program, the learner must demonstrate that he can perform the work by independently responding to items which require that he color-trace, print letters, print terms, etc., so that his performance level is on record and can be quickly evaluated.

The Progressive Choice Program has two classes of response: (1) voiced and (2) printed responses. A voiced response requires that the learner produce independently the sounds associated with a letter form or letter form sequence; he must also indicate meaning when the letter sequence forms a meaningful word. A printed response requires that the learner respond to a voiced sound or sound pattern by printing the

the associated letters. The printed response also requires that the learner demonstrate understanding of the meaning of those sounds which make up words in common speech. Each learner in the Progressive Choice Program responds with great frequency. At any time, he is responsible for demonstrating mastery of all sounds and letter forms previously learned by voicing and/or printing and he must also show that he comprehends the meaning of sounds or printed terms which convey meaning.

The teacher evaluates student proficiency through those printed responses which require the learner to construct choices amongst alternatives. Emphasis is given to maximizing the number of learner responses made. From the outset the learner is required to form the shapes (print) which he is learning and to relate the printed shapes to appropriate sounds; he learns to print and to spell as he is learning to read. The teacher reacts to student responses (oral or written) by actively supporting those which are correct. Examples or models are used to overcome learner errors; the learner is told what to do (rather than what not to do). Standardized exercises are used to establish the adequacy of the learner's capability to discriminate, identify, compound and obtain meaning.[36]

Progress Based on Proficiency:

The learner moves from one Reading Segment to another. Each RS consists of two or three learning elements to be learned: In the

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[36]Sample sets of materials are available through The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

First Segment these are the letter forms M, O and P; in the Second Segment the learning elements are S and T. The evaluation materials given require the learner to construct written responses which permit an objective evaluation of his proficiency.

Therefore, the learner progresses from one level to another by demonstrating on paper:

1. Mastery at the level he is learning;
2. Ability to integrate the new learning materials with what he has already learned.

In each Reading Segment of the PC Reading Program there are five successive learning levels for <u>each</u> learning element. These reflect the five criteria for learning previously described:

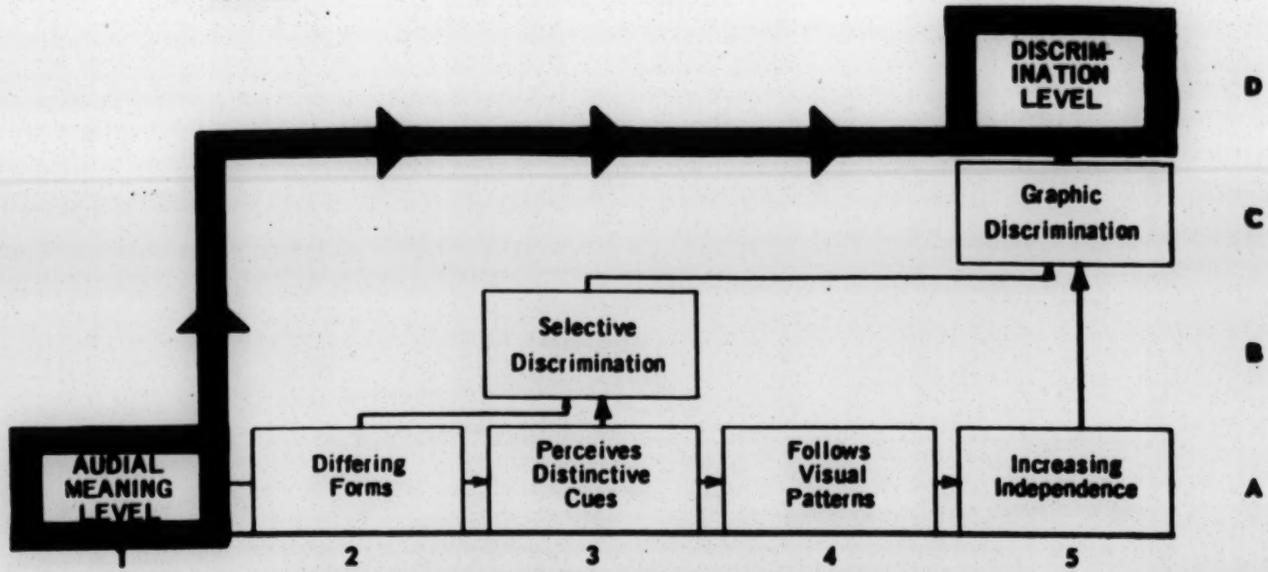
I. <u>The Audial Level</u> (Figure 1, Cell A-1): There the learner must demonstrate his ability to comprehend the words he will ultimately read in the Segment. He will be required to read the terms MOM, MOP, POM POM and POP. These are presented and he must show for example that he understands the word POP when used as (1) a synonym for father; (2) a sharp sound; (3) a carbonated drink in a bottle. Understanding is established through games, story telling, play activity, and various other devices including direct teacher questioning. See Figure 1 where the Audial Meaning requirement is shown as the lower left hand Cell A-1.

II. <u>The Discrimination Level (Figure 1 Cell D-5)</u>: At the Discrimination Level, the learner must prove that he is aware of the distinctive cues which differentiate one form from another. This is done, for example, by requiring the child to select from the forms "O" and "Q,"

Levels of Reading Development

Figure 1:

Graphic Illustration of the
Progressive Choice Reading Program
Cycle I



the one which has an extra line; from the forms "O" and "C," the one which has a piece missing, etc. This establishes the existence of discrimination between "O," "Q," and "C." The effort at this level is to fix the learner on the relevant distinctive feature of each letter, with particular emphasis on distinguishing between the letter being learned and similar forms (Cells A-2, A-3). When the learner has established, by making a sequence of correct choices, that he perceives the relevant differentiating feature of the new letter-form, he has completed the selective Discrimination Level (Cell B-3) for the new form. When he shows that he can print the form independently, he achieves the Graphic Discrimination Level (C-5).

~~III~~. <u>The Identification Level (Figure 2, Level G-7)</u>: Discrimination requires the learner to tell the difference between objects and to print the form of the new letter. Identification makes the further requirement that he give the correct sound to the object (Figure 2, Cell E-6). We can discriminate between similar puppies by saying "This one is bigger" or "cuter." But when we name a specific chair and call it an armchair on the basis of distinctive characteristics, we identify it. Similarly, identification of a letter form requires the learner to discriminate it from other forms on the basis of shape differences which are sufficiently distinctive to provide the basis for morphological separation. In earlier work done by the writer, there is evidence that ease of identification is largely a matter of the discriminability of the objects being identified.[37] He must tell the O from the C and also supply

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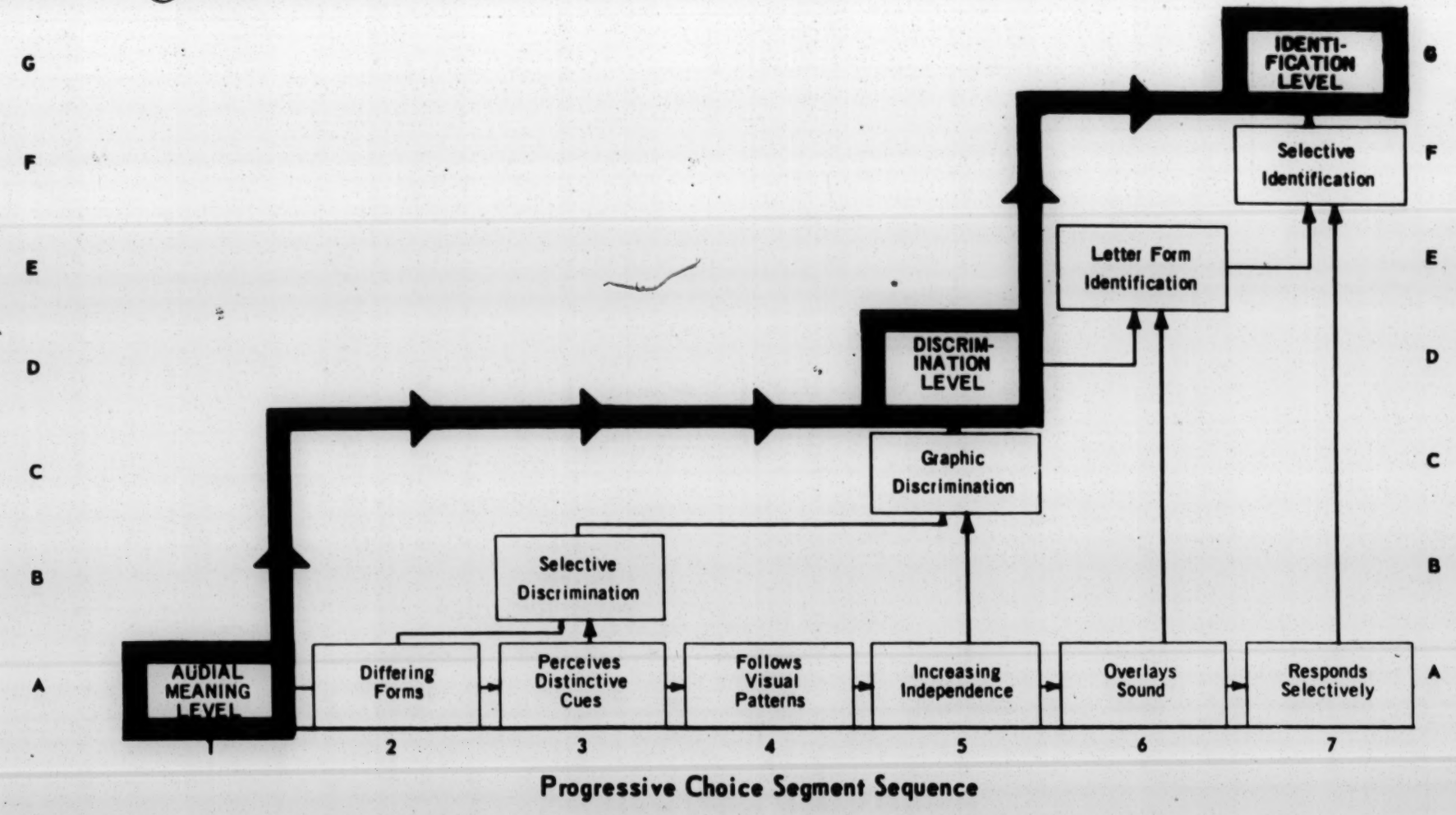
[37]Myron Woolman, "The Concept of the Program Lattice," The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Washington. 1962

Figure 2:

Graphic Illustration of the
Progressive Choice Reading Program
Cycle I



the correct sound for each. The alphabetical name of a letter is also an identifier, but as mentioned earlier, the sound signalling characteristic of the letter is given primacy to reduce learning complexity in the initial stage.

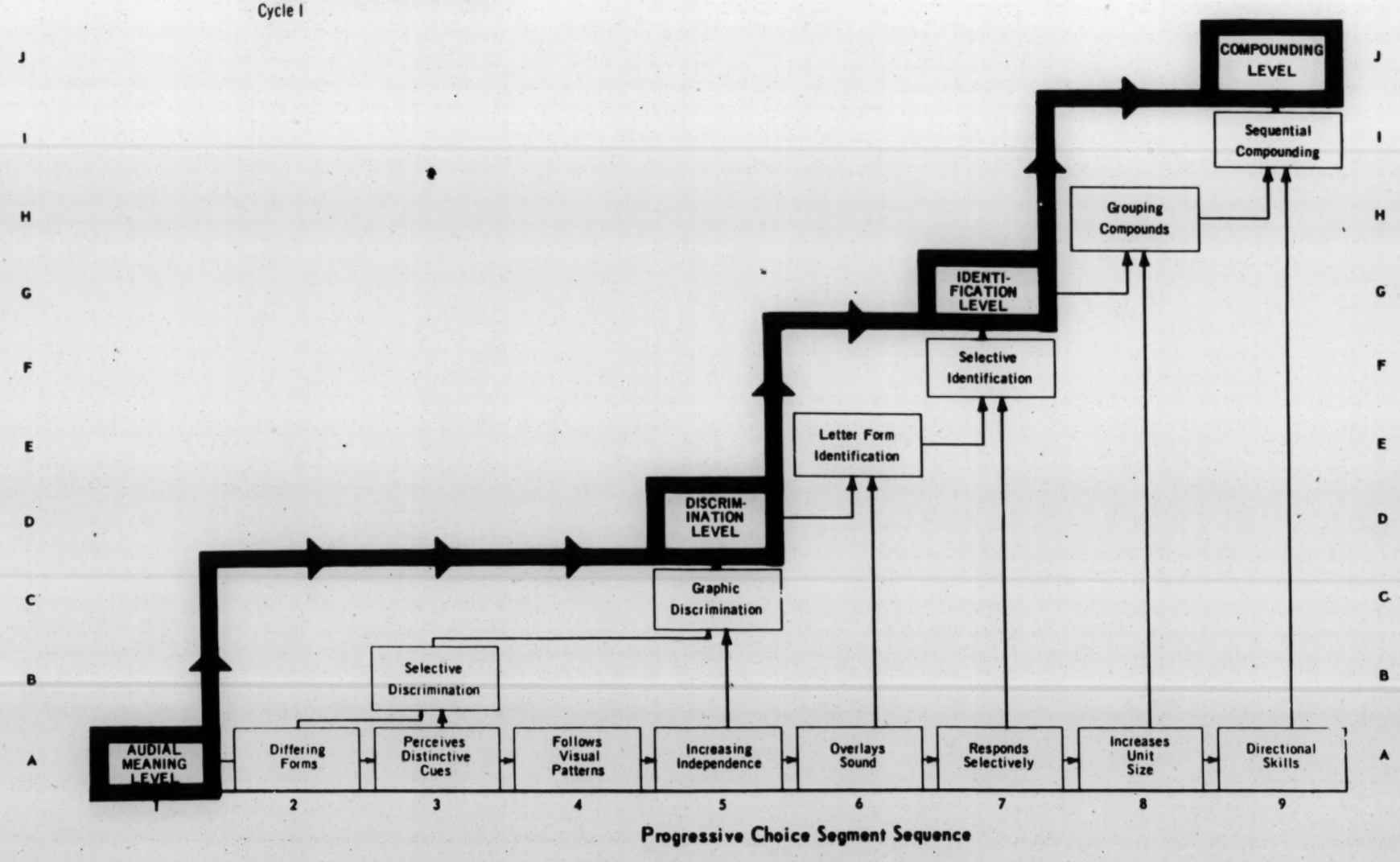
At the Identification Level, the learner must demonstrate that he can immediately produce the relevant sound for the new letter form (Cell E-6). He must then make correct choices amongst all letter forms covered to that point. For example, if he has already learned the three letter forms M, O, P, and is at the Identification Level on the fifth, "T", he must show that he can identify "T" correctly when presented with one or more of the previously learned forms; and can identify a succession of these forms in various combinations (including the new letter form) when presented successively or simultaneously (Cell F-7). He uses both modes of response (voiced and printed) and completes only when he prints and sounds a series correctly including the form he has just learned to identify. (Special training in sound discrimination is not given as learners are assumed to have already learned to discriminate sounds as a pre-requisite for speech).

IV. The Compounding Level (Figure 3, Level J-9): Once the learner has demonstrated that he can identify the letter forms correctly, he is required to: (1) produce properly blended sounds when faced with two or more forms and (2) print the appropriate letter forms in the proper sequence on hearing a blended sound. Thus, if the learner has already learned "M" and "O" with "P" being the letter form currently being programmed, he would be required to print "OP" on hearing the sound "OP" and "PO" on hearing the sound "PO". As he is learning the "P" form, the

Figure 2:

Figure 3:

Graphic Illustration of the
Progressive Choice Reading Program
Cycle I

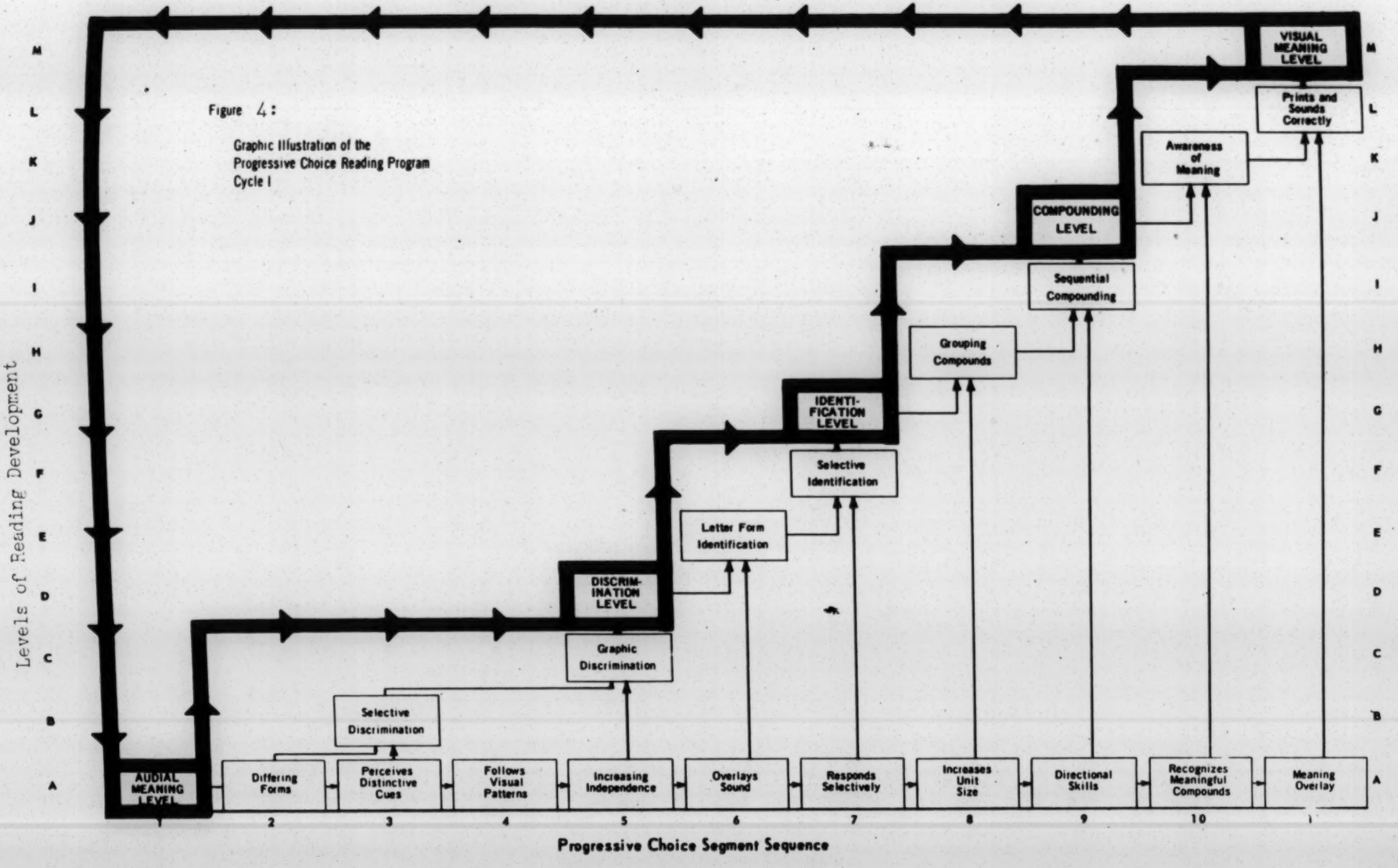


proportion of "OP" and "PO" compounds would be greater than the previously learned compounds (OM and MO). This proportionate advantage occurs throughout the program to provide greater practice for the new learning element (Figure 3, H-8). He must demonstrate that he can produce a correctly blended sound for each of the four meaningless compounds. He demonstrates that he can print the correct sequence of letters when the sound blend is varied for the same letters (Figure 3, Cell I-9). He continues to respond (by printing and sounding) until he demonstrates that he can make correct response choices repeatedly amongst the four alternatives in both response modes. The recorded (printed) response is decisive in establishing when he proceeds to the next higher level.

~~9~~. The Visual Meaning Level (Figure 4, M-11): Certain compounds of letters form the same sounds as words used in common speech. These printed words are used in newspapers, texts, and even primers. However, most compounds of letters result in meaningless sounds. For example, if the learner has mastered the M, O, P, and T letter forms, the compounds OMO, OPO, OTO, POM, OM, OP, etc., are meaningless. Whereas, MOM, POT, TOP, TOM, and POT are meaningful. One crucial aspect of the Progressive Choice Reading Program involves the requirement that the learner demonstrate that he can select and comprehend the meaningful terms when faced with a mixture of meaningless and meaningful terms (Figure 4, Cell K-10). He must, for instance, be able to select the word TOP from a group of compounds such as OP, MOT, TOP, OPO, etc.,

Figure 4:

Graphic Illustration of the
Progressive Choice Reading Program
Cycle I



and use it to complete a sentence or answer a question. For each of the words in the segment, the learner must show that he can obtain the same meanings from the printed form of the word (Figure 4, M-11) as from the speech form of the same word (Figure 4, A-1). When, in short, the same meanings are conveyed through visual stimulation as through audial stimulation, he is reading the word. Thus, if the learner knows TOP as a spinning toy and as the upper surface of an object when presented in speech, he must show that he can extract both meanings when presented in print. When this has been accomplished, the learner has completed "The Meaning Loop." (See heavy arrowed line from M-11 to A-1).

The PC Reading Method is largely devoted to the formation of Meaning Loops by moving from Audial Meaning to the Discrimination Level, to the Identification Level to the Compounding Level to the Visual Meaning Level. When the meaning equivalence between the first and last levels (A-1 and M-11) are clearly perceived, the Meaning Loop is formed.

The Meaning Loop words are fundamental to the program and form the basis for reading of Optional Words. Optional Words differ from Meaning Loop terms in that they are not presented at the Audial Level (Cell A-1) but appear in the Visual Meaning Level (M-11). Optional Words require the learner to generalize the letter-elements and compounds he has learned to words he has never seen. These Optional Words are normally quite simple and are of the same order of difficulty as the Meaning Loop words. In addition to the Optional Words, some

learners can generalize (if their existing vocabularies are extensive) to words such as carpenter, clarinet, disinfect, kindergarten even in Cycle I. Generalized words lack phonetic consistency and/or are polsyllabic. They do provide the more advanced learner with opportunities beyond those possible at the "looped" and "optional" levels. In Cycle I there are 212 words which can be used to form Meaning Loops with high phonetic consistency; there are 585 optional words which require little generalization from the looped words and 7471 terms which may be generalized.[38]

Looping Problems: At an early stage of the program, some children fail to see the relationship between the audial and visual patterns. The PC Reading Method provides a number of devices to fix the "loop"[39] For example, once compounds have been learned the teacher asks questions such as:

(1) "What is this for? Who uses it? When is it used?" etc., etc. If the learner still fails to perceive the meaningfulness of the compound "MOP," the teacher increases the amount of structure and asks other questions as:

(2) "What is used to clean a kitchen floor? What is made wet before cleaning a floor?" etc.

If the learner still fails to grasp the connection, the teacher moves back into the procedures used in the O-O (Audial Meaning) Cell (Figure 5) and asks questions which include the term, such as:

(3) "What is a mop used for? Who uses a mop? Why is a mop used?" etc. She then returns to the compound and asks the learner

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[38] Thorndike-Barnhart Advanced Junior Dictionary. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1957.

[39] R. A. Davy, Closing the Meaning Loop Through Progressive Choice Structure. Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Washington, 1963.

questions similar to those shown in (1) and (2) above.

Only after exhausting these devices ( and others, such as shifting response mode), does the teacher actually provide the meaning of the term. It is vital that the learner himself obtain the critical insight; i.e., that some of the compounds he prints have the same meanings as the words he hears and speaks. To do this, he must obtain feedback from the original oral exercises and see their overlap when these terms again appear in printed form. Once he has succeeded in closing the "meaning loop" linking the spoken word to its printed equivalent, he usually proceeds without further difficulty.

A small but significant number of children have difficulty in closing the meaning loop. Great care must be taken to insure that the evaluation of reading proficiency is sufficiently sensitive to detect any learner who fails to differentiate between meaningful and meaningless terms. Therefore, before proceeding to the next letter, each learner is required to respond (by print) to insure mastery up to that point. The items at each level require the learner to demonstrate that he can make appropriate choices amongst alternatives. Successful completion of this check-out test has the additional advantage of providing a diagnostic tool for weak students in that it designates the level (s) at which a learner is weak.

Summary:

It may be useful to indicate the more important overlaps and differences between the Progressive Choice Reading Method and current-

ly popular phonetic techniques. The A and B Levels (Figure 5, Discrimination and Identification) focus on the form-sound relationship and, emphasis on sound and shape associations, is similar in objective to the approach. The Progressive Choice Method differs in: (1) the cumulative element by element organization, (2) the elimination of alphabetical names, (3) the emphasis on the development of a cumulative reading vocabulary, (4) the response made by the learner, (5) the constant requirement for the learner to select and construct the response (as opposed to rote learning).

The third and fourth levels (Compounding and Meaning) are comparable to the whole-word approach in their emphasis on the organization of phonic aggregates rather than phonic units. However, certain differences in approach are clearly evident:

1. Progressive Choice readers progress by steps to increase the size of reading units as opposed to the whole word method which requires readers to learn meaningful compounds as the fundamental reading unit at the outset of learning. This procedure should offer a learning advantage on the basis of recent experimental data.

   (a) Progressive Choice learners are required to perceive the internal letter elements to construct the compound pattern rather than the letter pattern itself as the crucial factor in recognition.

   (b) As a new letter-shape is learned, the number of meaningful compounds increases sharply. However, all but one letter of the new compound terms will have been used previously in forming meaningful terms.

2. Unlike whole word methods, the Progressive Choice reader must continually demonstrate that he can correctly select the proper meaningful term when faced with both meaningless and meaningful compounds, and demonstrate a high level of accuracy in using meaningful terms in context. However, he must construct <u>both</u> meaningless and meaningful compounds (words).

3. The Progressive Choice Reading Method makes a continuing requirement for the learner to demonstrate that he can perceive the equivalence between the visual and aural usage of the same meaningful term. As Brown points out, whole word approaches emphasize silent reading and offer no clearly defined method to insure that learners see these patterns as meaningful entities.[40]

Recapitulation of Figure 4:

Cell-A-1: This is the initial learning cell and indicates that the learner must demonstrate that he understands how to use certain words in an oral context. These programmatic words are crucial to the learning sequence as the learner must always demonstrate that he can understand these same terms when they are presented in print at a later point (Visual Meaning Cell) in the segment (Cell M-11).

Cell A-2: The learner must demonstrate that he can perceive differences in visually presented forms of different sorts including letters.

Cell B-3: The learner must demonstrate that he can recognize the distinctive cues which differentiate letters from each other. For example, he must be able to prove that he knows that the difference between "P" and "B" is determined by the lower loop on the "B". The objective of this cell is to force the learner to examine meticulously each form so that he focusses on differences rather than similarities.

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[40]For a more detailed discussion of the lattice as a programming tool, see Chapter III, "Programming for Conceptual Understanding", A Self-Instructional Program in Basic Electricity, performed under contract to the Bell Telephone Laboratories by the writer (and available on request from the Communications Social Science Research Laboratory, BTL, Murray Hill, N. J.). Also, "An Exploratory Study of the Use of a Self-Instructional Program in Basic Electricity Instruction", by H. O. Holt, Bell Telephone Laboratories, Inc., and C. G. Valentine, Michigan Bell Telephone Company.

Cell C-5: When the learner is able to tell the difference between these similar forms on the basis of their distinctive elements, he attains the Level of Discrimination. The learner must then demonstrate that he can produce the distinctive form of the letter being learned without assistance.

Cell E-6: Each of the letter forms is assigned a sound. The learner must establish that he can label the new form with its relevant sound. At the outset of the program he learns one form-sound association at a time.

Cell G-7: When he demonstrates that he can correctly assign (1) the appropriate sound to the various letter forms he has learned and (2) print the correct letter form on hearing the different sound, he has attained the Identification Level.

Cell H-8: In this cell a number of letter elements are joined and the learner is required to blend the associated sounds. The goal is to have the learner respond vocally to several letters as a compound stimulus, and to make the blended sound as a compound response. Various combinations of letter elements are presented in this cell.

Cell J-9: When the learner establishes that he can make: (1) the correctly compounded sound for various letter groups and (2) print a correct sequence of letters for various compounded sounds, he has completed the requirements for this cell. Note that the learner compounds only letters he has learned to identify.

Cell K-10: A compound of a given set of letters may be meaningless or meaningful. Its meaning is a function of contingencies relating to occurence in the natural language. Thus the "P", "O", and "M" may be used to construct terms such as POP, POM POM, OMO, OPO, OMP, MOP and MOM. The third, fourth and fifth of these compounds are meaningless; these are presented to the learner also to provide practice in (1) blending sounds on seeing grouped letters, (2) printing letter sequences on hearing blended sounds, and (3) differentiating meaningful from meaningless terms.

Cell M-11: It is critical that the Progressive Choice learner perceive that, as he sounds certain compounds, he is forming words whose meaning he knows from common speech. Here he must demonstrate that he can differentiate between meaningful and meaningless compounds.

Further, he must select the most meaningful compound word which satisfies the given context of presentation. He shows this skill by (1) printing correct meaningful terms on hearing words, (2) selecting only the appropriate word(s) on seeing meaningless and meaningful compounds. The learner must connect the words used in Cell A-1 with those used in Cell M-11. In Cell A-1 he is only required to show understanding of a word. In Cell M-11, however, it is critical that he grasp the fact that the term he understood in speech also has a particular sequence of letters and, further, he must show that he can print the correct letter sequence when faced with many response options.

The Meaning Loop

The Progressive Choice learner is required to select and print meaningful words (Cell M-11); he must also show that he understands the equivalence of meaning in the aural and visual modes. This appreciation of equivalence is graphically indicated in the lattice by a line feeding from Cell M-11 back to Cell A-1. Note that the feeder lines from A-1 to M-11 form a second behavioral loop which describes the process by which the PC Reading Method to shift from the audial to the visual mode. A return feeder line may be visualized (from M-11 to A-1) to show that ultimately the learner augments his speech vocabulary. Thus, as reading skills develop, a reverse Meaning Loop is formed and the reader becomes independent of actual speech interactions for the extension of both his visual and audial meaning verbal pools.

## AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE CHOICE METHOD IN THE CLASSROOM

The Progressive Choice Method lattice as used in the classroom is presented as Fig. 5 (p. 61). The pedagogical Progressive Choice Lattice, Fig. 5, is a graphic presentation of the first part of the first cycle as actually developed in the program.

Cell O-O (Audial Meaning): This cell illustrates the initial step of every segment of the Progressive Choice Reading Program (See Fig. 5). Cell O-O presents those words which the children ultimately learn to read in the first segment. As the teacher requires the children to read and print the words MOM, POP, MOP, and POM POM at the end of this segment, she initially ascertains that these words are understood when used in speech. This is done by obtaining responses to questions, voice completions, incomplete sentences, requirements for descriptions, names of pictures, games, etc. etc.

Cell A-1 (Learning Materials): A series of shapes are presented to the learner. These shapes contain various elements of the letter forms to be learned in the segment.[41] The shape "M" is included as it

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[41]The letter forms may be readily categorized on the basis of shape. Letters such as "M", "N", and "K" are termed angular shapes; "O", "Q", and "C" are curvilinears; and letters such as "P", "B", and "R" are mixed shapes. The rule for presentation is that the successive letters will be dissimilar from each other to minimize stimulus generalization effects. This requirement is consistent with data obtained in many studies, including that of the author cited previously. This use of distinctively dissimilar forms appears to be especially valuable at the beginning of training, but seems to loose relative importance as training proceeds. The first three letters presented in the program are therefore M (angular ), O (curvilenear) and P (mixed). The rationale for the use of these particular letters was that their word combinations would provide strong, positive emotional overtones (MOM and POP) in addition to conforming to the dissimilarity principle.

is the first letter to be learned.

Cell B-1 (The Discrimination Level): The learners are required to show that they can tell the difference between shapes such as and , for example, by matching those with straight lines. In this cell emphasis is directed to focusing the learner on the significant "cues" which differentiate forms from each other. Their responses include independent printed production of the forms as well as evidence that the learners perceive the distinctive aspects. As they proceed, they respond to the letter form (in this instance "M") which they are to learn, and ultimately print it independently several times in recognizable form. Thus, at the Discrimination Level, the learner perceives various distinctive visual relationships in the form he is learning. He obtains kinaesthetic, tactile, and aural (pencil, paper, and sound pattern) inputs; and he demonstrates that he can print it in recognizable form. Ability to discriminate the structure of the letter form "M" is prerequisite to presentation of its "relevant" associated sound (mmh). See discussion of capping in Chapter II, "Programming for Conceptual Understanding", for an analoguous usage in the learning of conceptual materials.[42]

Identifying the Letter (Cells C-2, C-4, C-8): Now, the learner can discriminate the shape "M" from other shapes and print it on request. The Identification Level goal is to insure that the learner prints the form only on hearing the relevant sound "mmh", and makes the sound only on seeing the form "M". To accomplish this, the teacher informs the learner that the "M" shape always has the "mmh" sound (Cell C-2). She then requires the learner to print and sound the letter under various conditions. The students' printed responses are used to determine whether or not they have learned to identify the form. When

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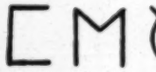
[42] Myron Woolman, Programming for Conceptual Understanding. A Self-Instructional Program in Basic Electricity. Report to the Communications Social Science Research Department of The Bell Telephone Laboratories. The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

the identification criterion is reached (several successive printed responses without error), the learner has completed Cell C-2

The first letter learned is the angular form M, the second is the curvilinear form O and the third is the mixed form P. These particular letters were selected because they not only conformed to the methodological requirements but could be combined to form MOM, POP, and MOP. These homey family terms were considered to provide (offer) a strong, positive emotional appeal by immediately providing a mother figure, a father figure and a familiar household object. Further, the learner obtains his first word when he can form the Meaning Loop for MOM which requires only two letters. When he adds the third letter he gets POP, MOP and even POM POM if the teacher wishes.

Cell B-3 (Discrimination of the Second Shape): When learners demonstrate that they identify the "M" shape correctly, discrimination training is begun on the "O" shape. The discrimination forms presented (Cell B-3) now include the "M" shape as well as the "O" shape; thus:  . Learners are required to discriminate the ovoid shape, "O", in much the same manner as they learned the "M" shape. When the "M" shape is presented, however, they are required to identify it as part of their review. The exercise continues until the criterion of repeated correct printed O and M responses is reached by the learner.

Cell C-4 (Identifying the "O" Shape): The students are informed that the "O" shape has the sound "ah" (Cell C-4), and are required to print the shape on hearing the sound, and make the sound on seeing the shape (as in identifying the "M" shape, Cell C-2). Once the criterion

has been reached in identifying the "O", both the "M" and "O" shapes are presented in random fashion. The learners are required to make the appropriate sound for each shape. Following presentation of the shapes, the two sounds are presented randomly, and the learner is required to immediately print the appropriate shape for each of the two sounds. Then the two sounds and shapes are presented in mixed fashion: The learners are required to shift response modes in accordance with the manner of presentation. When a learner has printed a number of successive correct responses under these conditions, he has reached the criterion for movement to the Compounding Level.

Cell D-5 (The Compounding Level): Once the learners can properly identify each of the two forms, they are required to make blended sounds when the paired forms ("OM" and "MO") are presented, and to pair the printed forms in proper sequence on hearing either of the two blended sounds ("o" and "mm").

In teaching to compound:

1. The teacher begins increasing the speed with which she prints the two shapes, and asks the learners to sound each as quickly as possible.
2. As her printing speed increases, she provides a model by blending the sounds into "o" and "mm," and requires the learners to sound them correctly as she reverses direction randomly.
3. When the learner has achieved a sounding capability, the process is reversed; the teacher sounds and requires the students to print. The learner must produce letter forms

which correctly reflect the direction of the sounds ("o" and "mm") the letter sequence is carefully noted to insure consistency with the sound pattern.

4. She now mixes the blended sounds and printed pairs, and requires the children to print on hearing the sounds, and make the blended sounds on seeing the letter pairs.

When the learner shifts response mode and makes a series of successive printed responses correctly, he has satisfied the criterion for compounding the first two letters "M and O" in the program.

Cell E-6 (Meaning Level): Once the learners can form the two-element compounds "OM" and "MO," in both response modes, the most critical aspect of the learning occurs. In this cell the teacher must insure:

1. That the learner appreciates the fact that the printed forms are equivalent to the sounded forms;
2. that MOM differs from "OM," "MO" and "OMO," in that it relates to a certain kind of human being; i.e., that it is an intra-family term for a woman who is a mother. Every effort must be made at this point to have the children themselves obtain the "loop" insight; the meaning is the same whether the term is heard or seen.

Procedure

1. The two shapes are printed to form the three element compound MOM.
2. The learners are asked to make the appropriate sound. Where

necessary, the teacher moves back into Cell D-5 and repeats the "OM" and "MO" compounding again, striving to obtain the blended meaningful term from the learners. (With some children, the generalization from the two-unit to the three-unit compound does not occur readily, and the teacher may be required to produce the sound herself.)

3. Once the three-unit sound has occurred, the teacher insures that each member of the class can produce the three-unit compound. The teacher then constructs a sentence, as in Cell O-O, and requires the learner to construct (by voice) the meaningful completion term (MOM). When he has voiced the proper fill-in term, he is required to complete several sentences by voice.

4. Once the learner has demonstrated that he can constructively complete a sentence by voice, he is required to print the MOM response as his constructed response. To insure that the learner is responding selectively, the teacher sounds OMO, OM and MO occasionally and checks to insure that the learner correctly prints these meaningless compounds and that he does not insert them into the sentences as his constructed response. When the criterion has been reached, the learner proceeds to the next letter.

   (a) If learners have difficulty in establishing the fact that the three- element compound "MOM" has meaning, various

cues are given:

(1) This is someone they know;

(2) She cooks food for the family;

(3) Some children call her mother, etc., etc.

5. Once the children are properly sounding and printing the term MOM only where it is relevant, they are informed that they have learned to read their first word.

6. Before the learner progresses to the third letter, "P," he must demonstrate mastery of the "O" and "M" combinations (OM, MO, OMO, MOM). He must sound each correctly and also show that he perceives MOM as a meaningful printed term. Finally, the various compounds are presented in both sensory modes and he correctly prints the required number of compounds.

Cells A-7 and B-7 (Discriminating the Third From): The learner sees an array of forms such as M P Y O Ø \ , etc. (Cell A-7.) His training proceeds in the following sequence:

1. He must demonstrate that he can properly identify the "O" and "M" shapes.

2. The "P" shape is designated as the new letter and he must specify how it differs from shapes such as:

3. The "M," "P," and "O" shapes are presented and the learner must print the "P" shape correctly four (4) times. (At this level it is still termed the "new letter.")

Cells A-8 and C-8 (Identification Level):

1. The "P" shape is shown and the "new sound" is revealed as "p" (Cell A-8).

2. The three shapes are presented in random fashion (probability equals .5 that the shape will be "P," and .25 that it will be "O" or "M").[43] The learners are required to make the appropriate sound for each presentation.
3. The three sounds are then presented randomly in the same proportions, and the learners are required to print the forms immediately following the emission of a sound.
4. Mixed sounds and shapes are presented (in the same proportions) to require shift in learner response modes. When four successive "P" responses are printed correctly, the learner has attained the Identification criterion and can proceed to the Compounding Level.

Cells A-9 and D-9 (The Compounding Level): Once the learners have demonstrated mastery of the three forms at the Identification Level, they proceed to compound them. The following steps are used:

1. The letters are printed quickly (Cell A-9 and the learners are required to blend the three sounds into "op," "po," "mo," and "om."
2. The four two-unit compound sounds are presented randomly, and the learners are required to print the two relevant forms in the correct sequence.

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[43] Whenever a new shape is presented, its ratio is equal to the sum of all other shapes in the presentation sequence. As stated previously, this disproportion is done to provide greater practice on the new form.

3. The four compounds are presented in both the oral and visual modes (to require a shift in response mode).
4. When the learners correctly print the required number of successive responses correctly in the shifting response mode situation, they attain the criterion and move to the meaning level.

Cells A-10 and E-10 (The Meaning Level): In this cell, the learners are required to devlop three-unit compounds which are both meaningful (MOP, POP, POM-POM and MOM) and meaningless (OPO, OMP, OMO, etc.) They must indicate that they perceive the distinction between the meaningful and meaningless terms which they sound. Also they must demonstrate that they perceive the meaningfulness of terms in printed form by selecting the proper term to satisfy the context of a given sentence. The step by step procedure to accomplish these objectives follows:

1. The three shapes ("M," "O," and "P") are compounded into the term MOP and the learners are required to make the correct blended sound.
2. When the learners indicate that they perceive meaning in the blended sound ("mop"), they are required to draw a mop (to provide a concrete referent) and to describe its function.
3. The learners are then required to print the correct term to complete a sentence such as:

MOM cleans kitchen floors with a _____.

4. The learners now have two meaningful terms (MOM and MOP), and are required to print them selectively to complete such sentences as:

   a. A mop is used by _____.

   b. The dishes are washed by _____.

   c. If somebody spills milk, the floor is cleaned with a _____.

   d. Most kitchens are cleaned with a broom or a _____.

   e. Some children call their mothers _____.

   f. Kitchen floors are cleaned with a _____.

5. The term POP is next developed in similar fashion, and the learners are required to make both voiced and printed responses in the three choice (MOM, MOP and POP) situation, again using constructed sentences. The teacher checks printed responses to insure that the <u>most</u> meaningful term is used to satisfy the context of the given sentence (in responding with the word POP, which has three senses--father, soft drink and a sharp sound, as previously introduced in Cell O-O). The learner must make his voiced and printed responses provide the correct sense of the word.

6. When these three terms have been established, the children are required to construct the blended successive sounds POM POM, which is the fourth and final term of the segment.

   a. They may then be required to draw a hat decorated by pom poms and relate the drawings to the term orally.

b. They then establish that they can make a proper selection of the four terms, MOM, MOP, POP and POM POM in sentence-completion exercies, using both printed and sounded responses. In this connection, it should be remembered that 25 per cent of the responses will be correct by chance if the learner knows the word but not the meanings. It is critical, then, that the teacher insure that the learners not only print and sound their words correctly, but that they also are able to insert the words at those points where they are most meaningful.

The End of Segment Checkout Test: Before the learner can proceed to the next segment, he must establish that:

1. He can discriminate the three forms.
2. He can properly identify the sound associated with each form.
3. He can compound the forms into various combinations.
4. He can use meaningful terms to satisfy the specific context of given sentences.

A segment checkout test is given, using the printed response mode, with a sub-test devoted to each of the four levels. A learner must meet the criterion of several successive correct responses at each level. In the event that a learner fails the test, his responses are examined at each level to localize his area of difficulty. Those who pass will

progress to the next segment. Learners who fail must repeat the segment, with special emphasis given to those levels which were revealed to be weak in the diagnostic test.

## Figure 5: PEDAGOGICAL LATTICE FOR CYCLE I SEGMENT NO. 1

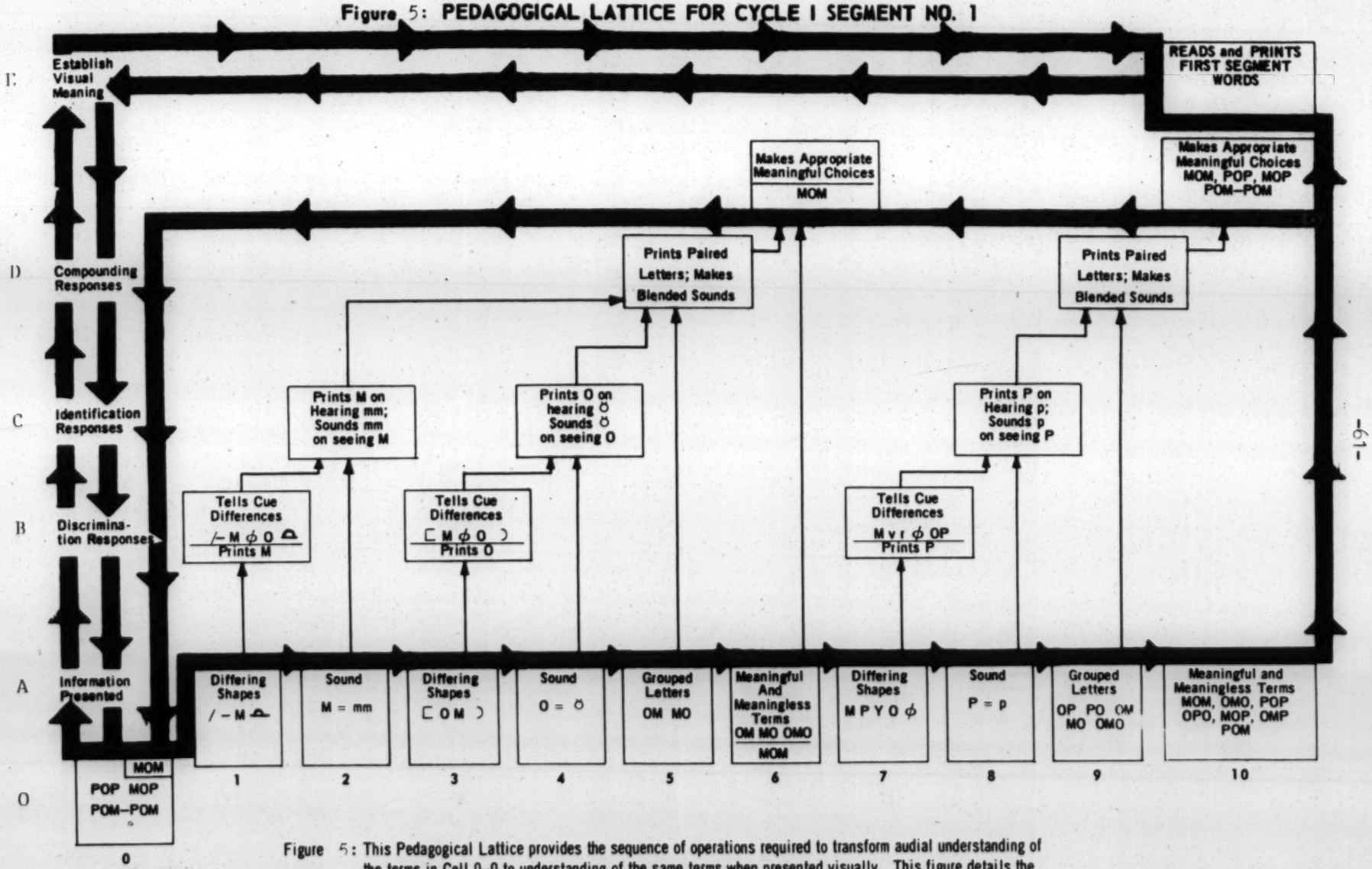


Figure 5: This Pedagogical Lattice provides the sequence of operations required to transform audial understanding of the terms in Cell 0–0 to understanding of the same terms when presented visually. This figure details the operations shown in Fig. 1 for the first segment of the Progressive Choice Reading Program.

## SUMMARY

The reading process is viewed as a system of decoding a set of visual forms used to represent speech. The dominating goal of the Progressive Choice Reading Method is to facilitate the development of those perceptual skills necessary to extract meaning from the printed page. The mechanisms which are used to obtain this objective are:

1. The organization of the body of reading material into graded levels of complexity, by means of three reading cycles:
   a. Cycle I: The learner is restricted to phonetically consistent letters.
   b. Cycle II: The learner is restricted to phonetically consistent compounds or letter groups.
   c. Cycle III: The learner is exposed to varying sounds for the same letters and varying letters for the same sound.

Within each cycle, the body of material to be learned is organized into segments consisting of two or three learning elements. The learner progresses through a series of controlled steps which are organized to permit him to shift his understanding of selected terms from spoken speech to the printed page. The steps are:

a. Audial Meaning Level: Words which the learner must

ultimately read in a given segment are used in spoken form and the learner must demonstrate understanding (context of usage) of each term.

b. Discrimination Level: The learner must show that he can discriminate the characteristic features of each new learning element among dissimilar and similar alternatives.

c. Identification Level: The learner must demonstrate that he can "label" (give the relevant sound for) each new learning element.

d. Compounding Level: The learner must demonstrate that he can blend sounds when shown printed letter compounds.

e. Visual Meaning Level: The learner must demonstrate (by printing and sounding completion terms in the relevant context) that he can use the aural and visual modes interchangeably for the same term.

Learning is cumulative and progressive. Each new learning element is used to form new letter combinations and words. Thus, the learner's meaningful vocabulary expands rapidly with each element and each segment. The learner must establish mastery of a given segment (and all combinations of words formed with elements in preceding segments) before proceeding to the next segment. This is accomplished through End-of-Segment Check-Out Tests which evaluate his level of mastery and also provide a diagnostic tool if the learner is experiencing difficulty.

The presentation to the learner is on an element-by-element basis. He is responsible for learning only one new item at a time. Several

additional techniques are employed to reduce the complexity of the learning task. These include:

1. Delaying learning of the alphabet until the names of the letters and their sequence can be used functionally for spelling, listing, and locating terms.
2. Delaying the presentation of lower case forms until upper case forms are correctly sounded and printed.

Thus, the learner maintains a one-to-one relationship between sounds and forms in the initial stages of learning, and is introduced to more complex relationships in stages after demonstrating his competency to read at a given level of complexity.

The Progressive Choice Reading Method has been tested repeatedly by Bloomer. Six experiments were conducted with normal first grade children as subjects. Available evidence is encouraging; subjects given the Progressive Choice Reading Method obtained higher test scores than subjects taught by conventional reading methods. This is doubly encouraging as Progressive Choice subjects were taught by relatively inexperienced teachers in the six Bloomer studies. Davy (1960) found that the Progressive Choice Method could be used to teach severely retarded children to read. A large scale experiment is now under way to make a more rigorous test of the value of the Progressive Choice Reading Method as a device for training retarded children.

# AFRICA

# THE WONDER AND THE GLORY

*by*

ANNA MELISSA GRAVES

# AFRICA

## *The Wonder and The Glory*

by

**ANNA MELISSA GRAVES**

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*To a wonderful and glorious*

*Afro-American,*

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

# AFRICA—The Wonder and The Glory

"The Ancient civilisation of Egypt spread, as we know, from south to north and without venturing to accept or reject the assumption of some learned writers that it came originally by way of the Arabian Gulf from India, there is seemingly no doubt that the earliest seat of civilisation in Africa was the country watered by the upper Nile, which was known by the name of Ethiopia to the ancients. . . . The principal state of this Ethiopian country bore the well known name of Meroë. . . . The capital of Meroë was a city of the same name, which stood a little below the present Shendy, under 17° N. latitude and in 32° E. longitude.* . . . This is not the place nor am I competent to discuss the arguments which form the ground of belief that the civilisation of Meroë preceded that of Egypt. It is enough to say very briefly, that on the site of the city of Meroë there exist remains of temples and pyramids, from which archaeologists have drawn the conclusion that the pyramid was a form of architecture native to Meroë, and only afterwards brought to perfection in Egypt. It is evident from the decoration of the temples that they were dedicated to the worship of Ammon. It is believed that the remains of the temple of the most famous oracle of Jupiter Ammon are to be found in ruins at about eight hours' journey to the north-east of Shendy. This temple of the oracle was known to exist within a few hours of Meroë, and the priestly traditions of Ethiopia and Egypt assert that the worship of Ammon and Osiris, with its feasts and processions, was settled at the metropolis of Meroë. This remarkable spot is regarded by the ancients as the 'cradle of the arts and sciences, where hieroglyphic writing was discovered, and where temples and pyramids had already sprung up while Egypt still remained ignorant of their existence.' " . . .

"The carvings of the monuments of Meroë show a people in possession of the arts and luxuries of civilisation and having some knowledge of science. On the base of one of the monuments a zodiac has been found,

* Ethiopia did not mean Abyssinia only to the ancients, but included "British Egyptian Sudan" was synonymous with the Biblical Kush, and the capital of Meroë was approximately 100 miles further down the river (i.e. further north) than the site of Khartoum today.

and in the more northerly monuments of Nubia, which portray the conquest of Meroë by Rameses the Great of Egypt at a much later date, the conquered nation is shown as being not only rich, civilised and important, but also as possessing tributary states . . . whence came giraffes and other Central African products. We learn from these same monuments that the women of Meroë . . . . appeared to live on equal terms with men. They are constantly portrayed as queens. The Empire of Meroë had its settled constitution and laws. . . ."*

"The monuments though eloquent, are not the only grounds upon which this conclusion has been reached (the conclusion that the arts, sciences and religion descended from Nubia to the lower country of Egypt). The fame of the Ethiopians was widespread in ancient history. Herodotus describes them as 'the tallest, the most beautiful and long-lived of the human race,' and before Herodotus, Homer, in even more flattering language, described them as 'the most just of men; the favourites of the gods.' The annals of all the great nations in Asia Minor are full of them. The Mosaic records allude to them frequently; but while they are described as the most powerful, the most just and the most beautiful of the human race, they are constantly spoken of as black, and there seems to be no other conclusion to be drawn, than that at that remote period in history the leading race of the Western world was a black race."

The above quotations are from "A Tropical Dependency—An Outline of the Ancient History of the Western Sudan—with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Nigeria" by Lady Lugard (Flora L. Shaw). Since 1906 when "A Tropical Dependency" was published, although interrupted by one world war and now stopped by another, archeological research has given many more proofs of the very early date of civilization in Africa. Frobenius has found evidences as far south as the various provinces of the Union of South Africa and more particularly in Southern Rhodesia, but in the Sahara as well, of a civilization practically identical with that of the Magdalenian—glacial retreat,—period in Europe (roughly 10,000 B.C.) whose art preserved in the caves of southern France and northern Spain fills us with wonder and admiration. The African may have been contemporary, may have been even earlier, and may have been the source of the Southern European, for recent discoveries seem to indicate that the men who inhabited southern Europe before the last glacial period in lower Paleolithic times, retreated into Africa (roughly about 50,000 B.C.) when the glaciers made life in Europe impossible,

* These pyramids at Meroë are now considered by Reisner and some others to be of a later date than was thought by the authorities Lady Lugard quotes, but if not these special pyramids many other archeological discoveries prove the very early Nubian civilization.

for in the Sahara, where there was then sufficient moisture to make it a country of fertile prairies, flint instruments have been found which seem to indicate by the technique used in making them that they were made by the people whose civilization was that of the Chellean and Acheulean periods (the third inter-glacial period—roughly from 100,000 to 50,000 B.C.) of Europe. And later when the glacier began to retreat—about 25,000 B.C.—the people who had been living in northern, and in the Sahara region, of Africa during the glacial period—i.e. from about 50,000 B.C. to about 25,000 B.C. may have divided, some going north into Europe, some south into the more central and southern parts of Africa and only a comparative few remaining in the Atlas and Sahara regions, for as the glacier retreated the dryness began in the Sahara. But during those 25,000 years when all were in Africa (from 50,000 to 25,000 B.C.) it is possible that the art was born—the art common to peoples so widely separated geographically as those living in southern France and those living in Basouto Land. The only other explanation for this art, alike in technique and in subject and so separated in locale, is that the art developed in Europe in Aurignacian and Magdalenian times (25,000 to 10,000 B.C.) and that during that period there were emigrations from Europe into Africa, and that finally these emigrations became a veritable exodus, for in the next period in Europe—early Neolithic—the art is quite different and decidedly inferior, whereas the Aurignacian-Magdalenian type of art persisted in Africa until much later times and had a distinct influence on the proto-historic and historic art of Egypt, and has never really become extinct. Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) when he died in 1938 was called "The Father of Africanology." It is inexcusable (though perhaps significant) that his works have not been translated into English. He led eleven expeditions of archeological, anthropological, ethnological and sociological research into Africa, five being each two years in duration and the others a year or several months: the first in 1904 and the last in 1934; (and also one into southern India to examine Dravidian ruins, antedating the Aryan invasion of India, in order to compare the Indian ruins with those he had excavated at Zimbabwe in Mashona Land in Africa). He is the author of works on Africa published in more than fifty volumes. He was the founder of, and for years (until his death) the director of the African Institute at Frankfurt and of its museum where his wonderful collections are gathered. He never makes claims without numerous and substantiated proofs to back his claims. Ezra Pond says of him that he alone is a sufficient reason for learning to read German, and also that he has "given the Negro race its true charter of nobility and dug out of Africa tradition overlaid with tradition to set against the traditions of Europe and Asia". He has, besides, as Ezra Pond also says, "unusual perceptive aptitude" and I hope in these few

paragraphs, done into English, from the French version of his introduction to his "Civilisation Africaine," translations of a translation,—the fact that he writes delightfully will not be entirely hidden.

European navigators first reached the coasts of Negro Africa at the end of the Middle Ages. "When they arrived in the Gulf of Guinea and landed at Vaida the captains were greatly astonished to find streets well laid out, bordered on either side for several leagues with two rows of trees; for days they travelled through a country of magnificent fields, inhabited by men clad in richly coloured garments of their own weaving! Further south in the Kingdom of the Congo, a swarming crowd dressed in 'silk' and 'velvet', great States well-ordered, and down to the most minute details; powerful rulers; flourishing industries:—civilized to the marrow of their bones. And the condition of the countries on the eastern coast—Mozambique, for instance—was quite the same."

"The revelations of the navigators of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries give incontrovertible proofs that Negro Africa stretching south from the edge of the Saharan deserts was still in full flower—the full flower of harmonious and well-ordered civilizations. And this fine flowering the European conquistadors annihilated as far as they penetrated into the country. For the new country of America had need of slaves, and they were to be had in Africa: hundreds, thousands, whole cargoes of slaves. However the traffic in Negroes was never an affair of an entirely easy conscience. It demanded a justification, and so the Negro was made into a half-animal, an article of merchandize. And for this reason the notion of the fetich was invented, as the symbol of an African religion, (Portuguese—feticeiro). Mark of European manufacture! As for me I have not seen in any part whatsoever of Africa the natives worshiping fetiches."

"The idea of the 'barbarous Negro' is a European invention, which has, as a consequence, dominated Europe until the beginning of this century."*

"And what they told—those old captains, those chiefs of expeditions, the D'Elbées, the De Marchais, the Pigafettas, and all the others, what they told is true. It can be verified. In the old royal Kunstkammer of Dresden, in the Weydmann collection of Ulm, in many other European "curiosity cabinets" one still finds collections of objects from West Africa dating from that epoch: wonderful plush-velvets, of an extreme softness, made from the tenderest leaves of a certain banana tree; stuffs, soft and pliant, brilliant and delicate as silks, woven with well prepared raffia fibre, ceremonial javelins—their blades to the very points inlaid with the finest copper, bows so graceful, and ornamented so beautifully that they

* And, alas, still dominates the United States of America, in 1961, and more or less the majority of Anglo-Saxons everywhere. A. M. G.

would do honour to any museum of arms whatsoever; calabashes decorated with the most perfect taste; sculptures in ivory and wood, the workmanship of which reveals skill and style."

"And all this came from the countries of the African periphery, delivered up from then on to slave merchants, and in which the visitor of today finds only shoddy European trash. . . ."

"But when the pioneers of the last century pierced this zone of 'European Civilization' and the protecting wall, which for a time was raised behind it, the wall protecting the Negroes still 'intact,' they found everywhere these same marvels which the captains had found in the sixteenth century on the coasts."

"In 1906 when I penetrated into the territory of Kassaï-Sankuru, I found still there villages in which the principal streets were bordered, on each side, and for leagues, with four rows of palm trees; in which the huts, each ornamented in a charming fashion were as much works of art (as those described by the sixteenth century captains); no man who did not carry sumptuous arms of iron or copper, with inlaid blades, with handles covered with serpent skin. Each cup, each pipe, each spoon was an object of art quite worthy of being compared with the creations of the European Roman style. But all that was only the down particularly tender and shining which adorns a wonderful and ripe fruit: the gestures, the manners, the moral canon of the entire people, from the little child to the old man—although they remained within absolutely natural limits, were imprinted with dignity and grace, in the families of the princes and the rich as in those of the vassals and slaves. I do not know any people in the North who can be compared with these primitives in the unity of their civilization."

"Alas, these last 'Isles of the Blest', these also were submerged by the tidal wave of European civilization. And the peaceful beauty was swept away by the floods."

"And many have had this experience. The explorers who left the savage and martial plateaux of the East, of the South, and of the North, to descend into the valleys of the Congo, of Lake Victoria, of the Oubangui, men such as Speek and Grant, Livingstone, Cameron, Stanley, Schweinfurth, Junker, de Brazza, all of them made the same discoveries: they left countries dominated by the rigid laws of the African Ares and then penetrated into countries where peace reigned, joy in adornment and in beauty, countries of old civilizations, civilizations of ancient styles, of harmonious styles."

"And was it otherwise in the great Sudan? By no means. In the last century the legend still persisted which attributed to Islam the origin of all higher civilization. We have learnt much since then and we know

that the beautiful "tob" and the other garments of the Sudanese people were already in use in Africa before Mohammed was born, before a cultivated Arab could have penetrated into the centre of Africa; we know also that the particular organization of the State, in the states of the Sudan existed long before Islam, that the arts of field culture, and of good-breeding—which showed reflection—that the bourgeois orders and systems of corporation of Negro Africa, are thousands of years older than those of Europe. . . ."

"The Sudan, then also possessed an autochthonous civilization ancient and glowing. It is a fact that exploration has found in Africa only old and yet vigorous and fresh civilizations, everywhere where the preponderance of the Arabs, Hamitic blood or European civilization has not rubbed off from the wings of the black butterflies the down of their wings formerly so beautiful. *Everywhere*." Translated from "Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine" de Léo Frobenius, traduit de l'allemand par Dr. H. Back et D. Ermont 1933.

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The age in which we live is, as we know, generally called "The Iron Age", because our civilization, so dependent on the machine and becoming more mechanized every day, would be impossible without the knowledge of iron and its derivative—steel. And even if our machines should become increasingly aluminum, or the equivalent of metals should be chemically evolved from peanuts or the air, the foundation of all that we have accomplished, or will accomplish, materially, would still have been built on the smelting of iron. And unprejudiced anthropologists and archeologists now believe that it was the African Negro who first smelted iron.

The following three quotations are taken from "Black Folk Then and Now" of W. E. B. DuBois.

"Boas says: 'It seems likely that at a time when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron. Consider for a moment what this invention has meant for the advance of the human race. As long as the hammer, knife, saw, drill, the spade, and the hoe had to be chipped out of stone, or had to be made of shell or hard wood, effective industrial work was not impossible, but difficult. A great progress was made when copper found in large nuggets was hammered into tools and later on shaped by melting; and when bronze was introduced; but the true advancement of industrial life did not begin until the hard iron was discovered. It seems not unlikely

that the people who made the marvelous discovery of reducing iron ores by smelting were the African Negroes. Neither ancient Europe, nor ancient western Asia, nor ancient China knew iron; and everything points to its introduction from Africa. At the time of the great African discoveries toward the end of the past century, the trade of the blacksmiths was found all over Africa, from north to south and from east to west. With his simple bellows and a charcoal fire he reduced the ore that is found in many parts of the continent and forged implements of great usefulness and beauty.'"*

Torday says the same: "I feel convinced by certain arguments that seem to prove to my satisfaction that we are indebted to the Negro for the very key stone of our modern civilization, and that we owe to him the discovery of iron. That iron could be discovered by accident in Africa seems beyond doubt; if this is so in other parts of the world I am not competent to say. I will only remind you that Schweinfurth and Petherick record the fact that in the northern part of East Africa smelting furnaces are worked without artificial air currents; and on the other hand, Stuhlmann and Kollmann found near Victoria Nyanza that the natives simply mixed powered ore with charcoal and by introduction of air currents obtained the metal. These simple processes make it clear that iron could have been discovered in East or Central Africa. No bronze implements† have ever been discovered in Black Africa; had the (Black) Africans received iron from the Egyptians, bronze would have preceded this metal and all traces of it would not have disappeared. Black Africa was for a long time an exporter of iron, and even in the twelfth century exports to India and Java are recorded by (El) Idrisi."‡

Chamberlain says in "The Contribution of the Negro" (Journal of Race Development, April 1911): "The question of the origin of iron smelting is now being treated in detail by ethnologists, and while general agreement has not been reached, the mass of evidence so far disclosed

* Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York, in "Atlanta University Leaflet, No. 19."

† By "no bronze implements" Torday means, of course, no "implements" of bronze replacing the "implements" of stone for domestic use, the chase and war. In other words in Negro Africa the use of iron immediately followed the use of stone in the making of these "implements":—there was no "bronze age." Bronze, however, was used in the making of figures for ritual or ornamental purposes as soon as any of these were made, so bronze was not unknown. But it was never used in the making of "implements." Why should it have been when iron was already known and was more suitable, because harder?

‡ E. Torday—Member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain. Corresponding Fellow of the Anthropological Society of Vienna, Author of "On the Trail of the Bushongo" etc. The above quotation from Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute Vol. XLIII.

has convinced eminent men of science like Boas and Von Luschan that the smelting of iron was first discovered by the African Negroes, from whom, by way of Egypt and Asia Minor this art made its way into Europe and the rest of the Old World."

In 1938 when Leo Frobenius died "The Manchester Guardian" published a long account of his explorations and his deductions from his discoveries. It says: "Frobenius brought forward arguments to prove that the iron industry flourished in the interior of Africa before 3500 B.C., or 2500 years before the use of iron was known in Europe." (I cannot vouch for Frobenius's having given just those dates, for I have not seen that statement under his signature, and it is not quite safe to trust any newspaper's account of anything without verification; but at any rate Frobenius believed that iron was known in Africa long before it was known in Europe or western Asia.)

If Boas, Von Luschan, Torday and Frobenius are "convinced," the question may be considered settled; as far as any scientific question is ever settled, which, of course, no scientific question ever is. One cannot state categorically even that one will *never* find iron implements lying close to other implements showing neolithic stone polishing in some corner of the Antarctic continent in a strata lower than any yet examined by geologists; but humanly, and even scientifically, speaking this is more than improbable; so if we cannot state categorically that humanity owes its knowledge of the use of iron to the Black races of Africa, we can say that it is more than probable that this is true, and that there is no such probability in connection with any other people. There is such an evident hysterical parti-pris in the contentions of those scientists (?) who do not wish the Negroes to have this honour that their arguments may be disregarded. As may also the arguments of the scientists (?) who are anti-Semitic in regard to the contribution of the Jews and the arguments of the scientists (?) who are anti-German in regard to the contribution of the Germans.

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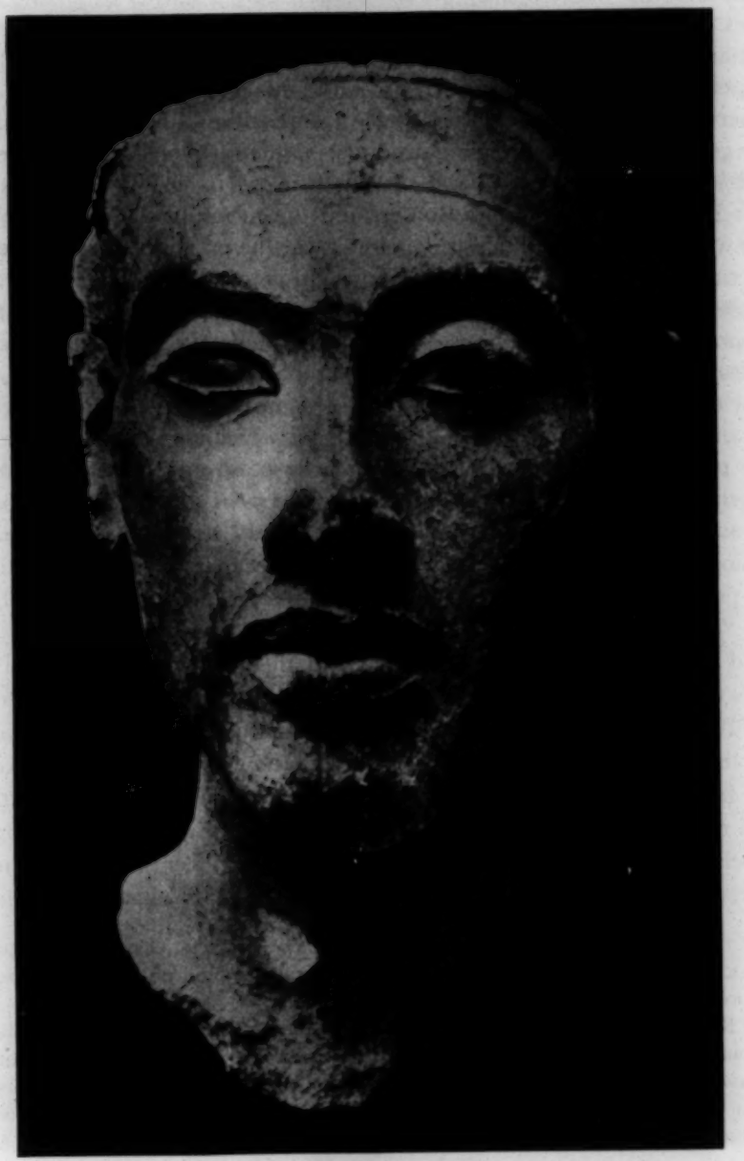
We know that several of the Egyptian dynasties were mulatto, and that one, at any rate, was Negro, Amenophis—or Amenhotep—III (1411–1375 B.C.) was evidently what, south of Mason and Dixon, would be called a "colored man", and his chief queen—Tiy—must have had much more Negro blood than her husband. Indeed, judging from her portrait bust in the Berlin Gallery (about which more will be said later), she may have been very nearly pure Nubian. Amenophis—or Amenhotep—IV (1375–1358 B.C.), who later took the name Akhnaton, or Akhenaton,



BUST OF AKHNATON FOUND AT TEL EL AMARNA
Now in the Museum at Berlin

though less Negroid than his mother was more of a mulatto type than his father, and the portrait busts of his daughters show them all to be beautiful probable quadroons, though perhaps octaroons. And this Mulatto Pharaoh —Akhnaton—was not only the most interesting Pharaoh in all the long lines of the many dynasties; but he was, in many ways, one of the most remarkable human beings who ever lived. Weigall* says of him: "He was a personality of surprising vigour and amazing originality, and one deserving of careful study. In an age of superstition, and in a land where the grossest polytheism reigned supreme, Akhnaton evolved a monotheistic religion second only to Christianity itself in purity of tone. He was the first human being to rightly understand the meaning of divinity. When the world reverberated with the noise of war, he preached the first known doctrine of peace, when the glory of martial pomp swelled the hearts of his subjects, he deliberately turned his back on heroics. He was the first man to preach simplicity, honesty, frankness and sincerity, and he preached it from a throne. He was the first Pharaoh to be a humanitarian, the first man in whose heart there was no trace of barbarism. He has given us an example, three thousand years ago, which might be followed at the present day: an example of what a husband and father should be, of what an honest man should do, of what a poet should feel, of what a preacher should teach, of what an artist should strive for . . . of what a philosopher should think. Like other great teachers he sacrificed all to his principles and thus his life plainly shows—alas!—the impracticability" (?) "of his doctrines; yet there can be no question that his ideals will hold good 'till the swan turns black and the crow turns white, till the hills rise up to travel, and the deeps rush into the rivers." I have quoted in full Weigall's conclusions concerning Akhnaton's remarkable character for that Weigall—Weigall an imperialist to the very marrow of his bones, the friend and appointee of Lord Cromer (one of the most unscrupulous and ruthless imperialists who ever lived, who bled Egypt white), Weigall, a believer in militarism even an admirer of Kitchener, (one of the most brutal and most sullied of all military men)† that Weigall should have

* "Life and Times of Akhnaton" by Arthur Weigall, Inspector General of Antiquities for the Egyptian Government, Member of the Catalogue Staff of the Cairo Museum. Revised edition 1923.

† Kitchener's warfare against the Dervishes—the followers of the Mahdi in the Sudan—was so brutal, that even the British Tories were revolted. His own brother-in-law said to him: "Well, if you do not bring down a curse on the British Empire for what you have been doing there is no truth in Christianity." His desecration of the Mahdi's tomb even Winston Churchill called a "foul deed." And when Kitchener found that even the promoters of the inexcusable war could not swallow this last, he tried to put the blame of the desecration onto Gordon's nephew by making absolutely false accusations. See "My Diaries," Vol. I, Wilfred Scawen Blunt.

given, in spite of himself as it were, this glowing tribute to Akhnaton means more than if it had come from a Quaker or a Gandhist.

This Mulatto Pharaoh long before the Hebrews worshiped one God only, before the Hebrews existed as a people, insisted that there was but one God, that he must be worshiped with no image, that the rays of the sun might be his emblem; but that he was not the sun. He called this one God—*Aton*—a name already familiar as one of the titles of Ra, the sun-god of Heliopolis. But Akhnaton conceived of Aton as being far more than the sun. He was: "Aton—the Heat behind the Sun" and finally simply "The Effulgence—which is Aton". And to Aton must be sacrificed no animals, for Aton loved even the little chick within the shell; and the worship of Aton demanded no retinue of priests, and no darkness. There were many temples to Him in Akhnaton's city, but not walled, the altar being in the open court and in the full sun-light and the offerings were incense and perfumes and flowers and songs of praise. One hymn to Aton—one of the many composed by Akhnaton—is so very like the 104th Psalm, that the only explanation seems to be that the Hebrew, and later, version was derived from Akhnaton's.

"The world is in darkness like the dead,
Men sleep in their chambers . . .
Every lion cometh forth from his den
Serpents sting
Darkness reigns
The world is in silence
. . .

Bright is the earth when Thou risest in the horizon . . .
The darkness is banished . . .
Then in all the world they do their work
All cattle rest upon the herbage;
All trees and plants flourish;
The birds flutter in their marshes
Their wings uplifted in adoration to Thee.
All the sheep dance upon their feet,
All winged things fly
They live when Thou hast shone upon them . . .

When the chicken criest in the egg-shell
Thou givest him breath therein, to preserve him alive
When thou hast perfected him
That he may pierce the egg.
He cometh forth from the egg
To chirp with all his might
. . .

How manifold are all Thy Works!
They are hidden from before us,

Oh Thou sole God, whose powers no other possesseth
Thou didst create the earth according to Thy desire,
While Thou wast alone:
Men, all cattle large and small,
All that are upon the earth
That go about upon their feet;
All that are on high
That fly with their wings.
The countries of Syria and Nubia
The land of Egypt;
Thou settest every man in his place
Everyone has his possessions,
And his days are reckoned."*

All mankind, and all nature owed everything to the Goodness of Aton. But Aton was not anthropomorphic. Aton was Goodness, Aton was Love and Aton was Truth; so those worshiping Truth and serving a king who worshiped Truth must represent things as they really were. And this meant a revolution in Art. A tendency towards greater realism had begun in his father's reign, but to Akhnaton Truth in art was a part of his religion. Plants, animals and mankind he loved and evidently lovingly observed, and his artists were inspired to do the same. One of his artists definitely states: "the King taught me." Bartholomew de Ligt in writing of him in "La Paix Créatrice" says: "There is seen in the delicate poetry of this man a love for all that lives which recalls Pythagoras and Saint Francis. However his (Akhnaton's) conception of the world is more harmonious, more monist, wider and freer. Rarely has a man succeeded in identifying himself so intensely with the love of the sun for the earth." And the flowers and animals he loved were painted on the walls and ceilings and floors. Portions of the pavement of his palace are still to be seen with the paintings as he walked on them: "a young calf, frisking in the sunlight gallops through a field of red poppies; wild geese rise from the marshes and beat their way through the reeds, disturbing the butterflies, sinuous fish are seen to wander amidst the lotus-flowers resting on the rippling water."

"The winding tangled stems and leaves of vines were carefully studied; the rapid motions of animals correctly caught." "Sculpture in the round as well as in relief reached a pitch of excellence never before known." A portrait statue of Akhnaton now in the Louvre "is the work of one who may rank with Donatello", and the portrait bust of Akhnaton's Queen Nefertiti at present in the Berlin Gallery is one of the most beautiful and life-like portraits ever executed by any artist of any age. No earlier king had allowed an artist to represent him in any poses which did not

* These are only thirty-seven lines of the one hundred and thirty-three lines in Breasted's translation, quoted by Arthur Weigall in "The Life and Times of Akhnaton."

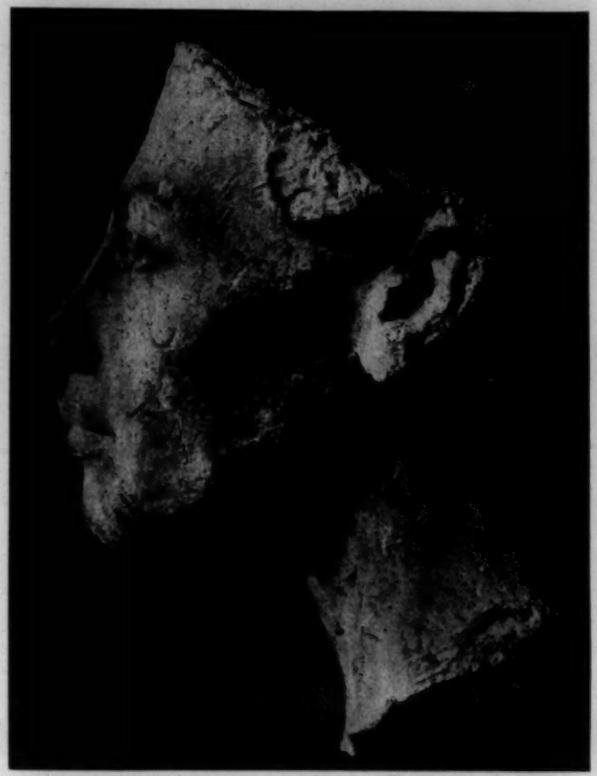
indicate divinity or at any rate the majesty of power, "but out of his love for truth and reality Akhnaton dispensed with this convention, and encouraged the regarding of himself as a mortal man," and so we know him as he really was. Even when illness came, death was approaching and he was nearly spent, the drawn look in his face, his thinness, his drooping shoulders, some swelling in his abdomen and thighs all were shown. And because of this insistence on realism in art we know his family life, which seems to have been singularly beautiful and happy. The oath he pronounced at the foundation ceremony of his city was: ". . . as my heart is happy in the Queen and her children". He seems to have been an absolute monogamist, and he had every excuse not to be, for no Pharaoh before him had ever been without at least two wives, and Akhnaton's queen gave him seven daughters and no sons. He spoke of her always as "Mistress of the King's happiness", as one "at hearing of whose voice the King rejoices". "Even on the most ceremonious occasions the queen sat beside her husband and held his hand, while their children frolicked around them. . . . It is seldom that the Pharaoh is represented in the reliefs without his family, and in opposition to all tradition the queen is shown upon the same scale of size and importance as that of her husband. In one of the frescoes Akhnaton and his queen are making a public appearance "to receive the tribute of Syria and Ethiopia and of the west and the east." The king and queen are shown seated in the gold covered state palanquin side by side; "and although Akhnaton holds the insignia of royalty and is evidently very much on his dignity, the queen's arm has found its way around his waist and there lovingly rests for all the world to see." In a later scene of the same series of frescoes "the king and queen in a gorgeous little pavilion sit on a double throne, their feet supported upon hassocks. The queen sits upon Akhnaton's left, and in the picture her figure is hidden by that of her husband, but her right arm is seen to encircle his waist and her left hand to hold his left hand . . . the little princesses cluster round the throne, one of them holding a young gazelle in her arms, while another stroked its head." In still another fresco the king, queen and the queen dowager (Akhnaton's mother) are all shown drinking from delicate bowls . . . there are three flower-decked tables piled high with fruit. From these the little princesses . . . help themselves liberally; and the small Ankhsenpaaton stands upon the footstool of her mother's chair, holding on to her skirts with one hand, while with the other she crams a plum or some similar fruit into her mouth. We also see Akhnaton as "he drives in a chariot with his wife and his eldest daughter Merytaton; and although the spirited horses would appear to be difficult to manage, the more so because the mischievous Merytaton is poking them with a stick, Akhnaton is a sufficiently good driver to be able to

BUSTS OF TWO OF AKHNATON'S DAUGHTERS FOUND AT TEL EL AMARNA
Now in Berlin

carry on a conversation with the queen, and to address a few words to Mahu who runs by the side of the chariot." Then as he becomes more feeble in a later fresco, "the king is seen leaning back upon the cushions of an arm chair, as though tired out and sick at heart. In the fingers of his left hand he idly dandles a few flowers, while with his right hand he languidly holds out a delicate bowl that the wine in it may be replenished. This is done by the queen, who is standing before him all solicitous for his comfort. She pours the wine from a vessel, causing it to pass through a strainer before passing into the bowl. Three little princesses stand near by; one of them laden with bouquets of flowers, another holding out some sweetmeat upon a dish, and a third talking to her father."

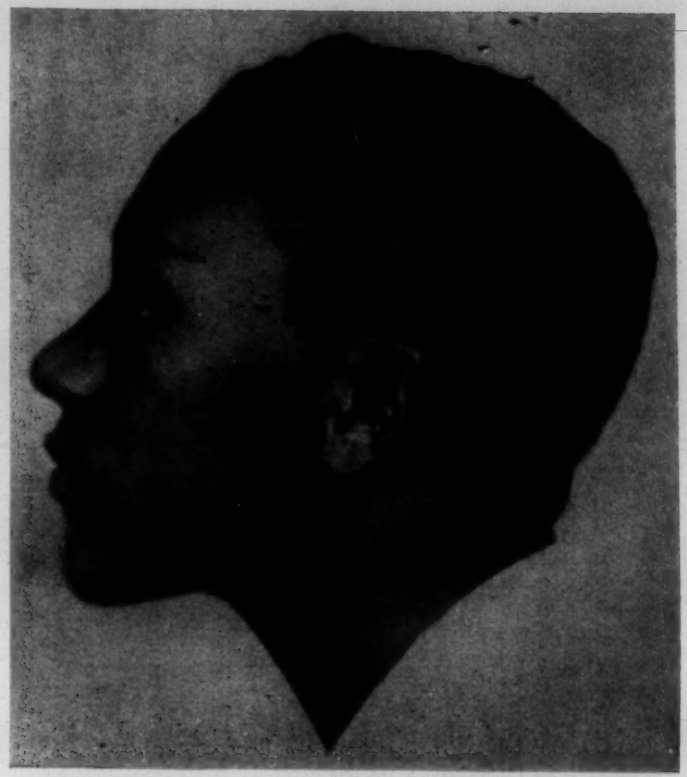
"It is strange to picture this lofty-minded preacher in his home, with his six little girls around him, as he is shown upon the monuments. No other Pharaoh thus portrayed himself surrounded by his family; but Akhnaton seems to have never been happy unless all his children were with him and his wife was by his side. A little statuette, now in Berlin, shows the king seated upon his throne, and nursing one of his little daughters upon his knees. He is in the act of kissing her, and their lips are in contact—an intimate attitude which is all the more amazing when one remembers the usual severity and restraint shown in Egyptian statuary of other periods. The charm of family life, and the sanctity of the relationship of husband and wife, parents and children, seems to have been an important point of doctrine to him."

But besides having time to give to his family, besides being himself a great poet, and a patron of the arts equal to the Medici, besides attending to the details of building a great city, besides very evidently spending hours in meditation, and in observation of the works of nature while conceiving and evolving and shaping his religion. (He once said: "Ye ask who are those that draw us to the kingdom, if the kingdom is in heaven? The fowls of the air, and all the beasts that are upon the earth, and the fishes in the sea, these are they which draw you, and the kindgom is within you.") Besides spending measureless times in preaching his religion and in trying to get his people to adopt it, he was an emperor and he had to have time to attend to the details of administering a great and fabulously rich empire. His father had been called "The Magnificent" and the life of his father and mother had been not unlike that of a king and queen of the Arabian Nights. In the twelfth year of his own reign the tribute from the conquered principalities reached an amount it had never reached before. He did not shirk any task connected with his imperial duties unless he felt that it was contrary to his religious principles, and when he found that he might neglect those administrative duties, if too engrossed in the details of spreading his religion, he appointed a high



SIDE VIEW OF BUST OF AKHNATON FOUND AT TEL EL AMARNA

Now in the Museum at Berlin



ORVILLE BRIGHTFUL, A MEMBER OF THE CLASS OF 1943, ROBERT MOTON HIGH SCHOOL, WESTMINSTER, MARYLAND

priest to help him in the latter. But soon the two did clash. His religion necessitated pacifism—non-violence, and also the belief in the equality of peoples. In his hymn quoted above he speaks of Syria and Nubia, as if he thought they had a value equal to the value of Egypt in the sight of Aton. He could not send soldiers to hold any province in subjection. When Syria began to rebel, and the Egyptians holding "posts" in the conquered towns (like the British holding "posts" in India and Egypt until recently) and the "Native Princes", whose power to bleed their people was due to Egyptian support, began demanding Egyptian armies to keep the status quo, Akhnaton refused to send the armies. In one letter to one of the princes he makes it very plain that he had the power if he had wished to use it. But he could not slaughter his human brothers and lay waste their lands and at the same time be true to Aton. The letters from the Egyptian officials in Syria and the "native princes" are now in the museum at Cairo and translations have been published. When the demands were repeated and repeated and became very insistent, Akhnaton stopped sending replies. He had already given his answer. Syria was "lost". And it was from Syria that a great part of the tribute had come. It is even said that probably the Egyptian court faced bankruptcy. But even bankruptcy had no terrors which could make him use violence to exact the tribute. It is hardly possible that he did not see that the poverty of his court would mean the disaffection of many of his former adherents, and he knew the officers of the army were chafing and biding their time. The affection he personally inspired, however, was so great, that as long as he lived he probably received loving attention, and somehow, when he died gold was found to cover his coffin as the coffin of every Pharaoh was covered. But the last year of his life must have been a very sad one. He knew that there was really no one who could carry on his work. He chose a successor to whom he married his eldest daughter, and his third daughter (the second had died) was betrothed to, and afterwards married Tutankhaton (afterwards Tutankhamon). Yet he knew the weakness of his sons-in-law—the younger only a boy—and he knew that he had not converted his people. He knew that the priests of Ammon, whose power he had defied and broken, hated him, and that the priests of all the many gods whose shrines he had defaced also hated him, and that all the priests would curse him when they had the power, and that they would unite in bringing back the old religion of supersition and fear, he knew that the army would soon be led by the military class into neighboring lands, in order to hold "natives" in subjection and to extort tribute. He knew all this and he must have known that he was ill and dying, as the bas-reliefs and frescoes show he was; but he never compromised the least tiny bit.

One of the doctors who examined his skull after it was found in 1907, 3215 years after his death, said that Akhnaton may have had some form of epilepsy, which if true may have meant that he had "trances" with hallucinations. But if he had some form of the "falling sickness", it was probably not more serious than that which Julius Caesar had, and we do not know that he had it at all. He had such a passion for truthful representation that it is not likely that he would not have had some indication of these "trances" or "trance-like" states represented in one of the bas-reliefs, if they had been frequent or of any duration. He died when he was just thirty. The main inscription on a Pharraoh's tomb is usually completed some time before his death, and under his own supervision. Under the feet of Akhnaton's coffin was a little piece of gold foil the inscription on which was evidently written later than those on other parts of the coffin. It was certainly written by Akhnaton himself and probably just before he died, with the request that it be his epitaph. It reads:

> "I breathe the sweet breath which comes forth from Thy mouth. I behold Thy beauty every day. It is my desire that I may hear Thy sweet voice, even the north wind, that my limbs may be rejuvenated with life through love of Thee. Give me Thy hands holding Thy spirit, that I may receive it and live by it. Call Thou upon my name unto eternity, and it shall never fail."

If this man were living today in the United States south of the Potomac he would have to ride in a "Jim Crow" car. If he lived in Texas, Mississippi, Alabama or Georgia he would probably be lynched, for he married a woman presumably white.

It would be altogether ludicrous, if it were not responsible for such suffering and such injustice—that panicky fear of losing prestige which makes the majority of Englishmen (and Scotchmen) and Anglo-Saxon American shy off from giving the world any proofs of the outstanding superiority of a man or woman who has any Negro blood, even if the man was gathered to his fathers over three thousand years ago. And if the superiority cannot be hidden, the Negro blood must be hidden. The wonderful genius, and beautiful character of Akhnaton could not be hidden; but the British and Americans who have written of him seem to have made every effort to hide his very evident Negro blood. Weigall who is British has written a remarkably appreciative biography. It is true that as an imperialist he seems to think that it would have been much better for Syria to continue to send such fabulous amounts of tribute that she must have been bled as white as Egypt is today, and that it would have been much better for Syria to continue to support occupying Egyptian armies and functionaries than to be free, and since

he—seemingly—has such ideas it is not strange that he cannot quite appreciate Akhnaton's refusal to use violence in order to hold in subjection, it is not strange that he has great sympathy for the Egyptian "colonial officials" in Syria and for puppet "native princes" subservient to Egypt, but, as he shows, in his above quoted tribute, he recognizes all the wonder and beauty of Akhnaton's mind and spirit. Never once, though, does he mention Negro blood.

Did Akhnaton, then really have Negro blood? His father may have had no more than probably all Egyptians had—and have. (Herodotus spoke of the Egyptians as being "black and curly-haired", the Sphinx has Negroid features and excavations of the tombs of the nobles of this dynasty—the XVIIIth—reveal that one sixth, at least, of the higher class was Negro.) Akhnaton's mother, however was more pronouncedly Nubian than the average Egyptian. Engberg of the Chicago Oriental Institute says that she was of "obscure origin." But Weigall proves her parentage, at any rate, to be anything but obscure. She was married to Amenophis III a year after his becoming Pharaoh, when she was about eleven and he about thirteen "with ceremony and feasting," and though for state reasons, Amenophis later married also a Syrian princess, the Syrian consort seems to have been ignored, and it was Tiy, his first queen, who was always the "Great Queen", and who received honours no Egyptian Queen-consort had ever received before. Amenophis III reigned for thirty six years—but for the last four years of his reign Tiy was regent—and also regent for the first three years of her son's reign. Her father was a priest of the god Min, but both he and her mother, Tuau, held high positions at the court of Thutmosis IV, the father of Amenophis III. Weigall thinks, judging from the importance of their position, also from the fact that their daughter was the "Great Queen", and the fact that they were allowed to have a tomb in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, that one or the other was—and perhaps both were—of royal blood. He thinks that Yuaa may have been of some Syrian royal house—a relative, perhaps of Amenophis III's mother who was a Syrian princess, and that Tuau was perhaps a granddaughter of Thutmosis III. He says that he thinks the mummy of Yuaa shows some evidences of being Syrian and that Tuau's mummy appears Egyptian. But he acknowledges that his conjectures concerning the origins of Yuaa and Tuau are only conjectures. Could not one or the other have been of royal Nubian blood? There must have been in one or the other, probably in both, a good deal of Negro blood, or their daughter, Queen Tiy, could not have had features so markedly Negroid. The statuette found by Professor Petrie in Sinai, Weigall acknowledges to be Queen Tiy. The other portrait bust, now in the Berlin Gallery, in 1936 at any rate—thirteen years after Weigall's

biography was written—was still labeled "Queen Tiy, the mother of Akhnaton". Weigall, however thinks,—or thought in 1923—that this bust was not a portrait of Queen Tiy. But his reason for not accepting the Berlin archeologist's label does not seem a very good one, and certainly his suggestion that it might be a portrait of Akhnaton's eldest daughter, who became queen as the wife of Akhnaton's successor, was a most remarkable idea, and one which he must have known was impossible. The reason he gives for thinking it is not a portrait of Tiy is that it does not look like her other portraits. But it is not remarkable that a realistic portrait of anyone after middle age should not be like a portrait of the same person in earlier years, at a period when realism was not dominant in art. The statue is the portrait of a queen of Egypt, and was made, as Weigall acknowledges, during the period when Akhnaton's ideas of art were still observed. Akhnaton's eldest daughter, Merytaton was only about twelve when her father died and she became queen. By the time she could have become as old as the subject of this portrait is represented as being:—a woman of probably over fifty—Merytaton had long been replaced by first her sister, and then by the queens of two still later pharaohs, indeed she had probably been long dead; her father's name was being erased from all inscriptions, his name cursed and his canons of art discarded. It is therefore quite impossible that the portrait should have been one of Merytaton at fifty. There were only four queens of Egypt during the time when Akhnaton's ideas of art were en rigeur:—his mother, his wife, his eldest daughter Merytaton and his third daughter who became queen as the wife of Tutankhaton (Tutankhamon). If it is impossible that it should have been Merytaton it is still more impossible that is should have been her younger sister; and that it is not a portrait of Akhnaton's wife Nefertiti—of whom there are so many realistic portraits with which to compare it, it is hardly necessary to say. There is no one but Queen Tiy of whom it could be a portrait. And that the son of the subject of this portrait had Negro blood in his veins can hardly be gainsaid. Besides the portrait found by Petrie in Sinai, which Weigall does acknowledge is one of Tiy, is also Negroid.* In her youth Tiy was probably like Solomon's

* William L. Hansberry in "Sources for the Study of Ethiopian History" says of the "Great Stele" (the Stele of Amonrenas, discovered at Meroë in the winter of 1913–1914; now in the British Museum, where it has been carefully studied by Drs. Sayce and Griffith):—"Their tentative findings are that this monumental inscription was erected some time in the last quarter of the first century B.C., and that its major theme is a native version of the Romano-Ethiopian War of 24–22 B.C." (of which Strabo, Pliny and Dion Cassius give the Roman version). And Hansberry goes on to say: ". . . the inscription here under consideration also provides the modern historian with materials which are of pivotal importance in the study of the ancient history of both Ethiopia and Egypt. Though there was little documentary evidence available which definitely

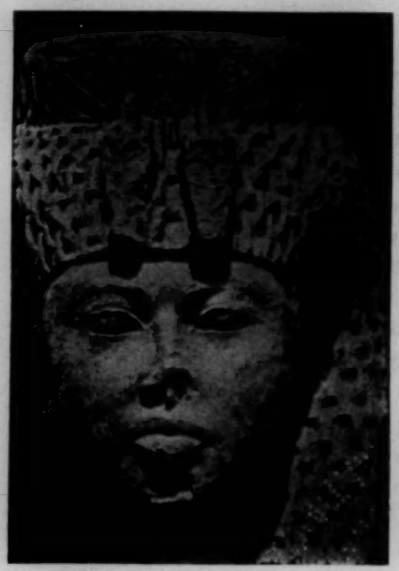
Shulamite "black, but very comely" and evidently was a woman of very great charm, spiritual vision, ability and a strong will. She seems to have accompanied her husband in his visits to other parts of his empire, and according to Budge† they spent a great deal of time in Nubia, where Amenophis III built a temple to Ammon, but in which he himself was worshiped as a god, and another by it in which Tiy was worshiped as a goddess. In Thebes, their capital, they lived in a palace as magnificent as Versailles, where Tiy was always the "Great Queen", though not until twenty three years after their marriage did she bear her husband a son (daughters aplenty, but no son). It is supposed that perhaps after appealing in vain to Ammon and to other gods, she may have dedicated to Ra-Aton the son for whom she prayed, if Ra-Aton would graciously answer her prayers; for though the little boy was given his father's name of Amenophis (or Amenhotep) it seems to have been very definitely his mother who first gave him his love for Aton—the Sungod. (Her own pleasure boat on the lake in the palace gardens was called "Aton Gleams". If Akhnaton did not receive from Queen Tiy the full inspiration which enabled him to conceive his religion of the one God—the Effulgence which is Aton,—at any rate he received the initial impulse from her—his Negroid, if not Negro mother.

This may seem an altogether disproportionate number of pages to give to a man dead over three thousand years ago. But it is not unlikely that the fate of humanity hangs on man's attitude towards race. Unless barriers separating and segregating groups of humanity are broken, the brotherhood of man is impossible and democracy is impossible and I am sure that my not ungentle, readers cannot fail to feel humble before this man who was a mulatto.

But there were not only mulatto dynasties in Egypt there were also Negro dynasties. Centuries before Akhnaton's (the XVIIIth) there had

confirmed the fact, many scholars had long suspected, on the basis of archeological evidence, that powerful kingdoms ruled by great kings, had existed in Ethiopia" (Nubia) "hundreds of years before the Ethiopian" (Nubian) "conquest of Egypt in the eighth century B.C." (For this conquest see page 23.) "Information contained on the text of the Great Stele not only confirms the truth of this suspicion, but gives us the very names of the sovereigns of those more ancient times. In a similar way many students of Egyptian history have harbored the opinion that some of the most celebrated of the Egyptian pharaohs were the immediate descendants of the princely house of Ethiopia (Nubia) or of Ethiopian (Nubian) commoners living in Egypt. The "Great Stele" again come forward with information which seems to prove these opinions to be quite well founded. It indicates, for example, that the Eighteenth Dynasty—the greatest in the history of Egypt—had a pronounced Ethiopian (Nubian) background and *that Queen Tiy, the wife of Amenhotep III and the mother of Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton) was a native of Ethiopia (Nubia).*"

† "A History of Ethiopia" Vol. I. by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge.



THE HEAD OF A STATUETTE OF AKHNATON'S MOTHER—QUEEN TIY—FOUND BY PROFESSOR PETRIE IN SINAI

TWO VIEWS OF BUST OF A QUEEN (PERIOD OF AKHNATON), SAID BY BERLIN MUSEUM ARCHEOLOGIST TO BE QUEEN TIY, AKHNATON'S MOTHER
Now in Berlin

been an Egyptian conquest of Nubia in the XIIth dynasty (before 2000 B.C.). These "conquests," for there were repetitions, do not seem however to have been complete subjugations (though tribute was demanded and the Egyptians seem to have controlled the mines in northern Nubia) or ever to have meant that the whole of Nubia was captured. (Even the conquest by Rameses II of the XIXth dynasty was only partial.) The civilizations, though, of the two countries (after the "conquest" by Pharaohs of the XIIth dynasty) do seem to have become increasingly identical, and the priests of Ammon had great power in both. The mutual infiltration—of Egyptians into Nubia and of Nubians into Egypt must have been very great, and the intermingling of the two peoples through intermarriage was constant, so that it is not surprising to find long before Akhnaton—when the Hyksos (the Pharaohs of the XVth and XVIth dynasties) were still nominally ruling, though their power was waning—a "Black" king establishing himself in the very Delta. "This king called himself 'King of the South and the North' and had his name written in a cartouche 'Nehsi Rā,' i.e. 'The Black of Rā.' He was certainly a foreigner, as is shown by the sign for foreigner in his cartouche. Whether he was the son of a king of Egypt by a black woman, or whether he was a pure 'Black', is uncertain; but there is no doubt that he came from Nubia and established himself at Tanis in the Eastern Delta."* And six centuries after Akhnaton a Nubian king, Piankhy who reigned from 744 to 710 B.C. completely conquered the whole of Egypt and started a Nubian dynasty. We know every detail of this conquest from the "stele" of this King. On the stele is "a long, detailed, and most interesting account of how Piankhy . . . sailed down the Nile with a vast Ethiopian fleet to Egypt, where he defeated army after army and captured city after city until finally the standards of Ethiopia were waving triumphantly over all Egypt from the first cataract northward to the Mediterranean, or 'The Great Green Sea.' Its wealth of historical detail, its picturesqueness and fervour of language, and above all in the incidental manner in which it reveals the ability, character and magnanimity of a great personality, have led scholars to place this celebrated inscription among the most valuable of primary historical documents that have come down to the present from the ancient world."† This Nubian—the XXVth—dynasty in Egypt came to an end when Egypt was conquered by the Assyrians and Thebes sacked, but though conquered in Egypt the Nubian dynasties persisted in their own country. Neither the Assyrians nor the Persians ever really captured their land and the Ptolomies also acknowledged

* A History of Ethiopia Vol. I. by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge.

† William L. Hansberry in "Sources for the Study of Ethiopian History" in "Howard University Studies in History" Nov. 1930. Much fuller account of Piankhy's conquest and of the other pharaohs of the Nubian dynasty in Budge's "A History of Ethiopia."

their practical freedom. The Roman conquest, too, was only partial. And it was during this period, when the rest of the "civilized" world was being torn by the Assyrian, Persian, Alexandrine, and Roman conquests, that the Kingdom of Ethiopia (Nubia—modern British-Egyptian Sudan) with its capital first at Napata and then at Meroë had its "golden age." "Recent archeological and anthropological research in the Nilotic area of Africa, supplemented by renewed studies and new evaluations of the classical records relating to this region, has established the fact that Ancient Ethiopia (the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan) was the seat of one of the greatest civilizations of antiquity. On the strength of the now available evidence, (we know that) the hey-day or 'golden-age' of this civilization dates from the middle of the eighth century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The beginnings, however, of this anciently famous, but now little remembered civilization go back, as archeological finds attest, to the very dawn of the historic era in Nilotic Africa; that is to say to the fourth and fifth millenniums B.C. In other words it may be said that the chronology of Ethiopian culture parallels roughly that of Ancient Egypt." And the invention of the script which gives us most of the records of this civilization, was Nubian—i.e. Negro. There was an attempt to prove that the script was the invention of a people who were "Hamitic," but archeologists, philologists and epigraphists have now, most of them, come to the conclusion that it was invented by a Nubian (a Negro) and not by a Beja (Hamitic) people. It has not yet (had not in 1930) been entirely deciphered, but there seems to be an alphabet of twenty three characters. No Aryan people (no European or Persian or Indian people of the Indo-European race) have ever, as far as we know, invented a system of writing, the alphabet we possess being Semitic in origin. But the Negroes of Africa have invented at least four different alphabets, with characters as phonetic symbols, characters completely different from, and owing nothing to, any other alphabet. One is still in use among the Vai people of Liberia and Sierre Leone.

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Perhaps as an interlude in this attempt to give some glimpses of the history of the Negro Peoples, after having told of their inventing alphabets I may quote what Blaise Cendrars say in regard to the richness of their languages. In the introduction to his "Anthologie Nègre" quoting Cust he tells us that there are 591 languages and dialects in Africa of the Blacks and "they are excessively rich. Each knoll, hill, mountain, peak has a name, as in the same way each stream, each valley, each plain.

To discuss the meaning of these names would take a man's life time. It is not a dearth, but a superabundance of names which led travellers astray. The plenitude of the language is such that there are twenty or more words to mark the varieties of walking, of sauntering, of swaggering. Each manner of walking is expressed by a single word.". . . "Appleyard, Krapf and Steere are unanimous in praising the beauty and plastic power of these languages and Wilson remarks in particular that 'they are tractable, supple, flexible to an almost limitless degree, that their grammatical principles are built on a very systematic and philosophical foundation, and that the number of their words can be increased without end; they can express the most delicate shades of thought and sentiment and there are, perhaps, no languages in the world which have a more determined character and more precision in expression.' "

Frobenius, in the section of the introduction to his "Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine" which I have quoted above, speaks of "The Great Sudan" meaning not only Nubia, but the Sudan which stretched west from Nubia all the way to the Atlantic:—the land where the Negro inhabitants became, and still are, Mohammedans—the land south of the Sahara and the Libyan deserts, the land lying roughly between the 10th and 17th parallels of latitude (north of the equator), and more especially that part of it lying west of Lake Chad: the land known today as French Senegal, the greater part of that known as French Guinea, all of the French Sudan, the extreme northern parts of what today are the French Ivory Coast and French Dahomey, all of French Niger and the northern part of the British Colony of Nigeria. This was the "Great Sudan." And in calling it "great" Frobenius did not mean that it was great because of its vast area, but because of its wonderful history. He resented the fact that the ignorant attributed its greatness to Islam, for he believed that its remarkable civilization was autochthonous, indigenous.

There are many legends which seem to indicate that there were connections in the earliest times between the eastern Sudan (Nubia—which of course meant connections with Egypt) and the land of the upper Niger or the western Sudan. The Tarikh-es-Sudan says that there is a tradition that Kaougha the old capital of the Songhay Empire (now Gao, on the eastern Niger) existed in the times of the pharaohs and that from it came the magicians who challenged Moses. But there are more than traditions. When Felix Du Bois, author of "Timbuctoo the Mysterious" visited Jenné (about 200 miles from Timbuctoo, on a tributary of the Niger) he was amazed at the architecture and at first puzzled. He says it was "neither Arabic nor Byzantine, Greek nor Roman, still less Gothic

View from the Roof of Barth's House in Timbuctoo in 1853

Sketch Made by Felix DuBois in Jenné, 1895

or Western." "At last," he says "I recall these majestically solid forms, and the memory is wafted to me from the other extremity of Africa. . . . It is in the ruins of ancient Egypt. It is in the valley of the Nile, that I have seen this art before." He calls Jenné "A colony of ancient Egypt in the heart of the Sudan."

However we get most of our information concerning the history of "The Great Sudan" through her connection with northern Africa by means of the caravan routes across the Sahara. As soon as there was a civilization sufficiently advanced on the fertile belt of north Africa now known as Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, sufficiently advanced to mean markets for the products of the region of the summer rains south of the desert, the routes across the desert seem to have been found. Hannibal's elephants which he got across the Alps with so much trouble had probably already made the trip across the Sahara. And the desert was never quite empty. Many Berbers not killed, or subjugated, or assimilated by the Carthagenian, Roman, Vandal and later Arab conquerors were pressed south of the fertile belt and either led a nomadic life on the edges of the northern or southern belt of rains, or settled in the oases which became stations on the caravan routes and often towns; and the Sudanese also pressed up into the desert and built towns by salt mines or also as stations on the routes. Sometimes a town would be built by the white Berbers and conquered by the black Sudanese and a black king would rule a white population (Audoghast) and sometimes the reverse would happen. The people who conquered the coast, however, (that is until the Moors were expelled from Spain and came to the African shore in the 16th century) never made any attempt to conquer either the people of the desert or the people south of the desert. Apparently not even the Romans or the Arabs wished to attempt these conquests. They seemed to think that if they offered markets which ensured profits that the gold and ivory and elephants etc. would be forthcoming and the caravans would protect themselves. There seemed to be no idea that extraterritoriality was necessary; but in every large city of the Sudan there were apparently white traders—residents. However after the Arab conquest of Egypt, northern Africa and Spain, the Arabs, and probably also the converted Berbers, did send missionaries, or go as missionaries, of Islam, and a tribe of the Berbers ("the people of the desert") calling themselves "Morabites" did preach one Holy War; but in this war they did not press far into the Land of the Blacks, and soon we find them acknowledging the suzerainty of—and paying tribute to—the great Sudanese kings. The "conversion" to Islam of Sudanese Africa was evidently gradual and not violently accomplished as most Mohammedan conversions were. In 1067 A.D. (though his information was probably not

later than 1060) El Bekri, a great Arab geographer of Spain, in writing of Ghana, then the greatest of the Sudanese kingdoms, said that many of the inhabitants of the capital were already Moslems, but that the king was still pagan; and in 1153 A.D. when El Idrisi, another Arab geographer of Spain wrote, Ghana's king and apparently most of the Sudanese people had become Mohammedan. And from this date on many of the kings made the pilgrimage to Mecca and received the investiture of their office from the Caliph in Cairo.

From 750 A.D. until almost 1450 A.D. the comparison between the civilization of Christian Europe and that of the Moslem world was, as we know, all in favour of the Mohammedan. And Spain, with what is today Morocco, Algeria and Tunis—first the Caliphate of Cordova and then known as "The Kingdom of the Two Shores"—was for nearly four hundred years the fine flower of that civilization. When kings and nobles of Europe were most of them semi, or quite, illiterate, the princes and "upper-classes" of the towns of Spain and Morocco were poets and geographers and collected great libraries. The catalogue alone of the Library of Cordova filled forty four volumes. When neither the people nor the princes of Europe considered cleanliness anywhere near godliness (and godliness itself was not remarkably in evidence) and hogs roamed the streets of their capitals, the towns of Andalusia were cleaner than cities of the United States in 1961, Cordova had 300 public baths and in 1349 Ibn Batuta states that free hospitals were constructed and endowed in every town of the kingdom of Morocco. When all scientific research was considered trafficking with the Evil One and might lead to the stake, in Europe, it was encouraged in Mohammedan countries: nitric and sulphuric acid and phosphorus were all used. The Arabs of Spain and northern Africa were the only doctors of medicine of the time. When the people of Christian Europe—the most learned—still thought the world was flat, El Idrisi—the Arab of Spain who knew that the Negroes of Africa of Africa exported iron to India and Java, who wrote in 1153—three hundred years before Columbus (almost all of whose work is still extant and of which there is a French translation) said: ". . . the world is round as a sphere, of which the waters are adherent and maintained upon its surface by natural equilibrium. It is surrounded by air, and all created bodies are stable on its surface, the earth drawing to itself all that is heavy in the same way as a magnet attracts iron." This comparison in favour of the Moslem civilization during these years might be continued for pages, or, one should say, for volumes. And with this civilization—itself the highest at the time in the western world and in close contact with that of the East—the Negroes of the Sudan, especially

after they had become Moslems, were in close touch, whereas the people of Christian western Europe had shut themselves off from it.

And the knowledge the two peoples had of each other (the Arabs and the Negroes of Sudan) must have been reciprocal as the communication was so constant. Lady Lugard says of El Bekri "the country to the south of Morocco is evidently as well known (to him) as the provinces of Spain." We know that the caravan trade of the two western routes was much greater than that of the eastern, so the trade of the western may be imagined when we know that in 1353 Ibn Khaldun, the Berber historian, said that every year 12000 laden camels passed through Tekadda (an important Berber town in the desert), going from Egypt to Melle:—Melle being at that time the great Negro Empire of the Sudan. Ibn Khaldun, himself a Berber, also remarks that this important Berber town acknowledged the sovereignty of Melle "like all other towns of the Sahara." As the coming and going of caravans was constant the coming and going of individuals must also have been constant. We have detailed descriptions of the pilgrimages of several of the Sudanese kings to Mecca. We know that at the court in Seville the praises of the Almohade sovereign, El Mansur, (who reigned until 1218 A.D.) were sung by the "learned and celebrated poet, a black of Sudan, Abu Ishak Ibrahim al Kanemi." We also know that students from all over the Moslem world came to the University at Timbuctoo, which was especially famous under the Askia kings, when the Sudanese Empire of the Songhay was at the height of its glory.

Although it is evident that Frobenius is quite correct in asserting that the foundation of the civilization in the Sudan was autochthonous and that the foundation was carried up high enough to determine the character of the superstructure, yet it is because the topmost story of the superstructure happened to be Arabic Mohammedanism that we have such extensive, detailed and accurate information concerning the history of the three great Sudanese empires—Ghana, Melle and Songhay. Islam, granting its many blemishes (blemishes from my, perhaps biased, point of view) has, at all events one great virtue:—having no priestly hierarchy it has always been inclined to be less influenced by class and race prejudice, than has Christendom. If a man is free and a follower of the Prophet his "race, colour or previous condition of servitude" has really made, and still makes, very little difference. So El Bekri and El Idrisi, the two great geographers of Arabic Spain, who give us descriptions of the Sudan, as well as of the rest of the world, and Ibn Khaldun, the Berber historian, and Ibn Batuta the Arab traveller (a native of Fez) are neither supercilious nor condescending, but objective and understanding. And we have besides the Tarikh-es-Fettach and the Tarikh-es-Soudan, historical mis-

cellanies written in Arabic by the Songhays themselves, one in the 16th and the other in the 17th century. These last, have been translated into French. The latter—the Tarikh-es-Soudan, is a history of the Songhay people from their beginnings down to 1656, in which year it is probable the author—Es-Sadi—died. Es-Sadi quotes at great length Ahmed Baba, an older and better known author. When the Moors attacked and captured Timbuctoo in 1594 Ahmed Baba was taken a captive to Morocco. He was so much respected that he was given practical freedom and allowed to open a school, but not permitted to return to his country until 1607. He once said to the Sultan: "I had the smallest library of any of my friends, and your soldiers took from me 1600 volumes". (In the midst of all they had lost these Black exiles seemed chiefly concerned about the destruction of their libraries.) Ahmed Baba was the author of a Biographical Dictionary which M. Houdas (of the French School of Oriental Languages) says, in the preface to his translation of the Tarikh-es-Soudan, is extant, and of which he evidently had the Arabic copy, but it does not yet appear to have been translated into French except the quotations from it included in the Tarikh-es-Soudan.

I wish it were possible to quote chapters from these sources which I hope I have shown to be authoritative, but I must restrain myself and make only a few quotations about each of the empires: Ghana, Melle and Songhay.

Ghana or Ghanata was the westernmost one of the three, and never so large as the two which succeeded her. Her capital was probably where the town Walata is today between the Niger and the Senegal. It was sometimes called Ghana, but usually Aiwalatin. Lady Lugard says: "The town of Ghana . . . the royal residence of the kings was composed, according to El Bekri of two towns situated in a plain. One town was Mussulman and the other pagan. The king himself was pagan and lived in the pagan town. The Mussulman town was very large, and contained no less than twelve mosques. All these mosques had their *imams*, their *moweddins*, and their salaried readers. There were also schools and centres of learning. . . . El Bekri says that the king's residence in the pagan town consisted of a 'castle' surrounded by native huts. He mentions that the buildings generally were composed of stone and acacia wood. The native town was six miles distant from the Mussulman town, but the whole space was covered by suburbs consisting of stone houses standing in gardens. In the native town there was one mosque for the use of the Mohammedans occupied on duty round the king. The king's principal ministers and advisers were at this time Mohammedans, and he and his heir presumptive wore Mohammedan dress, but the religion of the country was still devoutly pagan, and all other persons of native

religion, except the king and his heir, wore robes of cotton, silk or brocade, according to their means." Tenkamenin, this king of Ghana who was still pagan but wore Mohammedan dress, "is described as the master of a vast empire, and of a power which rendered him very formidable. He could put in the field an army of 100,000 men." . . . "The wealth of the country was very great. The soil was fertile and gave generally two crops a year. Gold was abundant." "All nuggets found in the mines of the Empire belonged to the sovereign." "The king had further sources of wealth in a very large customs revenue raised on salt, copper, and foreign merchandize." "When he gave audience to the people Tenkamenin appeared in great state, seated under a pavilion round which were ranged ten horses caparisoned in gold. Behind him were ten pages bearing shields and swords mounted in gold. On his right stood 'the sons of the princes of the Empire, magnificently dressed.' The governor of the town and all the ministers sat upon the ground before the king," etc., etc. All this was written by El Bekri in 1067 (the year after the Battle of Hastings), but though he gives the date, it is supposed that he described the conditions of about 1060. As already told above in the account of the conversion of the Sudan to Mohammedanism, in 1153 another great geographer of Arabic Spain whose works are translated into French, said that at the time he wrote the king of Ghana was a Moslem.* This geographer was the El Idrisi who knew that Africa exported iron to India and Java and who knew that the world was a sphere. He said that the residence of the king of Ghana was a "well-built castle, thoroughly fortified, decorated inside with sculptures and pictures, and having glass windows." El Idrisi also says "Ghana . . . is the most considerable, the most thickly populated and the most commercial of the black countries. It is visited by rich merchants from all the surrounding countries, and from the extremities of the West." And he gives a long description of the king and of the customs of the country. Lady Lugard from El Bekri and El Idrisi as sources tells of the trade of Ghana—and fills a chapter.

Melle or The Mellestine, a kingdom to the south east of Ghana conquered the latter in about 1210. It is said that Ghana's independence lasted for about 1000 years, which Lady Lugard says means that it lasted almost as long as England's history from the end of the Heptarchy until today. It had had a long history before the Hegira.

Melle's history as an independent kingdom—and empire—was shorter, lasting only about 250 years, but Melle was more prosperous, very much larger and we know more about it. Its centre was also farther from the

* It is probable that this King was not a Sudanese but a Morabite Berber—one of those who had waged the Holy War—for, for a time Aiwalatin had Berber Kings—but it seems to have been a change of dynasty rather than a conquest.

edge of the desert and it never had a Berber dynasty as Ghana may have had immediately following the "holy war" of the Morabites (which occurred between the time El-Bekri wrote and the time El-Idrisi wrote). When Melle conquered Ghana in the early part of the thirteenth century her people and the reigning family were all blacks. This was true during all her subsequent history and, of course, from our point of view, makes her more interesting. Her kings seem to have taken very seriously the faithful Moslem's obligation to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. The son of the king who conquered Ghana made his pilgrimage in 1259, another king made his in 1310, and Mansa Musa the greatest of the sovereigns of Melle in 1324. Accounts were kept in Mecca of the impressions made by the most important pilgrims and so we have this added source of information. But we have many sources of information, for this empire of the Blacks stretched up to the very edge of the northern fertile strip of Africa. All the desert towns of the Berbers paid it tribute and acknowledged its sovereignty, (as we have already learned from Ibn Khaldun when he told of 12000 camels passing through Tekada every year on their way from Egypt to Melle). In the 14th century Fez was the capital of Morocco, and Morocco was, at this particular period the most enlightened and best governed country in the world according to the great traveller Ibn Batuta—at any rate enlightened enough to have an endowed free hospital in every town. The Sultan of Fez exchanged presents and messages with Mansa Musa of Melle as with an equal. Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca seems to have made a stir in the Moslem world. And well it might! He brought with him a caravan of sixty thousand persons, five hundred young slaves marched before him, dressed in brocade or Persian silk, each carrying a staff of gold weighing sixty two ounces. Gold dust to defray the expenses of the pilgrimage was carried by eighty camels, each carrying 300 lbs. But in every town at which he halted on a Friday Mansa Musa built a mosque, so the 24000 pounds of gold dust was not enough, and before he got home the king had to borrow; however since his credit was good he had no difficulty in borrowing, and what was lent him was promptly returned.

The Mellestine—as Melle seems to have been called after it became an empire—extended from the Atlantic to the left bank of the Niger at a point about 200 miles south of Gao. From this point southward the boundary line ran towards the southwest to what is now the northwest corner of the Gold Coast, from which it went due west to the Atlantic. From the point where the line crossed the Niger its eastern boundary line ran first to the north east, and then due north almost to Algeria and then turning at right angles followed the line of drifting sands just south of the Saharan Atlas and High Atlas until it reached the Atlantic at

Cape Bogador. Every town, every prince in this vast realm acknowledged the sovereignty of the Black Kings of Melle.

And we know in detail how Melle was governed and know the manner of living of its people and their culture, for one of the best "travel books" ever written was that by Ibn Batuta, the North-African Arab, and he tells about his visit to Negro Africa. When he was about twenty-one Ibn Batuta left Fez, and returned twenty-five years later in 1349, after having visited Egypt, Arabia, Western Asia, a little of eastern Europe, India, Thibet and China. When he reached home he intended to travel no more; but he had not seen Negro Africa. The Sultan was anxious to have him go to the Mellestine and add his description of that land to those travel stories he was writing of the lands he had already seen; and promised letters of introduction and help. Ibn Batuta was himself probably not unanxious to go and in 1352 he left for the south. He returned in 1354 and in December 1355 finished his book.* Ibn Batuta entered the Mellestine at Aiwalatin, the old capital of Ghana. He then went on to the capital of the Mellestine, a journey of about twenty days. He says that "it was hardly necessary to have a guide or companions as the road was perfectly safe." He also says "there was no need to make any provisions; food was plentiful, villages succeeded each other at short distances, and the inhabitants were always willing to sell anything that was required." He mentions a large town "principally inhabited by black merchants," for "it was the centre of a great corn country, whence millet was exported to the frontier"; of another town he says "its inhabitants were distinguished by their great zeal in the study of science." There seemed to be "white quarters" in every town of any size; but this congregating of the whites in one quarter, does not seem to have been anything like a real segregation, rather like the "colonies" of English or Americans or of any other people in Paris or Rome or Mexico City; for there seems to have been constant visiting between the Whites and the Blacks. He found on arrival that a white lawyer friend of his had rented a house for him opposite his own in the white part of the town. The next day "he received visits from distinguished persons, of whom he subjoins a list. Amongst these there were men of letters, lawyers, jurisconsults. One black judge is specially mentioned as a man of merit 'adorned with most noble qualities.' " He describes at length the King's

* This book also has not been translated into English, except in a very abbreviated version in the "Travellers' Library." The French translation is complete, but is out of print. Since a copy of this French translation from the original Arabic was not available, and Lady Lugard's "Tropical Dependency" was, I found it better to consult her quotations from the complete French version than to consult the abbreviated English version.

audiences, and describes ceremonies on other occasions. He thinks the music "most agreeable," and though he had seen dramatic performances in India and all the world he seems to have been pleased with those in Melle and called them "extremely good." Lady Lugard says: "The judicial system of the country, though not described in detail, would seem to have been carefully and fully organized. The frequent reference which is made . . . to judges, . . . to lawyers and jurisconsults, indicates that men of this profession occupied a very prominent position in the social organization. The fact that it was the custom of the Sultan to send cases in which he was appealed to for justice, to be tried at the 'proper tribunal' would seem also to indicate a severance of the executive and judicial powers which it is the habit of civilization to regard as one of the guarantees of justice." But as Lady Lugard says further on "the condition of the country itself" was the best proof of the well-founded confidence the people must have had in the lack of any reason to expect injustice. Quoting again from "A Tropical Dependency": "Amongst the admirable things which Ibn Batuta feels it to be his duty to praise, when at the end of his visit he summarizes his opinion of the people of Melle, is, he says, the rare occurrence of acts of injustice in the country. 'Of all people,' he thinks that 'the Blacks are those who most detest injustice. Their Sultan never forgives anyone who has been guilty of it.'* He also praises 'the complete and general safety which is enjoyed in the country. Neither those who travel nor those who remain at home have anything to fear from brigands, thieves, or violent persons.' 'The Blacks do not,' he says, 'confiscate the goods of white men who die in the country, even though it may be a question of immense treasure. On the contrary, their goods are always placed in charge of some white man, trusted by the community, until those who have a right to them can apply and take possession of them.' " (This respect for the property of a foreigner could not have been from fear of a "punitive expedition," for it was not for six hundred years after this that white armies really entered the Sudan. The people of Melle had had no experience of square miles of their country being taken because sacks of opium belonging to some Whites were confiscated. It must have been due to that fundamental hatred of injustice which Ibn Batuta praises.)

He speaks of every town having its mosque or mosques with salaried teachers and readers, and in the principal towns such as Melle, Timbuctoo and Gago (Gao) he mentions mosques of special importance,

* Compare this behavior—indicating an attitude towards,—the committing of acts of injustice, with other behavior—indicating quite another attitude—that of the Whites—by reading for instance "The Anatomy of African Misery" by Lord Olivier, or "Brown America" by Edwin Embree and later accounts of Colonial injustices and injustices in the Southern States in the U.S.A.

as if they were what might be called cathedral mosques. "Schools are mentioned in many towns, and some, as in Zaghan are specially spoken of as centres of distinguished learning." Somewhat later than the time of Ibn Batuta's visit, but not much later, the trade in "written books" sent from the north African kingdoms to the Soudan "was said to be one of the most profitable." Two more quotations from Lady Lugard's gleanings from Ibn Batuta and we must leave Melle though there is so much more to say. The Native African is one of the very cleanest persons in the world. "Ibn Batuta mentions amongst the good qualities which he ascribes to the Blacks of Melle, that they never failed to dress in fine white robes on Friday," and "Berbers and Blacks seemed to enjoy at the time a perfect equality throughout the kingdom—all being alike Mohammedan. The only class distinction seemed to be idolator or orthodox, slave or free."

And now Songhay, by far the most interesting of the three empires;—Songhay's capital was far to the east of Melle, as Melle's had been to the east of Ghana's. But Gago was so far east, though still on the Niger, that it had received its Mohammedanism earlier than the rest of the Sudan,—in 1007,—and from the Eastern Caliphate in Egypt and not from the north African and Spanish Caliphate of Cordova. It was Gago or Gao which claimed to have been a town in the time of the Pharaohs. It had had a long history before its conquest by Melle—Jenné was one of its colonies. (The Jenné called by Felix Du Bois "a colony of Ancient Egypt.") Two years after Iban Batuta's visit to Gao—or Gago—Songhay freed itself from Melle, but for more than a hundred years did not more than keep its independence. In 1464, however, Melle was growing weak and Songhay had as its king Sonni Ali, a very remarkable man,* if possessing military genius means being remarkable. He conquered and ruled over more territory than Napoleon did, and though his prime minister, not his son, succeeded him, his empire held together until 1591, longer than Napoleon's, or for that matter than Alexander's. Lady Lugard says of him, "He was one of the born soldiers of the world." This Songhay Empire at the time of its full extent, which it attained in the reign following Sonni Ali's, included all of what had been the Mellestine and much more. In the east it reached to Lake Chad and in the north east to the south east corner of what is Tripoli today. Its boundary also extended further to the south and included the Haussa land of what is now northern Nigeria, which had not been a part of the Mellestine. Sonni Ali was not only a great conqueror, but also an engineer, or a

* Not half Berber as W. E. B. DuBois says in "Black Folk Then and Now." His father (the King who preceded him) was a Songhay, pure Songhay, and his mother was a Haussa—both pure black.

conceiver of engineering projects, for "he conceived and put into partial execution the daring scheme of connecting Aiwalatin by water with Timbuctoo by means of a canal, which he proposed to construct across the desert." He devoted himself for two years to this, but was obliged to leave it in order to meet an attack on his southern borders. Like Henry IV of France who thought "Paris worth a mass," Sonni Ali thought it worth his while to pretend to a certain amount of religious faith, but he seems to have been privately a daring free-thinker. Instead of saying his prayers five times at the appointed hours each day, he would lump them all together until a convenient time, and sometimes would only call the name of each prayer and say: "There, you know my sentiments you can divide them between you." In other words he was not a "superstitious African." Neither was he a boor. Although he seems to have had fits of temper and was severe in punishing those he thought worthy of punishment he also was often magnanimous. Jenné held out for seven years and seven months. When the capitulation finally came Sonni Ali seems to have been struck by the coincidence of the two sevens, and so decreed that there should be seven days added in which there should be general feasting and intermarrying and he himself married the widow of the chief who had defended the town. There was no sacking of the conquered city. He did, however, order the sacking of Timbuctoo, rather of the parts where the "intellectuals" lived, for he considered that its resistance was due to these "Intellectuals," so although they were religious leaders of his supposed faith he ordered many killed and continued the persecution and a severe one for three years and then ordered it stopped short. Their punishment had been sufficient. He does not seem to have been at all illiterate (for at least three hundred years before his time there had been schools in all the larger towns of the Sudan) or at all uninterested in learning. He was heard once to say: "Without learning life would have neither pleasure nor savour." (Another translation of this latter word is "charm.") His chief fault—or crime—was that of these bursts of rage, but they do not seem to have been worse than those of Henry II of England who is supposed to have thrown himself on the floor and bitten the rushes, and even in the twentieth century among the "democrats" there are some who "let their angry passions rise." And he had a mother and a prime minister who were not afraid of him and they would often take and hide those whom he had ordered executed during one of his fits of temper, and so not infrequently he would be saved the remorse which Henry II felt, when, because he had let his rage get the better of him, Thomas à Becket's life was taken.

And this prime minister of Sonni Ali's who succeeded him was Askia

the Great and one of the few men who have deserved the title of "The Great." He was also pure black—but pure Songhay—not having Haussa blood. Unlike his predecessor, Sonni Ali, Askia the Great was a devout Moslem, and two years after becoming emperor made his pilgrimage to Mecca. He was, however, not interested in display, as perhaps Mansa Musa had been (and as Lord Mayors and Horse Guards and those whose uniforms consist of fur hats three feet high, still are, and not a few others), but interested in learning as much as he could. "The fame of Askia's pilgrimage consisted . . . in the distinction of the persons who accompanied him, of whom Ahmed Baba gives us some of the biographies, and in the great number of learned doctors and noble friends whom Askia had the opportunity of meeting in Cairo and in the Holy Cities. The friendships which were here formed lasted for the rest of his life, and correspondence with some of the most distinguished men of letters of the East, which was at this time entered into, was never dropped." "All who met the king were impressed with the keen interest which he displayed on many subjects, his readiness to listen to the best opinions, his diligent discussion with the learned, and his anxiety to acquire information on practical questions. Askia Mohammed* remained for two years in the East, during which period he devoted much time to study. Amongst subjects named as arresting his special attention we find: 'Everything that concerned the government and administration of peoples'; 'principles of taxation . . .'; 'verification and inspection of weights and measures, regulation of trade, laws of inheritance, laws for the suppression of fraud, customs duties.' " etc., etc. When he returned to reign for over thirty years, until he was well over eighty, he devoted himself to the defence, but chiefly to the organization and the administration of his vast empire. Lady Lugard says of him: "He appears to have been a man of liberal principles and large views, naturally humane, and disposed to temper justice with mercy, more than usually cultivated, active, wise, and firm."

And he was more successful in accomplishing his aims than many others who are called great.

"To cross the dominions of the Askia was, we are told, a six months journey. Yet so effective were the measures taken by him for its administration, that before the end of his reign, the result is thus summarized by his historian: 'He was obeyed with as much docility in the farthest limits of his empire as he was in his own palace, and there reigned everywhere great plenty and absolute peace.' "

This does not mean, of course, that the Sudan was paradise, any more than the Roman Empire was from "the time of the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus" when Gibbon thinks that the lands

* His name was Mohammad Abou Bekri Et-Touri. Askia was the name of his dynasty.

Rome ruled were happier than those lands have ever been since. There were slaves in both the Sudan in Askia's time and in the Roman world when Antoninus Pious was Emperor. And where there are slaves, either chattel slaves or men torn by force from their homes and families under any pretext whatsoever, there is not great happiness. But the slavery in the Sudan in Askia's time did not mean millions dragged away in raids, as was true when England was the trader and America the market, nor was the forced labour anything to compare to that in the Sudan under France's dominion. Any honest traveller in Africa today has a very different story to tell from that told by Ibn Batuta. And could any traveller in Africa today find such lack of injustice except in some of the newly liberated colonies as Ibn Batuta found in Negro Melle in 1353?

Just a few more quotations from Lady Lugard which tell of the intellectual life in Timbuctoo.

"We are enabled to reconstruct from the writings of Ahmed Baba, who was himself born during the reign of Askia Daouad, the fourth and last reigning son of the great Askia, some picture of the intellectual and literary revival of Timbuctoo."

"The University of Sankore* would seem to have been a very active centre of civilization. It was attached to the mosque of the same name, and was in correspondence both by letter and by the frequent visits of its professors, with the universities of North Africa and Egypt. It was already in existence under the rule of Melle, and at that time" (i.e. before the Moors were driven from Grenada) "was in touch with the universities of Spain." . . . "The town swarmed with Sudanese students." . . . "The more distinguished professors would seem to have had schools in which they gave courses of lectures, attended by students, who afterwards received diplomas from the hands of their masters. In the biographical sketches of Ahmed Baba, the master from whom diplomas were received is mentioned as regularly as the school or university in which a man receives his education is mentioned in similar English works. A sketch which Ahmed Baba gives of one of the principal professors under whom he himself had studied, may serve to indicate the type of sage who was revered by the youth of Timbuctoo, and incidentally presents a picture of local scholastic life."

"Mohammed Abou Bekr of Wankore, his pupil tells us, writing himself as an old man forty or fifty years later, was 'one of the best of God's virtuous creatures. He was a working scholar, and a man instinct with goodness. His nature was as pure as it was upright. He was himself so strongly impelled towards virtue, and had so high an opinion of others, that he always considered them as being, so to speak, his equals, and as having no knowledge of evil. He did not believe in the bad faith of the

* The name of the University of Timbuctoo.

world, but always thought well of his fellow-creatures until they had committed a fault, and even after they had committed a fault. Calm and dignified, with a natural distinction and a modesty that rendered intercourse with him easy, he captured all hearts. Everyone who knew him loved him.' He taught during the whole of a long life, while at the same time he continued to take an active interest, and even some part, in public affairs. The Sultan, who shared the general respect for him, offered him the lucrative appointment of Governor of the Palace, but he refused it—'God having,' he said 'delivered him from such cares.' He was also offered the appointment of principal preacher to the great mosque, but that also he prayed the Sultan to excuse him from accepting. He was apparently wealthy, and possessed a fine library. 'His whole life was given,' says Ahmed Baba, 'to the service of others. He taught his pupils to love science, to follow its teachings, to devote their time to it, to associate with scholars, and to keep their minds in a state of docility. He lavishly lent his most precious books, rare copies, and the volumes he most valued, and never asked for them again, no matter what was the subject of which they treated.' Sometimes 'a student would present himself at the door and ask for a book, and he would give it without even knowing who the man was.' Ahmed Baba recalls with affection an instance when he himself wanted a rare work on grammar, and the master not only lent it, but spent a long time searching through his library for other works which might help elucidate his pupil's difficulties. 'It was astonishing to see him,' says Ahmed Baba; 'and he acted thus, notwithstanding the fact that he had a passion for books, and that he collected them with ardour, both buying and causing them to be copied.' It is not, alas! surprising to hear that 'in this way he lost a great quantity of his books.' "

"His industry in teaching was equalled only by his patience. No pupil was too stupid or too ignorant for him. He never allowed himself to be discouraged, or to despair of gaining an entrance into the understanding of his hearer. Sometimes, indeed, his patience with the stupid was so great, that the more intelligent members of the class were moved to wonder and impatience. 'He must have drunk of the water of Zem-Zem to be able to stand it,' was the comment of one of Ahmed Baba's fellow-pupils on such an occasion. But Ahmed Baba, in faithful remembrance, forgets the impatience of youth, and keeps only admiration. 'His like,' he says, 'will never be found again.' The mind of this teacher is described as 'subtle, sagacious, ready, swift to comprehend. His intelligence was broad and luminous. His usual manner was taciturn and grave, but he would occasionally break into sallies of wit. He occupied himself with what concerned him, listened to no gossip, and took part in

no frivolity, but wrapped himself in a magnificent mantle of discretion and reserve. His hand held fast the standard of continence.' "

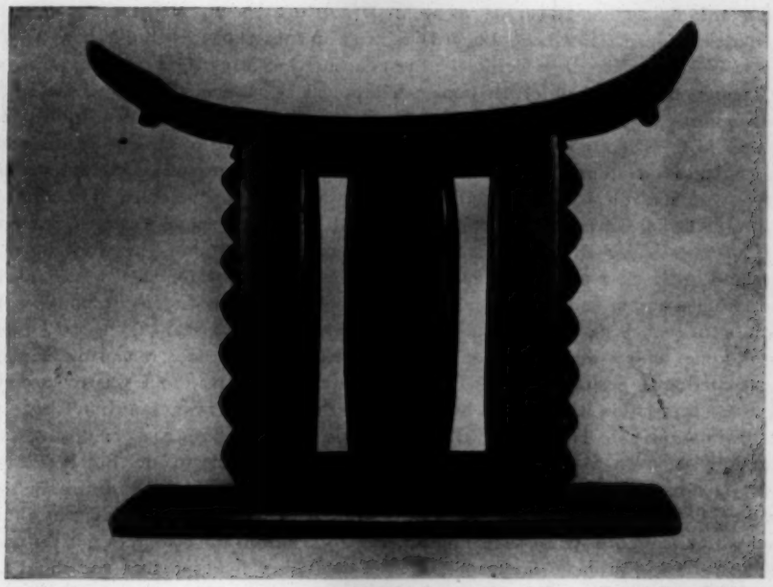
What professors of Oxford or Harvard today can feel that they have the right to hope that their pupils will speak of them in such terms in 1985? Though Arabic was the literary language, and the ritual language, it was not the language spoken in Timbuctoo. That was Songhay. Mohammed Abou Bekr of Wankore had had to learn Arabic, so he was probably pure Songhay, with no Berber blood.

With Akhnaton, in the United States and in all Anglo-Saxon lands Abou Bekr would by the majority of the public be treated as beneath them, as "inferior."

Lady Lugard continues: "The study of law, literature, grammar and theology would seem to have been more general at Timbuctoo than that of the natural sciences. We hear, however, of at least one distinguished geographer, and allusions to surgical science show that the old maxim of the Arabian schools, 'He who studies anatomy pleases God,' was not forgotten. At a later date (1618) the author of the Tarikh-es-Soudan incidentally mentions that his brother came from Jenné to Timbuctoo to undergo an operation for cataract at the hands of a celebrated surgeon there—an operation which was wholly successful. The appearance of comets, so amazing to Europe of the Middle Ages, is noted calmly, as a matter of scientific interest, at Timbuctoo. Earthquakes and eclipses excite no surprise."

I hope that this booklet if read with minds in "the state of docility" in which Mohammed Abou Bekr of Wankore taught his pupils to try to keep theirs, will help a little to break down prejudices and to remove cataracts. And one does not really wish to be prejudiced or to have cataracts; does one?

*Now in the possession of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois*



*Now in the possession of Morgan State College, Baltimore*

TWO ASHANTI STOOLS BROUGHT BY ANNA MELISSA GRAVES FROM THE GOLD COAST

The lower similar in design to the Golden Stool. Each made of single block of wood. (Base 22 by 11 inches; height in center 15 inches)

*Note:* Since I have quoted Lady Lugard at such length and so frequently perhaps some account of her and of her book should be given. She was Flora L. Shaw. I can remember in my childhood how dear her books were to me: "Castle Blair", "Phyllis Browne", "Hector" and "A Sea Change". Of "Castle Blair" Ruskin said that it was "the best story he had ever read of a noble child and the next to the best he had ever read of a noble dog". At any rate it was delightful, and I think I am not over-praising Flora Shaw when I consider her an artist, in "Castle Blair" certainly; the others are not quite so good. Perhaps it was well that I had owed to her so many happy hours, for otherwise I might have been tempted to throw aside "A Tropical Dependency" without going on and gleaning from it the information which is available in it and so hard to get elsewhere. For there was another side to Flora Shaw. She was not only an artist as a woman of letters. She was one of the blindest worshippers at the shrine of British Imperialism that Britain has ever produced. She and Churchill might have been born in one egg. She became a writer for "The Times" and eventually the chief writer on colonial questions; and through "The Times" she moulded British opinion. This is an entry in Wilfred Scawen Blunt's "My Diaries" April 25th, 1896. "Dined with George Wyndham" (at that time editor of "The New Review") . . . "He says that there is no doubt in the world that Chamberlain was in with Rhodes and Jameson in their attack on the Transvaal, and he is angry with him for having backed out of it,—for having ruined the plot at the last moment to save his own bacon. He has been seeing much of Jameson, whom he likes, and of the gang that have been running the Transvaal business, about a dozen of them, with Buckle the 'Times Editor' and Miss Flora Shaw, who, he told me confidentially is really the prime mover in the whole thing, and who takes the lead in all their private meetings, a very clever middle-aged woman." In other words Flora L. Shaw was at the bottom of the Jameson Raid!! Then still a "middle-aged and a very clever woman" and an arch-imperialist, she married Sir Frederick Lugard (later Lord Lugard) as arch an imperialist as she, and went with him to Northern Nigeria, which he had just captured, beating the French in a race for it. The second paragraph of her book "A Tropical Dependency" from which I have been quoting so plentifully, and gratefully, is as follows: "The administration of this quarter of the Empire cannot be conducted on the principle of self-government as is understood by white men. It must be more or less in the nature of an autocracy which leaves with the rulers full responsibility for the prosperity of the ruled. The administration of India, where this aspect of the question has long been appreciated, is among the successes of which the British people is most justly proud. The work done by England in Egypt is another proof of our capacity for autocratic rule."!!! Knowing the awful agony of India and Egypt, for which England was directly responsible, the reading of such a paragraph was almost enough to make a real "democrat" (not a pseudo one, who is responsible for Jim-Crowism) throw the book out of the window. But something—perhaps "Castle Blair"—made me read on, and I was rewarded. I have the translation into French by Houdas of the Tarikh-es-Soudan, but I have not the translations into French of El-Bekri, El-Idrisi and Ibn Batuta, so her translations into English, from these French translations were invaluable to me. But besides she must have had access to other works in Arabic not easily attainable. I think she must have studied Arabic. She was a "very clever woman", or perhaps those in her husband's staff who knew both Arabic and English read to her from these sources not yet translated into any European language, translating as they read, so that she could take notes. At any rate there the information is which seems to have been gathered with great pains, and to be very accurate. The last three chapters of her book are as repulsive to a democrat as that paragraph quoted above, and they are not accurate, in so far as accurate description of English rule is concerned; but the part of the book concerned with the history of the Sudan from the earliest times until the British took possession

of the Emirates in Northern Nigeria, especially the part up until about 1650 does seem to show a scientific spirit in its search for truth, and it is all the more valuable, because in the facts which she presents she is—apparently without realizing it—denying her own thesis:—that all tropical, non-white people are incapable of self-government, and should be thankful for British autocracy, since she gives evidences of remarkable success in governing by these people of themselves. I think she sometimes must have had a suspicion that she was hurting the case for British Imperialism, but she had become so interested that she she could not stop, so she tried to make up for the good things she discovered and was forced to say about the Sudanese by damning all the coast people. All—even the people of Benin whose wonderful bronzes she must have seen—are "degenerate savages". However if one discards everything said about the British and everything said about the coast Africans her history of the Sudanese people is the very best I know, indeed I know of no other with which to compare it. And it is a great pity the book has been so long out of print but it is in almost all good public libraries.

A. M. G.

Price $1.00

## ERRATA

In the title page and in the title given with the record of the copyright, the belittling in the first instance, and the complete omission in the second instance, of the second part of the title—"Letters from West Africans" was a serious error. It was only of the Letters that I was the editor; the "Letters" took up considerably over half the book, and the reviewers praising the book were almost all especially interested in the "Letters."

A.M.G.

Following is the bottom half of the title page as it should have appeared:

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Originally printed in 1942 as "Foreword" to

BENVENUTO CELLINI HAD NO PREJUDICE AGAINST BRONZE—
LETTERS FROM WEST AFRICANS

Edited by Anna Melissa Graves This should have been larger

WAVERLY PRESS, BALTIMORE, 1961 This should have been the most important

---

and also in the record of the copyright the omission of the important part of the title as copyrighted was a serious error

Spelling

Page 3, 5th line counting from the bottom, and also in the line at the bottom:—Ezra Pond should have been Ezra POUND.

Page 38, 24th line from the top of the page—the word incorrectly spelled as Grenada should have been Granada.

Pages 38 and 40, Sankore is probably the correct spelling of the University of Timbuctoo; but Lady Lugard also uses the two spellings in her "A Tropical Dependency." Perhaps Timbuctoo, like Oxford, had several colleges in the one University.

Date

On page 27 (on the 17th line counting from the bottom, or the 26th line counting from the top) the date should be the 15th Century —*not* the 16th.

Schools

Berkely, Cal

# PRESENTATION TO THE BERKELEY BOARD OF EDUCATION ON DE FACTO SEGREGATED SCHOOLS

By The Berkeley Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, CORE, May 1, 1962

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Mr. Chairman, Superintendent Wennerberg, Members of the Board of Education and Ladies and Gentlemen: I am Wilfred T. Ussery, and I am here as a representative of the Berkeley Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, known as CORE.

CORE, in this our first appearance before this Board of Education, wishes to congratulate you for the many positive acts which have demonstrated amply your interest, sensitivity, and awareness to the problems that confront our school system as a result of racially exclusive residential areas in Berkeley.

We have great confidence and respect for this Board and its integrity.

This Board of Education's response to the NAACP appeal of 1958 led to The Staats Report. This report contained many good recommendations for improving and correcting many undesirable conditions disclosed for the first time.

This giant step forward not only solved and ameliorated some very pertinent and special educational problems in the Berkeley schools, but also earned respect for this Board of Education both locally and nationally.

We are cognizant of the fact that the sponsoring organization of the request that led to the Staats Report, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was received by this Board when it requested its study, as a friendly organization with a constructive idea to present.

It is in that same spirit that I, as a representative of the Congress of Racial Equality address you tonight. We are moved to make this presentation out of sincere concern for the betterment of the Berkeley school system. We Also feel confident that a clear stand on the issue of de facto segregation on the part of the school board at this time would greatly increase the willingness of many Berkeley citizens to give financial support to the school system.

A study of the estimated enrollment of pupils in the Berkeley Public Day Schools issued by the Berkeley Unified School District, indicates the existense of de facto segregated schools. The results showed that eight Berkeley

schools have a caucasian enrollment of 94% or over, while two schools have an enrollment of 94% or more non-caucasian pupils.

The public schools are often referred to as the mortar of American beliefs and ideals -- the institution which serves to cement relationships among our people. Normal day-to-day contact with other ethnic groups is essential to the healthy development of children who, as adults, will be moving rapidly around a world which is two-thirds non-white. Lack of integration therefore, is just as detrimental to white children as it is to children of minority groups.

CORE does not believe that the problem of de facto segregated schools is a necessary by-product of Berkeley life. Various methods have been suggested, by their use in other communities, to reduce or eliminate the problem. Redistricting which takes into consideration the racial and ethnic composition of the neighborhood served is one. Another is the "Princeton Plan". If a school serving a predominantly white area is adjacent to a school serving a non-white area, children in both areas can be assigned to one of the schools for half of the grades, and to the other for the rest. Carefully worked out programs of permissive transfers may help. Judicious assignment of children from an overloaded school, to be transported to a less crowded one can help. Of great importance is the location of new schools.

We are not suggesting that any of these measures precisely fits the situation in Berkeley. But these plans do demonstrate that other communities have taken positive action to resolve the problem. We are confident that a study of the subject would lead to solutions applicable to the problem as it exists in Berkeley.

We believe that you, the Berkeley Board of Education, cannot refuse to assume responsibility for school segregation merely because you did not foster it. If de facto segregation means inferior education, school authorities have an educational and moral responsibility to take affirmative steps to eliminate such segregation.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

We, therefore, ask you, the Berkeley Board of Education, to recognize officially the existence of de facto segregated schools in Berkeley as your first step in eliminating them, and to adopt as your primary guiding principle the idea that "de facto segregated schools are educationally undesirable and should be eliminated as soon as possible"

To achieve this end, we further recommend that you, the Berkeley Board of Education, create a committee on de facto schools and direct it to address itself to the following:

1. Establishment of criteria as to what is and what is not de facto segregation in Berkeley. A prerequisite for any redistricting proposals designed to achieve a more heterogenious student population within Berkeley's schools.
2. Determine where and to what extent de facto school segregation exists in the Berkeley Public School System. A prerequisite for any objectively approached solution.
3. Determine factors which create and perpetuate de facto school segregation in the Berkeley Public School System. A prerequisite for understanding and defining the role other Public Agencies, groups, and citizens of Berkeley can and should play in solving the problem.
4. Investigate the effects of such segregation on students as present and future creative citizens in our society, -- in relation to motivation, academic excellence, and delinqueny. A prerequisite for understanding the relationship of segregation to a potentially radical improvement in the quality of city life in Berkeley, increased income for our residents, decreased juvenile delinquency and crime, as well as lower relief costs.
5. Investigate and formulate additional proposals for raising the educational and vocational aspirations of able students from

economically and socially deprived groups, and in schools of low achievement levels. A prerequisite for logically supplementing the ideas in the Wells - Favors - Takeuchi plan into a motivational program, designed for Berkeley's needs, of the scope and magnitude of New York City's Demonstration Guidance Project and Higher Horizons Program and St. Louis' "Banneker Group" plan.

6. Finally and most important, formulate and put into operation a program for the elimination of de facto segregation in the Berkeley Public School System.

It is our suggestion that the committee to study this complex problem consist of:

A. All five members of the Board of Education.

B. Superintendent Wennerberg and four other officers of the school system

C. Several civic and educational leaders and representatives from the community at large.

We believe that a group of this composition could most advantageously conduct the specific study of this problem we are requesting, relate it to the community, and perhaps help the school board and administration administer it.

It is the position of CORE that segregated education in any form -- black, white, or yellow -- is educationally undesirable. Our position is corroborated by two important court decisions relative to this subject: Brown v Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483; Taylor v. Board of Education of City School District (commonly called the "New Rochelle Case"), 191 Fed. Supp. 181.

The Supreme Court in 1954, in the Brown case, unanimously speaking through Chief Justice Warren, declared that the segregation of Negro children, especially in their formative years, "generates a feeling of

inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." The Court further emphasized the necessity of giving these minority-group children the opportunity for extensive contact with other children at an early stage in their educational experience, finding such contact to be indispensable if children of all races were to become inculcated with a meaningful understanding of the essentials of our democratic way of life.

With these principles clearly in mind, we see no basis to draw a distinction, legal or moral, between segregation established by the formality of a dual system of education, as in some Southern States, and school segregation resulting from fortuitous residential patterns.

Federal Judge Irving R Kaufman, Jr., in his historic New Rochelle Decision, states: "If school boards could satisfy their obligations under the Fourteenth Amendment merely by waiting complacently until an 'ideal' solution presented itself, the Brown decision, and the advances in the area of individual equality which it respresents, would be a virtual nullity Brown, if it meant anything, meant much more than this. Necessarily implied in its proscription of segregation was the positive obligation of eliminating it. This obligation requires both good faith, and action with dispatch." Judge Kaufman also states; "The neighborhood school policy is not sacrosanct. It is valid only insofar as it is operated within the confines established by the Constitution. It cannot be used as an instrument to confine Negroes within an area artificially delineated in the first instance by official acts If it is so used, the Constitution has been violated and the courts must intervene."

Judge Kaufman's decision was upheld upon appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

It should be expressly understood that CORE is not accusing the Berkeley Board of Education of purposeful conduct designed to perpetuate and maintain de facto segregated public schools. CORE does want the Board

of Education to realize however, that culpable inaction which leaves the Board morally inert on this matter, functions as a positive factor in Berkeley for the perpetuation of such segregated schools.

CORE does not believe that its request of the Board of Education is unreasonable or radical. Several school boards throughout the Country have studied this problem in their communities. The most notable examples are New York City, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Kansas. In 1954, the New York City Board of Education took the affirmative position that its "racially homogeneous public schools are educationally undesirable" and that it intended to devise and put into operation a plan to "prevent the further development of such schools...and to integrate them as quickly as practicable". New York City made achievement of desegregation a cardinal principal in zoning. A similar declaration was adopted by the New York State Board of Regents which supervises all education in the State. New York City is now in its second year of its Board of Education program to eliminate the City's de facto segregated schools. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania have conducted extensive studies as to segregation, and are attempting to change the existing pattern.

There are several realities of this problem that are clearly delineated and indisputable.

1. Racially exclusive residential areas together with the neighborhood school concept, as practiced by our school system, axiomatically produces Berkeley's de facto segregated schools.
2. This is educationally debilitating to all Berkeley students and detrimental to the total community.
3. Although the causes are primarily beyond the province of this Board, this Board alone is in a position to immediately alleviate the problem of de facto segregation as it exists in Berkeley.
4. Berkeley, the seat of a truly great center of learning, the University of California, has the resources to impeccably study this problem

and evolve and administer a plan for the elimination of Berkeley's de facto segregated schools.

CORE does not presume to have a ready made plan for desegregation of Berkeley Schools. We regard the ideas presented here as a format for fully studying and recognizing the problem and arriving at a solution, one developed by the Board of Education.

We respectfully challenge the Berkeley Board of Education to meet its obligation and to take the leadership for developing its own plan for ending Berkeley Public School segregation.

Respectfully submitted

Berkeley Chapter of the

Congress of Racial Equality

By Wilfred T. Ussery

Wilfred T. Ussery

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

## Cross-Country Demonstrations Protest Inaction By Both Parties On Schools

New York, New York, May 17: May 17, 1962, the eighth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, was observed by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) groups across the country with protest demonstrations at both Republican and Democratic headquarters.

Picket signs and leaflets pointed out that only 7% of Negro children covered by the decision now attend desegregated schools and that over 2,800,000 Negro students are still segregated. They protested the fact that legislation calling upon all communities with segregated schools to submit a desegregation plan by 1963, has been stalled with little congressional support and no pressure from the President.

In Washington, James Farmer, national director of CORE headed picket lines at national headquarters of both major parties and served on delegations which went inside to present CORE's protest to Republican and Democratic officials. Sizeable CORE demonstrations were conducted at headquarters of the two parties in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, with smaller protest actions in other cities.

The leaflets emphasized the discrepancy between the inaction of both parties on this issue and the 1960 platform pledges. In that year the Democratic Party pledged "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should sumbit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963." The Republican Party platform asserted: "We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay."

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# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
# RACIAL BALANCE AND SOUND EDUCATION
# IN THE SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

Submitted September 1, 1962

The San Francisco Chapter of The Congress of Racial Equality
2085 Sutter Street JO 7-5929

**CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY**

CORE has asked this Board to officially recognize the existence of de facto school segregation in San Francisco. Dr. Spears, both in his report of June 19th and previously, has acknowledged that de facto segregation exists in areas where there is a segregated housing pattern.

CORE has further asked this Board to declare that such a pattern in the schools is educationally undesirable. Although Dr. Spears did not directly consider the inherent inadequacies of segregated education in his June 19th report, it is implicitly admitted by references to "inadequacies of outside community conditions", districting problems, and the like. Furthermore, it is the law of the land that segregated education is inferior education. That this Board did not affirmatively cause the segregation which exists here in San Francisco does not make such education any the less inferior.

Finally, CORE, along with other concerned groups, asked this Board to appoint a committee, consisting of members of the Board, administrative staff, and representatives of the community, to study means of solving the problem. Instead, the Board directed Dr. Spears to conduct this study. He has done so, and he concludes by saying, "I have no educationally sound program to suggest to the Board to eliminate the schools in which the children are predominantly of one race".

If this statement means anything at all, it most certainly means that further working, of the most intensive and extensive kind, must be done to find an educationally sound program; we must use all our community resources and talents to devise sound and creative methods to give all our children the best educational opportunity. Surely we will not give up merely because our superintendent, however diligently he has tried, has not been able to devise a solution.

CORE believes that these three factors alone-- the existence of schools of predominantly one race, their constitutionally interpreted inferiority, and the inability of Dr. Spears to recommend any programs to alleviate the situation, together with the widespread concern with the problem as expressed by responsible civic and public groups

and individuals-- should be sufficient to warrant the appointment by this Board of the kind of committee CORE and other groups have requested. And further, that this committee be directed to recommend a plan for school integration to the Board of Education, to be put into effect by September 1963, with a progress report to be made public by February 1963.

We believe that such a committee would find some reasonable and rational solutions to the problem, and as a result, maximum educational potentials of our students would be realized. Solutions to problems which have not occurred to Dr. Spears may evolve from the injection of other viewpoints. Pertinent information has been omitted from Dr. Spears' report, and many of his statements require further analysis. Let us look at some of the issues raised by Dr. Spears. For convenience, we will use the same categories and titles used in his report.

I

Dr. Spears has titled his report, "THE PROPER RECOGNITION OF A PUPIL'S RACIAL BACKGROUND IN THE SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT".

This we believe to be erroneous and misleading.

Neither CORE, nor, as we see it, any of the other groups concerned or the Board, has ever suggested that there be any recognition of any particular pupil's racial background in the schools. We have asked for a recognition of the total racial composition of schools, the total racial composition of an area from which students are drawn, and a recognition of the total educational effects of large, predominantly mono-racial groupings. This is statistical, rather than individual. We do not want quotas, but rather realistic proportions. We do want a general, integrated distribution from statistically gathered sources which gives each school a racial balance approximately proportionate to that of the total school system. Dr. Spears himself recognizes this necessity later in his report when he says, "In addition to my own first-hand opinion of the pupil make-up of our schools, I have been provided a good working estimate of the

racial distribution of every one of the elementary, junior, and senior high schools. But neither a teacher nor a pupil has been approached in this, nor should they ever be".

## II - THE STUDY APPROACH

We recognize and commend Dr. Spears for the earnest and time-consuming efforts which he has made on the subject. We know of his fact-finding trip, his conferences and his undoubted researches in the field. However, we had hoped that he would have shared more of what he learned with the concerned public. We can only hope that he has shared more of it with the Board than shown in this June 19th report.

The results of his studies comprise the balance of his reports. But we wonder about the raw information. What were the experiences in the various cities he visited? What did the education editor of the New York Times say? What practices, that seemed promising in print, lost their glitter in practice? What were the teacher and administration reactions?

Particularly in the light of Dr. Spears' inability to make any recommendations, we feel it most important that the Board have the benefit of all the facts and experience that Dr. Spears has accumulated, so that it might find some way out of the present dilemma. And we feel that the community, too, should know more. CORE and others are working very hard on this problem; we do not consider that we and the Board and the superintendent are adversaries. We feel we share the same problem and want to help in the solution where we can. The Board and the committee might not draw exactly the same conclusion from the same information as Dr. Spears; and other points of view would help.

## III - A CHANGING SAN FRANCISCO

Dr. Spears states, and truly, that "the question of racial distribution of children within a school system cannot be neatly lifted out of its social setting.....". The converse is also true -- the social setting cannot be neatly lifted out of the question of racial distribution of children within a school system. It is also true that

> Wherever segretation occurs, one group, in this instance Negroes, always suffers from inferior social status. The damaging effects of this are reflected in unrealistic inferiority feelings, a sense of humiliation, and construction of potentialities for self-development....These attitudes seriously affect the levels of aspiration, the capacity to learn, and the capacity to relate in interpersonal situations.[1]

The statistics presented by Dr. Spears, showing an increasingly higher birth rate in San Francisco for minority and lower economic group families, are extremely important. They emphasize the necessity of doing something now about the problem of predominantly mono-racial schools, for unless we do, the situation can only worsen. Experts in the field state that

> incidental, involuntary, tension-laden contact is likely to increase prejudice....contacts that bring people of minority and majority groups together in functionally important activities reduce prejudice.[2]

Unless the problems of segregation are intelligently solved, the result will be an increased rejection of schooling, increased hostilities and tensions, and increased delinquent, anti-social behavior, for the segregated minority.

> For the segregated majority, in this case the whites, the reactions, though less obvious, are nonetheless serious. A feeling of superior personal worth may be gained.....This leads to an unrealistic and unadaptive kind of self-appraisal...socially sanctioned segregation...permits and even encourages the expression of hostile or agressive feelings against whole groups of people. It fosters a distortion of reality.[3]

How can a white child, in an all-white school, learn to respect, cooperate with and understand members of groups from which he is virtually separated during his formative years? How can a Negro child in an all-Negro school, learn to respect, cooperate with and understand members of groups from which he is virtually separated during his formative years? Both children suffer from the lack of contact. In San

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1 Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation, Report No. 37, May 1957, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, p. 10.

2 Racial and Cultural Minorities, Simpson, George Eaton and Yerger, J. Milton, p. 675

3 Psychiatric Aspects, p. 6.

Francisco, the housing pattern may have created a part of this educational void, but the schools, if they are to fulfill their function, must help to fill this void.

And what cannot be overlooked is that the predominantly white neighborhood school is more than a barometric reading of the pressures of private housing discrimination. The white school is indeed one of the goals in the fostering of private discrimination. White schools are one of the causes as well as one of the products of discrimination in housing. When white families learn that attendance of Negro children will not lower the educational standards of their schools, a giant step will have been taken toward the elimination of housing segregation.

Present studies indicate that whenever a school contains an undue proportion of minority group students, there is a rapid exodus of white families, with the result that the school soon becomes predominantly mono-racial. A school system which ignores this, and fails to take preventive measures, is creating a virtually segregated school.

## IV - ADMINISTRATION OF ATTENDANCE POLICIES

a) Board of Education Policy and Districting

The Board policy of enrolling children in the school nearest or most convenient to their homes is executed administratively. Dr. Spears tells us that constant study of school districting is maintained, and changes are frequent. There is great hope in this statement, for it shows a fluidity in drawing boundary lines, an ability to adjust to changing circumstances. Although distance and convenience to the student's home are given, and rightfully so, important consideration, other factors are also taken into account, such as fluctuating population and living accommodations. It is apparent that a given residence may not always be in the same school district, although neither the residence nor the schools changes location. We ask that, in addition to the districting criteria now being used, another be added: the racial composition of the neighborhood. It may well be that if one of the goals, in addition to distance and convenience, were the elimination of predominantly mono-racial schools, the new goal could be accomplished without any sacrifice of the old one. San Francisco is, after all, geographically small.

In many areas, a distance of only a few blocks brings one out of a Negro or Oriental housing area into a white one. Shifting district lines from North and South to East and West might do a great deal. Since Dr. Spears tells us that neighborhood racial patterns are not taken into account in drawing boundaries, we must assume this has not been tried. Surely the constitutional requirement of non-segregated education should be at least considered.

CORE is not opposed to the neighborhood pattern. But even under our present districting policy it is not sacrosanct. An examination of the school district maps clearly reveals that distance and convenience to home are frequently secondary or tertiary factors, or not even considered, when boundaries are drawn. The neighborhood school concept is sometimes followed, and sometimes not. We now modify the neighborhood pattern where other factors require modification. A radius of one-half mile for elementary and one mile for junior high may be the goal, but careful examination of present boundaries indicates wide variance in practice. At present, some of our junior high school students travel as far as two and five-eighths miles from their homes, and some of our elementary school pupils as far as one and three-eighths miles.

Dr. Spears has not given us the specific reasons for this type of variation. We presume there are good reasons. We submit that the goal of well-integrated student-bodies is no less important than the factors now being considered.

Another factor in determining school lines is bus routes. This is important, but we must remember that bus routes are not inflexible. Only recently Municipal Railway officials announced that Hunters Point Bus routes have been changed specifically for the purpose of accommodating school children at Pelton Junior High School.

b) Building Utilization

One of the important factors requiring deviation from the ideals of the neighborhood school is building utilization. Dr. Spears' report indicates that twenty-three bus runs are planned for the elementary division this fall, in order to overcome the threat of an over-crowded school. We all agree that such bussing has many attendant problems, but must nevertheless be resorted to in some emergency situa-

tions. But Dr. Spears states that "the racial make-up of the receiving school and the sending school (are not ) a factor in the emergency move."

If integration of student population is an educationally desirable goal, racial composition should be a factor. Where the disadvantages of bussing must be resorted to in any event, surely we could turn this to an advantage in at least one area, that of alleviating the problem of the predominantly mono-racial school. To accomplish this end, we would need to know which schools are over-crowded and require bussing, which schools have room to receive these students, and their respective racial compositions. Utilization of plant may be what instigates the program, but integration could be more than an occasional accidental by-product.

Similarly, the "two hundred bungalow classrooms that are moved freely over the city as needed" could be assigned for use, with the goal of integration added to the factors presently considered in determining their location.

c) Procedures in Other Cities

Dr. Spears, under this heading, gives only minimal treatment to only one aspect of programs carried on in other cities -- the so-called open enrollment policy. In mentioning bussing under such a policy, he says "it has been difficult to distinguish the element of building utilization from racial integration". This emphasizes our contention that a program designed to fill one need can, in some cases, be readily adapted to help another, if the administration has both goals in mind.

No mention has been made of policies other than open-enrollment in other cities. But open-enrollment is probably one of the least effective methods to accomplish the goal of an integrated school system. There are, however, other methods which have been used in other areas of the country. These include redistricting, site selection, the Princeton plan, elimination of optional districts and elimination of the feeder school system, as well as abandonment of ghetto schools. The experiences of other cities in the use of these and other methods might prove helpful to us, if studied carefully and in detail.

d) Out of District Transfers

The policy of refusing individual transfers for racial reasons is a wise one. Recognition of race on an individual basis is certainly improper. But we need not close our eyes to the fact that parents who wish a transfer for a racial reason may state a different reason in order to effectuate this. What, for example, are the statistics on transfers from, for example, Anza School to Madison? What kind of investigation is made of stated reasons on transfer applications? Official policy, without careful scrutiny of practice, is valueless.

V. - THE INFLUENCE OF NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS

Although Dr. Spears indicates that he racial imbalance of our schools is the result of "neighborhood patterns", no consideration is given to the definition of a neighborhood. The drawing of district lines by the school department is an affirmative act which in itself creates a "neighborhood". And while the composition of a student body undoubtedly reflects the population within those district lines, redrawing of the lines would create an entirely different "neighborhood", with a concomitant change in school population.

Even were it true that our schools reflect the neighborhood racial pattern, we must remember that, as the court has stated in the case of Branche vs. Bd. of Hempstead, an educational system "cannot accept segregation on the ground that it is not coerced or planned but accepted". On the contrary, sound policy requires that the school systems do even more to overcome the adverse social situation which exists in its community. Dr. Spears shows clearly a recognition of this principle when he discusses some of the speech problems of many Negro and Chinese children, and some of the cultural differences. Such factors do not require concentration of these children in one school -- their educational needs can be met just as effectively in whatever school they attend. Speech problems are more easily handled where there is more contact with children not having this handicap. Studies by sociologists and psychologists clearly indicate that isolation results in the continuation of patterns. The isolated student has

no model for judging or patterning his behavior. This country was built on the sharing of cultural diversity. Cultural difference should be shared and understood by all children.

Special problems requiring specially trained teachers need not be limited to one school. We have special classes for mentally gifted and the mentally handicapped children throughout the city.

Dr. Spears states, "it is always the responsibility of a school system to recognize the factors that might mitigate against (the pupils') opportunity for a sound education". A predominantly mono-racial school is just such a factor. The constitutional requirement of no segregation in schools was not made in a vacuum. It was solidly based on proven facts that such an education is inherently inferior.

It is understandable that the neighborhood school pattern, as presently interpreted, finds favor with some parents, or many: white, Chinese and Negro alike. The legally enforced segregation in the South finds favor with the large majority of white parents there. A school board must, nevertheless, take a broader view, and fulfill its obligation to give each child the best education the school system can provide, including those facilities which some parents, not learned in the advantages of integration, have not recognized.

## VI - LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE QUESTION

CORE will not at this time present its analysis of the small but growing body of case law in the field of racial composition of the public schools. Our conclusion is that there is an increasing tendency on the part of the courts to favor racially balanced schools. Both the letter and the spirit of the law are bringing an end to the old patterns of segregation, in California as well as nationally. Court decisions have not been limited to situations involving intentional discrimination. And all of the cases are based on the fact that segregated education is harmful to children; since segregated education is harmful, it matters little to the child whether or not it is created by law, by administrative manipulation, or the ignoring of neighborhood populations. The courts are not merely enforcing

an empty civil right, nor taking sides in an administrative, legal or political maneuver. The courts are concerned, as are we, with the effect of racial segregation on the minds and hearts of our children. As our own Judge Zirpoli said, "The responsibility of reconciling the benefits of the neighborhood school policy with the constitutional requirements for integration rests with the school authorities and will require the whole-hearted cooperation of the community, the parents, students, and teachers".

We most earnestly hope that here in San Francisco, "The City That Knows How", our Board of Education will not wait for the force of a judicial decision. We hope that our citizens will not be required to seek court assistance to help them secure a truly integrated school system. For whether a lawsuit is filed now or later, and whether it is won now or later, the day will inevitably come when the constitutional rights of all our children to learn together will be established.

We urge the Board not to wait for a legal decision on narrow, technical grounds, ordering it to comply with technical legal requirements. We implore the Board to look beyond the technicalities, and into the heart of this city, to be farseeing, unafraid, and responsive to the just needs of our community.

Community leaders in our state, in increasing numbers, are expressing concern with the problems of de facto segregation, and asking that all school boards work on solutions to this problem.

We know that the Board is aware of the recent policy statement of the State Board of Education, made at its June meeting, but we believe it bears repeating:

> In its historic decisions of May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States declared that segregation of schopl children on account of race or color, even where physical facilities and other tangible factors are equal, inevitably results in unlawful discrimination. In California, ny law and custom, we have historically operated on the democratic principle of equality of educational opportunity for all children, without regard to race or color, and for this reason, it was easy for us to accept the underlying hypothesis of that decision and applaud its rendition. We now find, however, that primarily because of patterns of residential segregation, some of our schools are becoming racially segregated in fact,

> and that this challenge to equality of educational opportunity must be met with the full thrust of our legal authority and moral leadership.
>
> We fully realize that there are many social and economic forces at play which tend to facilitate de facto racial segregation, over which we have no control, but in all areas under our control or subject to our influence, the policy of elimination of existing segregation and curbing any tendency toward its growth must be fiven serious and thoughtful consideration by all persons involved at all levels. Wherever and whenever feasible, preference shall be given to those programs which will tend toward conformity with the views herein expressed.

We hope that San Francisco will lead the school systems of California in following these principles.

## VII - PROGRAMS IN THE SCHOOLS

Dr. Spears, in this section of his report, deals with the needs and problems of remedial or compensatory education. We are sincerely impressed with his understanding of this most important need, and recognize its place in any program involving racial problems in the schools. The subjects he discusses, and related ones, must be a part of our educational system if we are to solve our problems of racial understanding.

But such a program, operating in the confines of a predominantly mono-racial school, is operating against mammoth odds. We would be teaching equality, democracy, and dignity of all peoples, and at the same time denying our children the opportunity to experience these values. We would be preaching unity and practicing separation.

Racial balance in the schools and compensatory education are two separate, though sometimes related, problems; neither one is a substitute for the other, and both are desperately needed. CORE is, at present, addressing itself primarily to the subject of the predominantly mono-racial school. We believe racial balance to be a necessary condition precedent to an effective program of remedial and compensatory education.

Dr. Spears devoted a large part of his report to compensatory education, and this discussion, while valuable, is only incidentally pertinent to the problems of actual

integration.

Another essential program, and again one which requires a racially balanced school for maximum effectiveness, is intergroup education. By this we mean those educational devices which are concerned with the development of understanding and respect between various ethnic groups. Dr. Spears mentioned the very fine booklet entitled "Feelings are Facts". But are copies of this and similar materials routinely supplied to our teachers? What is being done to develop healthy, democratic attitudes on the part of all of our school staff, not just those few who elect to take a course in this field? Although there are outstanding teachers who are sensitive and aware of the needs in this area, many of our teachers and our students need help in overcoming the unfortunate biases and prejudices which many of us have inherited. Sound programs initiated by our schools to this end could be a vitally effective influence.

Where the first significant contact between white, Negro, and Oriental students does not occur until high school, attitudes of differentness, remoteness, dislike, and distrust have hardened, race consciousness flourishes, and each group tends to isolate itself from the others. Sociological studies are replete with evidences of this phenomenon.

The school system which allows segregation creates among its minority population feelings of rejection, frustration and hopelessness for success in the total community. It nurtures a "don't care" attitude, bitter despair and even violence directed both toward themselves and others. It fosters second class citizenship and rejection of the teacher, the school, and the program. It is a prime factor in the high drop-out rate of Negro students.

Segregated schools also enforce in the white student distorted and unrealistic appraisals of minority groups, and stereotypic attitudes which are harmful to themselves and to our nation. They are a breeding ground for hostility and prejudice.

Programs of compensatory education and of intergroup relations in a deteriorating

mono-racial environment will place us in a position where, like Alice in Wonderland, we have to keep running in order to stay in the same place.

## VIII - DANGERS IN THE PRESENT PERIOD

Dr. Spears states, "We are now faced with the movement to emphasize differences in the color and race of the pupils, with teacher, parent, and child. In some Eastern school systems, such records are now prepared annually. One asks for what purpose do we so label a child, and in turn, post a sign on his school, indicating the racial make-up of the student body at the moment?

"If we were preparing to ship these children to various schools, in predetermined racial allotments, then such brands would serve the purpose they have been put to in handling livestock."

We emphatically disagree that any such suggestion has ever been made. We respectfully suggest that this statement indicates how seriously Dr. Spears has misinterpreted or distorted the intentions, goals, and methods which CORE and other groups and individuals have asked the Board to consider. The attitude expressed in these few lines is perhaps a key to the reason Dr. Spears has been unable to make any recommendation to the Board, for no one can find a solution unless he understands the problem.

An emphasis on differences in color has, unhappily, been with us in America for a very long time. Only the blind or very naive could deny it, for it is all around us, in employment, in housing, in our churches and in our jails, in our social lives and in our schools. And positions of honor, when they come to men like Robert Weaver, the President's top housing official, or our own Jim Stratten, on the San Francisco Board of Education, are hailed in our press as having been awarded to a "Negro".

As long as Negro and white and other Americans know little of one another, as long as our ordinary, day-to-day experiences are separate rather than shared, we will see the color of each other's skin as an emphatic difference.

Most honest and reasonable Americans understand that this is wrong. Many react, despite their understanding, in the same old biased way, for varying reasons. Many are

working to help themselves and others overcome the unreasoned feelings of "different-ness".

We Americans have come a long way in recent years, and it is now public policy that skin color shall not be the mark of a man. And in San Francisco, open prejudice is scarcely respectable.

Our administrators and this Board are constantly seeking and finding ways to improve our educational standards. How can we, in the one area of race relations, sit back and say, "It's not our fault, and therefore it's none of our business"?

We are required legally and morally to place no emphasis on differences in color. This does not mean that we do not see color. On the contrary, where we find community pressures forcing our children to see this "difference", we are obligated to find ways to counteract these outside influences. Our school system can do this only by seeing the color that others see, and helping all children see the color, in realistic proportions, in day-to-day contact, and thereby de-emphasize the importance of color.

Dr. Spears, although he professes by implication that recognition of a child's color has no educational purpose, belies this when he states that during the 1961-62 school year, a course was provided in "Factors in the Education of the Negro Child".

No one asks this Board-- indeed we would strongly protest such a request-- to label an individual child by race. We ask the Board to recognize statistics, census figures, and ghettos, and to consider these when they make their school assignments.

Furthermore, no one dreams of asking this Board for racial quotas or allotments in the schools. We ask only for the devising of an educationally sound program to eliminate gross racial disproportions. We ask that there be a general recognition of racial groupings so that each school reflects as closely as possible the racial composition of the total student population.

Yes, there is a danger in the present period-- danger in being so enamored of the status quo that we cannot recognize our need to find new ways to handle old problems;

danger that we might not even try.

The misconception of the request of CORE and other groups began when, on January 23rd of this year, Dr. Spears publicly stated that elimination of de facto school segregation might mean the end of the neighborhood school policy, although CORE has repeatedly stated, publicly and privately, that it does not oppose neighborhood schools; it opposes only the manner in which school boundary lines are drawn, with the effect of excluding some neighbors, and has asked only that the goal of integration be added to the criteria now used in districting schools. Nevertheless, Dr. Spears' statement, and his subsequent report, have fostered the belief on the part of some segments of our community that they must choose between integration and neighbor hood schools. The cries of "Save our neighborhood schools"! while often made in the mistaken belief that this is in opposition to CORE's position, are not contrary to CORE's stand.

## IX - THE PURPOSE OF THE SCHOOL

Dr. Spears, in his report, says that state school codes speak only of subjects to be taught, and that this is the fundamental purpose of the schools.

Dr. Spears, in his book, Principles of Teaching, says: "The number-one purpose of the American school is to train for American citizenship", and "The wholesome development of the pupil cannot be considered aside from the school's obligation to train for American democracy".

Section 7851 of the California Education Code gives us a clear directive:

> Sec. 7851. Each teacher shall endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice, and patriotism, to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity, and falsehood, to instruct them in the principles of a free government, and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship.

A resolution adopted by the California State Legislature on April 3, 1962, states:

> "One of the most essential lessons that American youth could learn is that we are a nation built upon the magnificent contributions of men and women of diverse racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds".

Dr. Spears refers to the 1954 Brown case and the 1961 Taylor case as being concerned with civil rights, separate from a child's educational rights. Here, again, he has missed the point. Both cases are concerned primarily with the child's educational rights, and it was only upon persuasive proof that segregation per se was a denial of such educational rights that these cases were decided. A racially unbalanced school cannot function properly, and prevents us from achieving the prime purpose of the schools, the training for American citizenship. Further, segregation limits the effectiveness of our subject matter programs, and adversely affects our children's motivation and behavior. Segregated educational experiences are inadequate and inferior. If the purposes of the American public schools are to be realized, integration must be achieved.

We concur with Dr. Spears in his statement that "The school is an instrument through which society both preserves the culture and brings out social change". The most compelling social change of our time in this country is in the area of race relations. It is high time for our schools to take part in this historic development.

## CONCLUSION

Segregated schools are illegal and harmful to our children. We can have racially balanced neighborhood schools in San Francisco, reflecting the racial composition of our total student population, without resorting to quotas or labeling. Compensatory education and programs of intergroup relations cannot be effective within the confines of a predominantly mono-racial school. Where a school has an undue proportion of minority group students, the balance rapidly changes and it soon becomes predominantly mono-racial. Although outside forces contribute to a segregated school situation, inaction by the school board perpetuates and reinforces it. A sound educational system must be an integrated one.

**CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY**

CORE's request is eminently reasonable and moderate. We ask that the Board of Education declare at its September 18th meeting that its policy be to work toward achievement of a system of racially balanced public schools whose racial composition reflects as closely as possible that of the total student population. To that end, we ask that a study committee be appointed, to work with the administration, and that its primary function be to implement the Board policy no later than September 1963. This committee could also undertake to study the complex problems of intergroup relations and compensatory education.

Such a study should have Board participation; for what citizen is more aware of the school's total problems than a member of this Board? Such a study should have administrator and teacher participation, for they are so aware of the practical, detailed, and multi-faceted problems of the school and classroom operations. And such a study should have informed and concerned representatives of the community groups participating, such as CORE, NAACP, CCU, West of Twin Peaks Community, for we are dealing with problems that concern us all, problems that require communication among ourselves, and much goodwill.

Time is running out. People all over the country are asking, demanding, fighting for an end to second class citizenship. People in San Francisco are waiting, watching, listening, reading, learning. The many good things San Francisco has in the area of race relations make its remaining faults loom larger. The courage and strength of those fighting more dangerous battles in the South make those in the North and West who have been apathetic or indifferent feel even more ashamed of their own acceptance of even the smallest indignity. These are feelings which create bitterness and hostility.

The Board of Education has an opportunity to take the role of leadership at a crucial time, now. Our community has the need, this Board has the authority and the obligation; we hope that it also has the wisdom and the courage.

Respectfully submitted,

Wilfred T. Ussery

Wilfred T. Ussery, Chairman
San Francisco Chapter Of The
Congress Of Racial Equality, CORE

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

STATEMENT OF

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
San Francisco Chapter

ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

Presented by Francis J. McTernan

September 18, 1962.

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To the Chairman and Members of the Board of Education of the San Francisco Unified School District:

This statement is presented to the Board in response to an invitation issued by the Board to interested organizations and individuals to comment upon the report of the Superintendent of Schools, dated June 19, 1962, on this problem.

The National Lawyers Guild is a bar association, with chapters throughout the United States. The San Francisco Chapter is certified as a bar association by the State Bar of California. The Guild has long been concerned with the problems of racial equality in our country and has participated as friend of the court in many of the leading cases in which the courts have enunciated and articulated the constitutional principles and theories applicable in this field. For instance, the Guild participated in the leading case in which the United States Supreme Court outlawed restrictive racial covenants on real property. Guild lawyers have represented clients in the well-known New Rochelle school segregation case and in similar cases in New Jersey, Detroit, and other places in the United States.

The Guild locally has been deeply concerned with de facto segregation in the San Francisco School System and more than a year ago communicated its concern to this Board. Our concern is most deeply felt

in connection with our schools because, as Judge Zirpoli said, in his remarks from the bench, in the Central Junior High School case,

> "The Negro problem is perhaps the most urgent piece of public business facing the United States today, and the social institution that touches this problem most directly is the public school."

My comments tonight on behalf of the Guild will be confined in the main to the area of our competence, namely, the legal and constitutional area. However, I hope to demonstrate to you, ladies and gentlemen, that perhaps the key to the solution of the very grave problems facing this Board is to be found in an understanding, appreciation and acceptance of the legal and constitutional principles which govern the problem, and that a proper appreciation, understanding and acceptance of these principles will provide the basis for the solutions.

When faced with broad problems of constitutional law and social significance, this Board, as a public body, has a duty to look to the decisions of the courts to determine the broad sweep of the decisions and the directions in which they point. Particularly do we believe this approach to be the proper one for a school board of this city, which prides itself on its tolerance and progressive attitude to problems of race relations. We are not here concerned with legal problems of a client in private litigation, where the lawyer or the judge determines, for instance, how far the client can go in taking tax deductions without violating the law. We are concerned with fundamental, broad constitutional issues and principles which touch the very heart of our democratic system. To deal with these problems as one would deal with the legal problems of a business or a client is to fail to recognize the great social forces that play a part in shaping the problems.

With all due respect to my friend Mr. Breyer, for whose personal integrity and legal ability I have the highest regard, I suggest to you that the legal analysis contained in the Superintendent's report is more the approach to the private litigant than the broad constitutional and social issues involved with us tonight. With finesse and legal acumen, the leading cases in the field are distinguished and set aside as if they were of no concern or relevance to the Board merely because the precise legal decisions were on slightly different facts.

One cannot read Brown vs. Board of Education, in which our great Chief Justice and native son of California enunciated the constitutional principles governing the situation, without recognizing that its underlying premise is that segregated education has a detrimental and deleterious effect on the educational and mental development of the minority group children.

The report presented to this Board concedes that there are segregated schools in San Francisco. It is the plain and unmistakable teaching of Brown vs. Board of Education that the very existence of racially segregated schools constitutes a violation of the constitutional rights of the minority group children. This is not only a constitutional problem, but an educational problem. The unanimous Supreme Court declared that the segregation of Negro children generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. The court points out further that opportunity for extensive contact with other children at an early stage in their educational experience is indispensable if children of all races and creeds are to become inculcated with an understanding of the essentials of our democratic way of life. Thus, it is not fair or correct to state, as does the report,

that the concern of these cases is with the civil rights of a few individuals. They are concerned with the civil rights of a substantial portion of our national population. And these civil rights involve the proper education of Negro children and, as Chief Justice Warren pointed out, the proper education of white children as well, who suffer equally from lack of contact with the minority group children.

Judge Kaufman, a learned and able judge, who now sits on the United States Court of Appeal, had no difficulty recognizing this essential learning of the Supreme Court's opinion in the New Rochelle case, where, although he found deliberate gerrymandering of school districts to force the minority group children into one school, he also found that the de facto existence of a segregated school in and of itself constituted a violation of the civil rights of the minority group children.

[Incidentally, it might be interesting, and perhaps significant, to point out at this time that one of the defendants in the New Rochelle case was Herbert C. Clish, the Superintendent of Schools in New Rochelle, who administered the school system found to have been deliberately segregated. He is the same Herbert C. Clish who was Superintendent of Schools in San Francisco up until a few years ago, and who, prior to his incumbency in San Francisco, was also Superintendent of Schools in New Rochelle.]

The approach to the problem in the report is to make a narrow construction of these cases and to conclude that there is no law being presently violated in San Francisco. One can't help but get the feeling from the report that it is not so important to find a way because what is happening here is legal anyhow and it is not necessary to find a way.

The real fault of the report, therefore, is in its negative attitude when it says that it cannot propose any educationally sound plan to eliminate seg-

regation. But the Supreme Court of the United States says that segregated education is not sound education and I submit that the failure to understand, appreciate and accept the constitutional doctrine enunciated by the highest court of our land is the reason why an educationally sound plan cannot be found to eliminate segregation in San Francisco schools. There is a trite, old, American saying, whose essential truth may be a little obscured by its over-use. But my mother, a schoolteacher deeply steeped in the American tradition, used to say, "Where there's a will, there's a way", and I submit that if there is a will to eliminate segregation in San Francisco schools, ways can be found. I do not think the Superintendent and his able and dedicated staff should underrate themselves by saying the job cannot be done. The job must be done for, as Judge Zirpoli said,

> "The responsibility of reconciling the benefits of a neighborhood school policy with the constitutional requirements for integration rests with the school authorities and will require the wholehearted cooperation of the community, the parents, students and teachers."

I say to you, ladies and gentlemen of the Board, that once this Board adopts a positive policy in opposition to racial segregation in San Francisco schools, with the help of the community organizations, interested individuals, parents and teachers, the administration of our school district can and will find means to lick this problem. It remains only for this Board to take its stand forthrightly and without equivocation that segregation in San Francisco schools must end. Pursuant to that thought, I have taken the liberty of preparing a simple resolution which I urge this Board to adopt:

RESOLVED, that the Board of Education of the San Francisco Unified School District, as a matter of policy, opposes racial segregation in its schools from whatever cause, and to implement this policy, the Superintendent of Schools is requested to take all practical steps to eliminate existing segregation in San Francisco schools and to prevent the rise of segregation whenever or wherever it may occur.

I am authorized, on behalf of my organization, to offer its full cooperation in working with the Superintendent, or any member of his staff, to assist in formulating and executing, if necessary, any such plans and programs. I am sure that dozens of other community organizations and hundreds of citizens also will offer their assistance as well.

Working together with a will to succeed, San Francisco can take the lead in eliminating segregation in the schools, and show the country and the world that we are, indeed, the city that knows how.

not be a policy making body, or in any way a substitute for the Board of Education which is the duly constituted and well qualified citizens body for guiding school matters. However, there are complex intergroup relations and community relations problems intersecting the educational problems in this particular program. There are resources in the community on which the Board could draw to assist it in this unusual task. The advisory committee could be made up of Board members, administrative personnel, intergroup relations experts from our institutions of higher learning, and knowledgeable individuals representing all segments of the community. Such a committee could help relieve the Board from some of the exorbitant time-burdens of preliminary work; could provide some regular and valuable expertise on the overall social problem, without cost; and could comprise an important bridge of communication between the Board and affected parts of the community in this sensitive situation.

## A SUMMARY NOTE

CCU's report has dealt with educational problems created by changing social conditions in San Francisco. The report contains recommendations to the Board of Education in three general areas of remedy - Maximum Integration, Compensatory Education, and Human Relations Education. The report contains recommendations for effective implementation of these remedies.

CCU believes that it is evident that programs of Compensatory Education and Human Relations Education will be effective only to the degree that Maximum Integration exists in the school system.

CCU believes that it is also evident that the programs of Compensatory Education and Human Relations Education can help to assure that the greatest benefits are realized from implementation of the policy of Maximum Integration.

# *Many Colleges Offer Extra Financial Aid To Recruit Negroes*

* * *

## Scholarship Picture Brightens In Houston; Princeton Calls Rivalry for Talent 'Intense'

By LAWRENCE LYNCH
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES—Benny Robinson, a senior with a B plus average at Jordan High School here, figures he will need financial help to get through college. Since Benny's parents both work, the most he could ordinarily expect would be a scholarship paying half his tuition, room, board and other educational expenses.

Benny's school counselors have told him, however, that at least two California universities will probably offer to foot his entire higher education bill. Ironically, the reason for this special consideration is the same one that might have made it harder for Benny to get into college a few years ago: Benny is a Negro.

Prodded by the stepped-up pace of the drive for civil rights, and their own liberal traditions, a number of Northern and Western colleges are becoming increasingly concerned about their small Negro enrollments. As a result, they're making special efforts, including offering extra financial aid, to recruit qualified Negro students.

Qualified Negro applicants, however, are few and far between, educators say. "The annual pool of young Negroes who are prepared to meet the educational standards of universities like Princeton is depressingly small," says Princeton President Robert F. Goheen. "And because there are so few of them, the competition among universities to enroll them is nowadays intense."

### Talent Scout

Two years ago Princeton and the seven other Ivy League universities formed a "cooperative program for educational opportunity." They commissioned Charles E. McCarthy, Jr., a residence dean at Yale, to scout Eastern urban centers and Southern states for Negro high school seniors with academic ability. Last spring, seven Eastern women's colleges joined the program. Mr. McCarthy says a qualified Negro will get all the financial help he needs.

Mr. McCarthy's work and related efforts by individual schools seem to be paying off. Yale's freshman Negro enrollment increased to 12 last fall from six the year before; Princeton's jumped to 10 from "two or three" over the same period. Wellesley College, one of the women's schools participating in the program, last fall brought in nine Negro coeds from Southern Negro colleges to spend their junior year at its Massachusetts campus.

Interest in Negro students goes well beyond these 15 schools. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) reports the number of colleges accepting its applicants increased to 353 from 319 in the last two years. NSSFNS helps Negro high school students decide where to go to college, passes along their records to interested schools and helps them win financial aid.

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Schools

TO: SAN FRANCISCO BOARD OF EDUCATION

FROM: CONGRESS OF RACI AL EQUALITY (CORE) San Francisco Branch

It is with great pleasure that CORE appears before this board tonight. We congratulate the Ad Hoc Committee for a report which represents the first official recognition by San Francisco board members that racial concentration in the schools represents a barrier to effective education. We are pleased that the initial phase of "studying the problem" is finally over,and hope we can now all get to work on solving the problem, and implementing the committees recommendations.

Differing semantic interpretations often impede effective communication, and therefore we wish to make it clear that our remarks which follow are not intended to be carping or hypercritical, but rather to insure that we all understand the report to mean the same thing. We consider the report as a whole to be the most forward looking step yet taken in the area of racial problems in the San Francisco schools; it is important therefore, that we do not misunderstand each other.

For example, the committee defines "de facto segregation" - a term frequently used by CORE and other groups, as denoting an overt act not applicable to SF school disctricting. We did not intend it to convey such a meaning, and will willingly drop the term in favor of racial concentration or imbalance.

We direct your attention to the 3rd paragraph of page 8, which as we see it, represents one of the most important changes in policy recommended by the report. We feel certain the committee means that the factor of race always be a criterion in establishing attendance zones and drawing boundaries, and that changes be made for the purpose of imp roving racial balance wherever practicable and reasonable and consistent with a neighborhood school plan. The present wording is somewhat reversed, although we believe that the spirit of this report indicates this is the intent. Incidentally, the word "alleviate" in line 3 of this paragraph we presume to be a typographical error, and that it should be "eliminate", - otherwise the balance of the paragraph would have no meaning.

Implicit in this same recommendation by the ad hoc committee is that better racial integration of the schools is a desirable goal - for otherwise there would be no purpose in taking the racial

factor into account in districting. Since the report is primarily a philosophical guideline and a statement of recommended board policy, we believe it to be of utmost importance that this principle of the educational desirability of integrated schools be explicit rather than implicit. In line with this, we would urge the board to direct that this new ethnic factor be added to districting criteria and be considered of prime importance so that there can be no doubt of the board's intent.

One further comment on ths paragraph: the phrase "as the need arises". We would assume that this would apply immediately and is not intended to be limited to the future. Effective implementation of this report would necessarily require that the highest priority be given to a reexamination of the district lines as they now exist throughout the city. We now admittedly have schools of heavy monoracial composition, and the need in these schools is urgent

CORE agrees in principle with the committee's recommendations regarding pupil transportation on p. 14, but asks that the Board, in adopting this portion of the report, include a requirement that wherever bussing is required <u>for other purposes</u>, the racial factor be considered in determining the receiving school. Again, a total reading of the report would indicate that this is the committee's intent. We emphasize our agreement that bussing should not be used for the <u>sole</u> purpose of achieving integration.

CORE commends the committee for recognizing the need for an extensive human relations program. The report, of course, does not purport to go into details, but we hope that the Board will require all school personnel, both certified and non-certified, to participate in some phase of such a program, and that pupils' education in this subject will begin early in their school career.

CORE believes that the establishment of a position for a Human Relations director is a crucial part of the Committee's recommendations, and essential for effective implementation of the total program. Although the recommendation was made under the subheading of "Human Relations", it is apparent that the committee recognized the racial implications of all the topics discussed in its report. We are therefore confident that the person hired for this position would have responsibility for implementation of policy in all of these areas. If such a person is to be effective, it is necessary that he have high administrative status, second only

to the superintendent himself, and that the salary be commensurate with the importance of the job. We would hope that the Board would seek applicants with extensive and intensive experience in the field of human relations, and that it would attract a person of high reputation in this field.

Again, we congratulate the Ad Hoc Committee for its work, and commend them for their recognition of the need to solve the main facets of the racial problem as it relates to our schools. We hope we have not misinterpreted the meaning of the report, and we do ask to be corrected if this should be so.

CORE wants to cooperate with the Board and the staff wherever it can, both in implementing the recommendations and in interpreting the position of the school district to those segments of the community that look to CORE and similar groups for guidance. We look forward to a fruitful period of educational progress and mutual good will.

Respectfully submitted,

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
San Francisco Chapter (CORE)
April 16, 1963

CALIFORNIA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

# Report
## on
# Oakland Schools

*An investigation under Section 1421 of the California Labor Code*

*of the*

OAKLAND UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT

1962-1963

CALIFORNIA FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

Repeat

*Report by*

**C. L. Dellums, Assigned Commissioner**

*Investigation by*

**Hugh Taylor, Staff Consultant**

## FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

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**Ernest B. Webb, *Director***

## STATE OF CALIFORNIA

**Edmund G. Brown, *Governor***

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*Statement by Commissioner C. L. Dellums to members of the board, Oakland Unified School District, at a conference in Oakland, June 16, 1964*

Our meeting today is for the purpose of discussing the report of the FEPC investigation of your district's practices, copies of which you have received.

Instructions to our investigator were to be fair and impartial in carrying out his fact-finding assignment. I believe you will agree with me that he followed those instructions to the letter. Now that the facts have been collected and analyzed, I am ready to place before you some positive steps that should be taken toward improving your practices.

It is a serious matter to violate the rights of people because of their race, religion, national origin, or ancestry. I believe that it is a mistake to treat such violations lightly. Our children, whose education is entrusted to the public schools, are this country's most important asset. Any teacher or school administrator who abuses his trust by limiting the education of children—because of preconceived notions of what they can or cannot learn, based on their race or ethnic origin—is doing a disservice to the community and is doing the children almost irreparable harm. This is an offense as serious as those written in our penal codes.

I believe that the Oakland Unified School District, and other school districts, should deal sternly with certificated personnel who act in a discriminatory way according to stereotyped ideas of what a child can achieve because of his race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. I recommend to you that hereafter if any principal, administrative head, counselor or teacher takes the position, either verbally or by his actions, that no Negro pupil in his school has the ability to qualify for a professional, technical or executive career, such a person is not fit to be entrusted with the education of Oakland's children, and should be dismissed.

## ATTITUDES OF ADMINISTRATORS

You have personnel of this kind who are dealing with children and are shaping or mis-shaping their lives. An example is the counselor whose interview with our investigator is described in Section II of my report. He turned the pages of a pamphlet which pictures such occupations as factory executive, pharmacist, salesman for an oil company, engineer, store manager, tool designer, accountant, doctor and lawyer, and repeated: "We have no Negroes in this school who could qualify for these positions." And this is only one of a number of cases indicating that some key school personnel are convinced that Negroes are limited in their possible attainments.

Our investigation reveals that the attitudes of some administrators, principals and teachers leave much to be desired by way of according equal respect to all human beings without regard to their race, creed, or ancestry. I am therefore recommending an intensive program of in-service training to educate the educators. They must come to realize the interpersonal and intergroup problems the children have to live with in this world. They must be trained to understand minority-group children better, to appreciate their true qualities, and to accord them the dignity to which all children and adults are entitled.

I emphasize this recommendation because I feel that the offense of prejudging a whole group of children is more destructive to the community than any other imaginable act. A training program in human relations is sound educationally and will benefit the entire Oakland community.

As to the hiring and assignment of teachers, it appears that until very recently you hired Negro teachers for jobs in predominantly Negro schools, and you rarely hired any teachers of the Spanish-surname group. On the basis of the information available to us, teachers of Oriental descent appear to have been hired in more representative numbers.

It seems to me that the placing of Negro teachers in predominantly Negro schools indicates some prejudices about Negro teachers as well as about Negro students. My report indicates that there are school personnel who believe that Negro children are capable of only limited achievement. If Negro teachers are hired exclusively to educate these children, it appears that a similar belief is held about Negro teachers. The result, if such attitudes govern the decisions of authorities in a predominantly Negro school, is to create a situation of inferior educational opportunities which will be reflected in low morale and a failure to motivate the children to become qualified for the more exacting and more rewarding types of employment careers.

Therefore it is my conclusion that it would benefit both the pupils and the teachers who are members of minority groups if teachers were hired on the basis of merit to fill vacancies wherever they exist. I submit that it is unsound educationally, as well as contrary to equal employment rights, to place Negro teachers mainly in schools which are predominantly Negro, and that an administrative head who persists in this practice is unfit to be employed by the school district and should be dismissed.

Now let me turn to some other points in my report.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROMOTION

On the promotion of certificated personnel, it is all too clear that opportunities for minority-group teachers to obtain higher-level positions are slowed than for teachers of the majority group. I am aware that the school district recognizes this and has taken some positive steps to overcome it. I recommend that these steps be accelerated, as I believe that they will help to create an educational environment which will be healthy and will have a beneficial effect on human relations in the schools and in the community.

On substitute teachers, many people in the minority community believe that minority applicants for teaching positions are relegated to the substitute list before they are considered for hiring as regular faculty members. My report does not prove this, nor does it disprove it. I do contend, however, that 400 substitute teachers, of whom approximately 40 or 50 percent are members of minority groups, form a reservoir which should be tapped as a source of recruitment. I recommend that the school district make a conscientious effort to review the applications of these teachers at least once a year, to make certain that no well qualified applicant is bypassed.

On teachers in the Spanish-surname group, I am particularly distressed at their poor representation in the Oakland Unified School District. The report shows that there are only ten teachers of Spanish surname in all your elementary schools. The report also indicates that you have a substantial number of Spanish-surname pupils. You are now required to teach a foreign language in the elementary schools, and the selection of Spanish for this program would be wise for human relations reasons as well as because of California's Spanish and Mexican heritage and because the Spanish-surname group is the state's largest minority.

Nevertheless, we find that German or French is taught in some schools because there is no one capable of teaching conversational Spanish. The child who may speak only Spanish at home must struggle to learn English, which is foreign to him, as well as French or German, which also are foreign to him. Thus he is burdened with trying to learn and use two foreign languages. This is a very serious problem. To correct the situation, it seems to me that the district has an obligation to make certain that there are enough qualified teachers in each school to meet this special educational need. I recommend that you seek out teachers with ability in conversational Spanish for positions in every elementary school.

Finally, on non-teaching personnel, I do not believe that classified positions are as sensitive, in most instances, as the certificated positions. I do feel that employees who manifest racial or ethnic prejudice should not be placed in positions of authority. You will note from my report that your classified employment lags far behind your certificated employment in the representation of minority groups. Negroes have been limited almost entirely to janitorial and part-time school lunch positions. An awareness of this problem seems to have occurred, and it appears that corrective steps are being taken. I am asking you to pay serious attention to merit employment in your classified section. You should make certain that the people who do the hiring for these positions are free of prejudice and are committed to hire qualified persons without regard to race, color, religious creed, national origin, or ancestry.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, my present recommendations to you are the following:

1. Dismissal, if necessary, of any principal, administrative head, counselor or teacher whose educational approach to minority-group students is limited by prejudice as to their possible achievement;

2. An intensive program for all certificated personnel of in-service training in human relations;

3. Hiring of teachers on merit, without regard to their race, creed, or ancestry; and assignment of minority-group teachers to all schools, avoiding any concentration in particular areas;

4. Equal promotional opportunities for all teachers, without regard to race, creed, or ancestry;

5. Use of the list of substitute teachers as a recruitment source;

6. A conscientious effort to employ Spanish-surname teachers or others with a knowledge of conversational Spanish;

7. Closer surveillance by the Board of hiring practices with respect to classified personnel.

We shall follow the usual FEPC procedure of review in six months to learn what changes have taken place in your district's practices.

# REPORT OF OAKLAND UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT INVESTIGATION

The Fair Employment Practice Commission authorized an investigation of the Oakland Unified School District June 4, 1962 under the provisions of Section 1421 of the California Labor Code, upon request made of the Commission by interested citizens and citizen groups. Chairman John Anson Ford of the Fair Employment Practice Commission assigned Commissioner C. L. Dellums to conduct the investigation. Mr. Donald K. Henry, Northern California Area Supervisor, assigned Consultant Hugh Taylor to assist Commissioner Dellums.

## SCOPE OF THE INVESTIGATION

The City of Oakland, California, located in Alameda County, had, according to the 1960 census figures, a total population of 367,548. The census further states 83,618 of its residents were Negroes; 13,407 were other non-whites; 23,729 had Spanish surnames; and that 246,794 were Caucasians without Spanish surnames.

The public school needs of the City of Oakland are supplied by the Oakland Unified School District. To meet these needs the District operates a junior college with two campuses, 6 high schools, 16 junior high schools, 64 elementary schools. These schools are the subject of this investigation.

The Fair Employment Practice Act of the State of California is concerned with the individual's right to "seek, obtain, and hold employment without discrimination because of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry. . . ." Under Section 1421 of the act the Commission is empowered ". . . to prevent unlawful practices."

This investigation treats the school district as an employer and tries to determine to what extent, if any, the individual's right to "seek, obtain, and hold" employment with the district is affected by unlawful considerations of race, religious creed, color, national origin or ancestry. This report is further concerned with the product of the school district, i.e., the students. The school prepares students to "seek, obtain, and hold employment" along with its other duties. It is perhaps the principal institution in our society for shaping the occupational and professional lives of our young people; in recognition of that fact this report attempts to get a glimpse of the attitude of the school district toward youngsters in preparing them for the work-a-day world, and particularly toward minority youngsters.

The purpose of this investigation is, then, two-fold. (1) To review the district's role as an employer; (2) To study the district's attitude toward the minority group student and his preparation for an employment career.

## SOME SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ordinarily, an investigation by the Fair Employment Practice Commission is not a public matter. The investigations are handled confi-

dentially and no information is imparted to the public. The names of respondents and complainants are not made public by Commission policy and the endeavors at conciliation are, by virtue of the Act itself, confidential. The Fair Employment Practice Act provides that a breach of this confidentiality as to endeavors at conciliation, is a misdemeanor and a cause for disciplinary action for civil service employees. The Commission may, however, permit revelation of certain aspects of a case to the public, when the case is of special public concern. Endeavors at conciliation, however, are never permitted to be revealed. In this case, the Oakland Unified School District matter has long been a public concern. This report is written with the understanding that it might be released in part or in full to the general public.

Another departure from the usual procedure in handling an investigation is worthy of mention. We are giving copies of this report to the School District at their request. The usual practice is not to give a copy of the report to the respondent but merely to discuss the investigation with the respondent.

## METHOD OF CONDUCTING INVESTIGATION

At the outset of the investigation, the office of the superintendent of the school district and the district's board of education either knew very little or would admit very little about the racial composition of its employees. The district professed color blindness in regard to its teaching staff and in regard to its classified personnel. Under these circumstances it was felt that the most effective manner of conducting the investigation was to visit each school within the district. The assigned Commissioner's assistant was instructed to ascertain the total number of teachers employed in each school including the number of teachers of the Negro race, the number of teachers of Mexican-American background, and the number of teachers of the Oriental race. The investigator was instructed to solicit the help of the principal and other members of the school faculty to determine the approximate percentage of Negro, Mexican-American, Oriental, and Caucasian students within the school population. This investigation is but one of several hundred cases that the Commission is presently investigating with the assistance of staff. Because of the size of this investigation, certain priorities had to be given to it. A method was devised during the investigation for getting at those things that the Commissioner wanted in a minimum amount of time. The investigator devoted each Tuesday for one school year to this investigation. At the outset the investigator spent three hours at each school he visited. During this three hour period probationary teachers were interviewed; the purpose of interviewing them was to gain knowledge of their experiences as new employees. The school district has a stated policy that it is supposed to follow in the hiring of certificated employees. Interviews with probationary teachers, all of whom came into the system within the last three years, afforded an opportunity to determine to what degree the district followed its own hiring policy. These teachers were interviewed without regard to race, and as a result an excellent opportunity was afforded the investigator to compare the experiences of the Caucasian certificated staff members in getting their jobs with the experiences of the minority certificated staff members.

After the initial stages of the personal visits made by the investigator to each school, the investigator, having refined his interviewing techniques, was later able to visit six schools in one day; however, in the latter stages no effort was made to speak with the individual probationary teachers. New emphasis was placed upon the type of contact with each principal or other key faculty member. The Commissioner wished to leave with each principal a feeling that his school should become more concerned with the problems of merit employment, and with the problems of preparing all of its students for employment careers. Part of the task was to erase the color blindness of the district and to replace it with color consciousness. To accomplish this, a direct attack on color blindness was made. Questions were asked about the number of Negro teachers and the percentage of Negro students in the school population. The same questions were asked about Mexican-Americans and Orientals.

One principal, when asked what was the percentage of Negro children in the school population, answered "I don't know. Color means nothing to me, I only see people, never colors." "Oh come now," the investigator replied, "we seldom see a person without seeing his color. You are not asked for anything more than an estimate. Surely you must have some idea?" He answered in this manner. "We have forty-three Negro students, twelve Mexican-Americans, fourteen Orientals, and one American Indian."

In another instance, the principal when asked if he had any Negro teachers on his staff, insisted that he did not know. He stated that the policy of the school district was one of color blindness, and that he was color blind by virtue of his upbringing.

The roster of teachers was used to enable this principal to reflect on each teacher to find out if he really knew who was and who was not a Negro. He was asked if each teacher was a Negro. For the first few names he replied, "I don't believe so." Later on he began to reply, "No this teacher is not a Negro." Finally at a name near the end of the list . . . he was asked the usual question. "Is this teacher a Negro?" "No," he replied, "but her husband has about one-eighth Negro blood. You see he is from Hawaii, and his paternal grandfather's father migrated from Jamaica to Hawaii and he was a Negro."

## ATTITUDE OF THE OAKLAND UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT TOWARDS THE INVESTIGATION

When the Commission authorized the investigation under Section 1421 in June, 1962 the then Superintendent of the Oakland Schools, Mr. Selmer H. Berg, was retiring as of June 30, 1962, and a new Superintendent, Dr. Stuart S. Phillips, had been selected by the Oakland School Board to succeed him beginning July 1, 1962.

The changeover from one superintendent to another presented a problem to the assigned Commissioner and his investigator. Recognizing the need for a new superintendent to familiarize himself with the duties of his office, the Commissioner did not wish to impose upon him the additional burden of coping with the employment problems of minority groups until that superintendent had full control of his new office. To overcome this problem, the investigator had several conferences with Superintendent Phillips and members of his staff before any actual

work on the investigation was commenced. During these conferences, the ground rules for conducting the investigation were agreed upon. These agreements proved to be of assistance to the Fair Employment Practice Commission as well as to the Oakland Unified School District. The superintendent, acting upon the advice of the District Attorney of Alameda County, stated that he felt there should be no general survey of the personnel records. This was agreed to and followed. This report then is based entirely upon observation of the investigator, on material supplied by administration of the school district, and on information supplied by personnel from the various schools.

The attitude of the superintendent and his staff at the outset was one of general apprehension. There appeared to be distrust in some quarters, but as the investigation progressed any distrust that was noticed at first seemed to be dissipated. An atmosphere of cooperation, short in some cases of completeness, was created. The office of the superintendent itself became a significant ally in aiding the investigator to make his rounds of the various schools. Towards the end of the investigation it began to appear that there had occurred a complete relaxation of any tensions that might have existed. There was a noticeable desire, evidenced by almost all of the personnel contacted, to cooperate fully—to answer honestly—even when the answers were not favorable to the school district. In short, there appeared to be a desire on the part of the administration to face the problem squarely and honestly. There also appeared to be a desire to work towards improvement wherever it was determined that improvement was needed.

## PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE INVESTIGATION

In an investigation of an entire school district in a large community such as Oakland, sides tend to be chosen; one side finding everything wrong and the other side finding nothing wrong. The findings of each of these sides are often based on honest belief, and sometimes based upon blindness, but seldom upon thorough knowledge of that thing that they are upholding or that they are condemning.

The investigator realized that only through objective and unbiased observation of the school district could the facts relevant to this investigation's two-fold purpose be obtained. No conscious effort has been made to select from among the relevant facts.

The problem of de facto segregation, although related to employment practices and certainly related to attitude towards the students, was not entered into of itself and is touched hereupon only as it is relevant to the purposes of the Fair Employment Practice Act. Any in-depth studies of de facto segregation are left to others.

## SECTION I

### METHOD OF HIRING NEW TEACHERS

The Superintendent of the Oakland Unified School District is the chief executive officer. Under him are four Assistant Superintendents, the Business Manager, and the Director of Personnel. The Director of Personnel is the person through whom all initial applications for certificated positions must pass. After the application has passed through the Director of Personnel's office and been approved by him, a personal interview is set up with the office of the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools if the applicant is for Elementary Schools, or with the office of the Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Schools if the applicant is seeking a secondary teaching position.

The Director of Personnel checks the application for form and for any obvious shortcomings in preparation, then passes it on to the office of the Assistant Superintendent involved. In the office of the Assistant Superintendent an interview is arranged for each teacher applicant and in addition to checking the stated qualifications, a subjective evaluation is made without the knowledge of the teacher applicant. Evaluation is made concerning the applicant's (1) knowledge of subject matter, (2) personality, (3) interest and enthusiasm, (4) general appearance, (5) voice and speech qualities, and (6) professional attitude. (See Appendix A) The applicant, in each one of these areas, is rated as outstanding, above average, average, or below average. In addition, there is a general rating of the applicant. If the applicant receives a general rating of average or better, he is then in a position to stand in line with his fellow competitors to be referred to any school where a vacancy exists.

The new teacher is hired by the Assistant Superintendent's office, and assigned by this office to the school where the vacancy exists. In no case does the principal of the school participate in the hiring procedure. However, there are instances where either a student teacher or a long term substitute who has worked at a particular school is recommended for hire by the principal; such teachers may be reassigned to the school where they did their substitute or practice teaching.

After the new teacher has been hired and assigned to a particular school, it becomes the responsibility of the principal to supervise the new teacher and to note his professional development and growth. It is the principal's evaluation of the teacher during the three year probationary period that determines whether the new teacher will become a tenured member of the teaching staff.

It is the principal's responsibility to acquaint the probationary teacher with all aspects of the probationary period. It is also the principal's duty to render whatever assistance appears necessary and to familiarize the new teacher with the *Guide for Evaluation and Improvement of Professional Services.* This is a booklet developed by a group of teachers and administrators of the Oakland Unified School District. It is designed as an aid in analyzing the strength and weak-

ness of the teacher. It has been accepted by the Superintendent for use in all of the schools. The principal makes suggestions for improvement wherever they are needed. The new teacher is completely dependent upon the leadership provided by the principal; the principal in turn is governed by the *Guide for Evaluation and Improvement of Professional Services* prescribed by the Oakland School District. The new teacher must be evaluated by the second Thursday of each January; by the fourth Monday of each April, if unsatisfactory; and by the second Thursday of each May, if satisfactory. The school district has set definite and ascertainable minimum standards of attainment for the probationary teacher. The first year teacher is allowed to perform at a lower level than the second year teacher who in turn is allowed to perform at a lower level than a third year teacher. (See Appendix B) To gain tenure the probationary teacher at the end of the third year must perform at each level listed on the evaluation chart with a satisfactory rating. Above this rating there are ratings of very satisfactory and superior. The new teacher at the time that each evaluation of his performance is made is to have a conference with the principal. The rules regulating this conference as stated in the Guide require that "a principal's attitude should be constructive in his analysis of a teacher, frank and honest." The District further requires that "unsatisfactory teachers must not be given the impression on their probationary report that their teaching is of acceptable quality." Prior to the conference with the probationary teacher, the principal visits the teacher's classroom and observes the teacher in an actual classroom situation. Most principals state that they make several visits in order to observe the teacher over a period of time. They also report that the teacher is usually informed in advance of the visits, and of the purpose of the visits.

The principal is required to confer with the new teacher about the evaluation and to point out the meaning of the evaluation procedure. The new teacher is hired as probationary and must serve a satisfactory three year probationary period before obtaining permanent tenure. The principal's evaluation is submitted to the Assistant Superintendent in charge of his school and the Assistant Superintendent in turn presents it to the Superintendent with his recommendation as to whether the new teacher is to be retained after the completion of the three year probationary period. The final action is taken by the Board of Education of the School District. After the teacher has gained permanent status he is then rated by the school principal every five years or at such other times as warranted.

## RECRUITMENT OF TEACHERS

For the 1962-1963 school year with which this report is basically concerned, there were 318 new teachers hired by the Oakland Unified School District. These 318 were chosen from among 3,325 applicants. There are 119 elementary teachers, 128 secondary teachers, 22 city college teachers and 49 special field teachers. The ratio of applicants to hires is roughly 10 to 1. The Oakland School District, in order to have such a wide field to select from, has found it necessary to send recruitment teams from the Superintendent's office to a number of states and to a number of preferred schools within those states. In other instances the District makes only written contacts with certain out-of-state

schools. For the hiring in the fall of 1962, the School District sent its recruitment team to 23 universities located in 10 states and made written contact with 12 other schools. The District also received applications from 26 schools located in 18 states with which the District made no personal or written contact. In addition to the out-of-state recruitment, the major recruitment sources for the Oakland School District are the colleges located within the State of California. There are 22 colleges in the state that were a source of teacher recruitment in the fall of 1962. The California Teachers Association, and the Kemp Agency were still other sources of recruitment. From these sources, the district recruited 209 of the 318 new teachers employed. (In addition, 23 former Oakland teachers were rehired; 22 teachers who were contacted directly by the administrative staff and 64 of those who applied directly were hired.) (See Appendix C) The states that the teachers were recruited from were principally Western, Middle Western, and Eastern states. In no instance was there a personal contact with a school located in the Southern part of the United States, which would seem to indicate that teachers from this region are not as sought after as teachers from the other regions of the United States. There are, however, five Southern states, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas, which have schools that furnish applicants to the Oakland district and most of these schools in the southern states appear to be schools with predominantly Negro student bodies. The school district makes no personal or written contact with any of the southern schools but the schools serve as a source for new applications with the initiative being provided by each of the southern schools rather than by the Oakland School District itself.

## EVALUATION OF HIRING PROCEDURE

The experience of Commissioner Dellums and his assistant in investigating the hiring procedure indicates that the school district does follow its stated rules for hiring new teachers. Many probationary teachers were interviewed; all had similar experiences in getting hired. All appear to have gone through the same procedure with the Director of Personnel and later in the oral interview. Each new teacher had been informed of the probationary teacher evaluation procedures. Every teacher interviewed had been evaluated at least once or had held a conference with the principal prior to the evaluation. Each teacher seemed to have had a reasonable understanding of his performance and what was expected of him.

With 3,325 applicants for 318 positions, it would be difficult to sustain a charge of discrimination in hiring against the School District. This is true because there are roughly 10 applicants for each vacancy; several of these applicants could probably be defended as the best available applicant.

The Oakland Unified School District considers several factors in selecting staff members. One of the factors is age; others are sex, degrees held and years of teaching experience. (See Appendix D) The District consciously seeks diversification in these areas. While the Commissioner does not advocate that the school district hire teachers according to race, he certainly does advocate that some method be found to insure that minority group applicants are employed and assigned on the same basis as other teachers. The Commissioner is advocating a kind of color

consciousness which would make certain that teachers from all racial and national groups would be selected when qualified and for any position at any school.

## PLACEMENT OF MINORITY GROUP TEACHERS

There is some suspicion on the part of the Negro community and others that Negro teachers and other minority group teachers are assigned to predominately Negro schools. For the purpose of determining where the minority group teachers are assigned, this report will follow the practice of labeling schools enrolling 75% or more Negro students as predominantly Negro; and schools enrolling 75% or more Caucasian students as predominantly Caucasian; and schools enrolling less than 75% Negroes or Caucasians as racially mixed.

In Appendix E it can be seen that of 1,158 teachers in the elementary schools, 164 are Negro, 10 have Spanish surnames, and 54 are Oriental. At the elementary level, 78.1% of the Negro teachers are at predominantly Negro schools; 1.2% of the Negro teachers are at predominantly Caucasian schools; and 20.7% of the Negro teachers are teaching at racially mixed schools. According to the *Report on the Oakland School District to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission* by Ira Michael Heyman, there are 16 predominantly Negro schools, 21 mixed schools and 27 Caucasian schools. Of the 164 Negro teachers in elementary schools, 98.8% are teaching in 37 schools and are practically excluded from 27 schools. Of the Oriental teachers, 21, or 38.9% are at predominantly Negro schools; 9, or 16.7%, are at predominantly Caucasian schools; and 24, or 44.4% are at racially mixed schools. Of the Spanish surname teachers, 30% are located at predominantly Negro schools and 70% are at racially mixed schools.

Of the 105 Negro teachers in the junior high schools, 63, or 60%, are teaching at predominantly Negro schools; 3, or 2.8% are teaching at predominantly Caucasian schools; and 39, or 37%, are teaching at racially mixed schools.

In the senior high schools, 18 Negro teachers or 41% are assigned to predominantly Negro schools; 10, or 22.7%, are assigned to predominantly Caucasian schools; and 16, or 36.3%, are assigned to racially mixed schools.

Of the Spanish surname teachers at the high school level none are assigned to Negro schools; 6, or 75%, are assigned to Caucasian schools; and 2, or 25%, are assigned to racially mixed schools.

Of the Oriental teachers in high schools 1, or 9.1%, are assigned to Negro schools; 6, or 54.5%, are assigned to Caucasian schools; and 4, or 36.4%, are assigned to racially mixed schools.

Two hundred and nine or 66.8% of the Negro teachers are assigned to predominantly Negro schools; 15, or 4.8%, are assigned to predominantly Caucasian schools and 89, or 38.4%, are assigned to racially mixed schools.

It clearly appears that Negro teachers have heretofore been assigned to schools with a large number of Negroes in the student body and were not considered on an equal basis for schools without a significant number of Negroes in the student body. An inescapable conclusion, it seems, would be that Negro teachers are hired principally to fill vacancies in Negro schools. This practice would certainly not be in keep-

ing with the schools' stated policies of merit hiring and non-discriminatory assignment, not to mention the Fair Employment Practice Act.

The School District is engaged in the process of reevaluating this practice and apparently plans to do something about it. It appears that if the district ever thought that Negro teachers were more capable of teaching Negro students than they are of teaching Caucasian students, this notion has been dispelled by the experiences that the district has had with some of its Negro teachers. The investigator found some Negro teachers who resented teaching Negro children. The School Board has also had this experience. There are some Caucasian teachers who prefer teaching in predominant Negro schools. It also is apparent, among some Negro as well as some Caucasian teachers, that teaching in the hill schools is regarded as a status symbol.

As a general rule, however, the great majority of teachers, whatever their color or ethnic grouping, seem to become attached to the school where they are assigned. They develop emotional ties to its program, and to its children regardless of race or neighborhood. Most teachers state that they have no desire to be transferred to another school, even to one in the neighborhood in which they live.

One noticeable aspect of the racial and ethnic composition of the Oakland teaching staff is a very small number of Spanish surname teachers, there being but 35 in the entire school system. One result of this is that with the new foreign language teaching requirement for elementary schools, and with Oakland's 68 elementary schools having only 10 teachers with Spanish backgrounds, a ready made recruitment source for teachers of conversational Spanish is untapped. To fulfill the foreign language requirement, the principal determines the language that will be taught in his school not on the basis of which language is desirable but on the basis of the language knowledge of his faculty members. This leads, in some cases, to Spanish speaking children being required to struggle not only with English, but also with German or French, as well as their own Spanish language. A perhaps sadder result is that the non-Spanish speaking students are denied a chance to learn a language which might enable them to relate better to their often ostracized classmate—the Spanish speaking child.

## THE SUBSTITUTE TEACHER

The Oakland Unified School District has approximately 400 substitute teachers. A substitute teacher, like a regular teacher, is one who has received his credentials from the State Department of Education and is eligible to teach at the elementary or secondary level according to the nature of his credential. Every school district has a reservoir of credentialed teachers living in or near its area that can be called upon in an emergency to fill a classroom position in the absence of a regular teacher. Many substitute teachers are substitutes because they prefer this as a means of supplementing the family income and do not wish to be considered for full time teaching positions. Other substitute teachers are active applicants for regular teaching positions, but limit their applications to one or two school districts because of their desire to live in a certain community and thereby also limit their chances for regular employment. Still another group of substitute teachers are substitutes because in the judgment of the school districts where they apply they are marginal applicants.

The substitute teachers may be hired on a day-to-day basis or they may be given a long term substitute job filling in for a teacher who may be absent for several months or even an entire school year. The school district, in selecting a long term substitute, usually applies the same evaluation procedure to this type of substitute as the district would apply to a teacher for a regular appointment. The teacher who is hired on a day-to-day basis is very often a teacher who is not likely to receive long term substitute work and who is not likely to receive a permanent appointment with the district.

Not much factual information is known about the racial composition of these teachers. The school district itself would have a difficult time in determining the racial composition of this group. However, some insight can be gained as to who they are by determining how frequently teachers of different races turn up at a particular school during a given year on a substitute basis. Almost every school in Oakland, whether it has Negroes on the faculty or not, states that it has had some Negroes fill in as short term substitutes and a few schools report that the majority of their substitutes have been Negro. Almost all of the schools indicate that a good portion of their substitutes has been Negro. It seems a fair estimate that from 40 to 50% of the substitute teachers in the Oakland Unified School District is of the Negro race. This is a very rough estimate; it is believed to be accurate; but there is no statistical information to verify it.

One of the suspicions of the Negro substitutes and of many people interested in the employment of minority group teachers, is that most Negro applicants are relegated to the substitute work and must prove their classroom ability in this manner before they are eligible to be considered for hire on a regular basis. This belief is widespread.

There is no way to determine whether the suspicion is justified or not; questions put to the administration on this problem were met with a denial. In dealing with the suspicion regarding the placing of Negroes on the substitute list, another aspect is worthy of consideration. As previously stated, the school district, in recruiting teachers, has a preferred list of schools which are located in the West, the Middle West, and the Eastern part of the United States. The schools in the Southern part of the United States are for the most part not included on the preferred list of schools. It appears that many of the Negro teachers are graduates of predominantly Negro schools in the South. Most, if not all, of these schools are substandard by comparison with the schools on the district's preferred list. The administration will not admit that they regard the training of these teachers as inferior to that of teachers from the preferred schools but such a determination would seem inevitable and might even be justifiable. Further, these teachers whose training has been in the Southern schools that are predominantly Negro more often meet rejection on the subjective evaluation than the other teachers. In other words, during the oral interview where the teacher applicant is being subjectively evaluated without his knowledge, the item of "voice and speech qualities" is more likely to trip up the Negro applicant from Southern schools than it is an applicant from the preferred list of schools. Caucasian applicants from Southern schools would, of course, have the same problem. But the Caucasian applicant from the South constitutes a rather insignificant percentage of the total number of Caucasian appli-

cants. In the matter of "voice and speech qualities" the strong regional accent is regarded as disqualifying for the elementary school system. It then is apparent that some Negro applicants would be disqualified because of "voice and speech qualities" if they have attended a predominantly Negro school in the Southern part of the United States, and if they speak with a strong or noticeable regional accent. It is also apparent that even without the regional accent an applicant from one of these schools does not on the face of the application appear to have received as good a training as an applicant from the schools on the preferred list.

It is possible then for the Negro applicant to be unsuccessful more often than the Caucasian applicant without the element of discrimination being a factor. The teacher who is not qualified for regular employment because of "voice and speech qualities" may be used on a short term substitute basis and in some instances can overcome the "voice and speech" difficulties and be eligible for hire on a regular basis at some later date. This then would appear to indicate that an inordinate number of Negro applicants could become substitutes without the District consciously planning to make them prove their worth before being hired, or without the District practicing discrimination in hiring.

Another factor to be considered which might affect the Negro applicant more than the non-Negro applicant, is the choice of the community in which the applicant wishes to live. Most new teachers who are seeking employment will apply to many school districts located in rural as well as urban areas. Quite often the Negro applicant decides that he would like to live in a certain urban area and applies only to school districts near the community where he chooses to live. This choice is often made because of knowledge or belief that they will find more discrimination in some areas than in others. The chances of being hired when such a restriction is made are much less than when the teacher is willing to go wherever the job exists. It must be remembered that each teacher is roughly one of ten applicants seeking the same vacancy and if a teacher restricts his place of employment then that applicant is more likely to be unemployed or relegated to the substitute teaching list than the applicant who does not place restrictions on areas where he is willing to accept employment.

Another factor contributing to the higher percentage of Negroes on the substitute list than on the regular faculty is probably the issue of discrimination in hiring. Discrimination can be subtle and can be carried on without the administration consciously realizing that it *is* discriminating. The section of this report that deals with the assignment of Negro teachers indicates that 66.8% are assigned to predominantly Negro schools. This in effect leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Negro teachers have primarily been hired to teach Negro students and that the non-Negro teachers, especially the Caucasian ones, have been hired on the basis of merit to fill vacancies wherever they exist. This conclusion must follow, unless it could be demonstrated that each time a Negro teacher is hired the vacancy just happens to be in a predominantly Negro school, or perhaps in a racially mixed school. It does not seem that this could be true; therefore, discrimination in placement must be considered as one of the reasons

that Negroes constitute a larger percentage of the substitute teaching list than they constitute of the regular faculty.

## ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL

This section will consider administrative personnel who are defined as Principals, Vice Principals, Guidance and Attendance Personnel, Special Education Personnel, Health Personnel and Counselors.

| Principals, Vice Principals and Acting Vice Principals | *Total Number of Employees (as of September 1962)* | *Negro Employees* |
|---|---|---|
| Elementary Schools | 83 | 3 |
| Junior High Schools | 34 | 2 |
| Senior High Schools | 17 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 134 | 5 |

| Special Education Personnel | *Total Number of Employees* | *Negro Employees* |
|---|---|---|
| Speech Therapists | 21 | 0 |
| Partially Seeing Teachers | 3 | 0 |
| Full-time Hospital, Home Inst. | 6 | 0 |
| Part-time Hospital, Home Inst. | 15 | 0 |
| Audiometricists | 3 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 48 | 0 |
| Health Personnel (Total) | 50 | 2 |
| Counselors | | |
| Senior High Schools | 33 | 4 |
| Junior High Schools | 52 | 11 |
| TOTAL | 85 | 15 |
| Guidance and Attendance | | |
| Guidance Teachers | 11 | 0 |
| Attendance | 7 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 18 | 0 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 335 | 22 |

The above table seems to indicate that promotion for Negro teachers occurs at a slower rate. Since this investigation has been underway there have been promotions made which are not reflected in the figures given in this report. The implication is not necessarily to be drawn that any changes that have occurred have been as a result of this investigation or any other pressures. It is true, however, that as the administration loses its "color blindness" and replaces it with a "color consciousness," increased efforts are made to make certain that promotions also are based on merit. The District's consciousness of color has developed noticeably during the period of this investigation.

The position of Principal is the position that most of the aspiring teachers who have received their administrative credentials seek. The method of selecting Principals in the past is not quite clear. More than one school Principal has stated that teachers of physical education and coaches of the athletic teams seem to have been the preferred candidates for administrative positions. There are enough ex-physical education teachers and coaches who are now Principals to lend credence, if not proof, to this belief.

Some of the Negro teachers who aspire to become administrators state that they have felt Negro teachers were sought for predominantly Negro schools, but that Negro Principals were not desired even in these schools. There appear to be many Negro teachers who are outstanding

or nearly outstanding in the performance of their duties, and who would make excellent administrators. In talking with some of these teachers, one gets the feeling that they have lost some of their defeatist attitude and now feel that with proper preparation and timely application, like any other teacher, they will have a chance to be promoted to administrative positions.

Some of the heretofore defeatist attitude of the Negro teachers may be due in some ways to their own thinking, but in a very significant sense the District is also responsible, for until June, 1963 there was but one Negro Principal. Even the Administration Building, which contains some 200 employees, had only two Negroes working there, and they were clerks. A situation like this was bound to encourage negative thinking on the part of Negro teachers.

## SECTION II

### RACIAL ATTITUDES

One of the Commissioner's prime concerns in looking at the Oakland Unified School District is to determine, where possible, what kinds of attitudes are held by the Principal and faculty members in each school toward the Negro, Mexican-American and Oriental students as well as towards the Caucasians—other than Mexican-Americans.

Most Principals who have had experience with Spanish-surname students, other Caucasians, Negroes, and Orientals, have stated that the Oriental students appear to be the top achievers scholastically. Oriental students are followed very closely by Caucasians (other than Spanish-surname). Spanish-surname and Negro students are said to be the lowest achievers. There are some who state that the male members of the Spanish surname group are absolutely the lowest achievers in the school. Some of the faculty members point out that Oriental students identify with Caucasian students (other than Spanish-surname), while the Negro students and Spanish-surname students were "loners" in most instances, but on occasion would identify with each other.

These observations have been made by many of the faculty members. It is taken that these are facts which are not subject to dispute. But in looking at the attitude of the school personnel towards the student body, it was noted that the attitudes toward the Negro student varied in accordance with the type of school, i.e., racially mixed, predominantly Negro, and predominantly Caucasian. They are therefore considered separately.

### PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS

In one predominantly Negro elementary school the investigator spoke with the vice principal. There was general conversation about attitudes towards the Negroes until the vice principal felt free to give his views. He said: "We cannot have the students meet very often in assembly where all of the students are present, and we must limit the number of school activities that would require a large attendance by the student body, such as theatrical productions." The reason, he said, for this was that Negro students in assembly get "fever." He went on to inform the investigator that Negro students vent their feelings "in fearful ways." He explained that if they had a play and did not like it they would clap their hands or stomp their feet or hiss and boo. The investigator replied, "Just as white students do, is that correct?" His answer was, yes. He felt that his duty as a school administrator was in a large part discharged if he could maintain discipline among the student body. Discipline rated a high priority over educational achievement.

At another predominantly Negro school, a junior high, the investigator spoke with the vice principal. The investigator's notes are as follows: "One gets the impression from her that the concern for the children is very shallow." For example, she spoke of a play that was

being produced by the school. "What is the name of the play?" asked the investigator. "I don't know," she replied. The investigator asked her to ascertain the name of the play which she did. It was a play by the name of *Silver Secret*. The investigator asked who was the author. She replied, "I don't know." The investigator felt she did not care.

At a predominantly Negro junior high school, which the investigator visited during the time of the Birmingham civil rights demonstrations, the investigator asked the principal if he had any special concern about what the Negro students were thinking and feeling. The principal replied to the effect that he did have special concern but there was no special problem due to race. He felt that the Negro students were thinking and feeling the same as any other student in the school district. When it was pointed out that on the day prior to the visit to that school, Birmingham had become known throughout the world and that this might be of special concern to the Negro student, if not all the students, and that the Negro students were likely to feel different from white students about the situation, the principal defended his position by stating that the attitudes of the predominantly Negro sudent body at his school were the same as they had always been and that there was no concern for Birmingham. The investigator accompanied the principal to the cafeteria where they were joined by several faculty members of the school, some of whom were Negroes. The same question was asked of the faculty members that was asked of the principal. A Negro faculty member replied that feelings were running very high among the students. No effort was being made by the school to deal with their feelings or the problems of Birmingham or the race problem and the school was acting as though the problem did not exist. All of the teachers had strong feelings on this point; the principal nevertheless retained his position that the feeling was no different from any other day, and that race or the problem due to race was of no concern to the student body or to the school.

In a predominantly Negro high school, the principal was almost completely discipline oriented. There were student patrols on duty keeping order in the hallways. A large part of the concern of the principal and some of the faculty members was the type of dress that the students wore to school. In each of these instances the principal spoke with pride about the fact that his school had fewer broken windows than other schools and the wearing apparel of the students was, at least according to his standards, a little less outlandish than it was at other high schools. The concern about discipline being noted, it was asked if there was equal concern for the achievement of the students. The answer was positive. The achievement of the students was spoken of entirely in athletic terms. The principal spoke very glowingly of the athletes who have come from his school. When asked what percentage of the students went on to college he replied that the percentage was very small. The principal indicated that only two graduates of his high school at that time were in the University of California.

The principal went on to relate that this school, unlike the other high schools, did not have a drama group and they had staged no theatrical events. The reasons given for the lack of programming in this area were vague and finally came down to the fact that Negro students have a special accent and are not suited for stage work. However, it was

pointed out by the principal that dance meant much to the students and that their senior class prom dance was being conducted as a formal affair at a very good hotel.

At each predominantly Negro school that was visited, the investigator asked the principal to introduce him to any Negro teacher that the principal felt was doing a very good job. Almost invariably, this Negro teacher turned out to be a strict and harsh disciplinarian. Several Negro teachers in this category had such strong feelings about Negro students that their feelings amounted to hostility. In each instance, when asked, they would reply that keeping order in school was the prime job of the school. These were teachers who were very critical of the Negro students and who took it upon themselves to criticize dress and behavior as their prime role as a faculty member. In almost all of the predominantly Negro schools, the principals state that there is less destruction done to their physical plant or to the cars of the teachers than in the predominantly white schools.

Principals (at the predominantly Negro schools) tend to justify every condition that exists in their school as being the best possible condition for any school anywhere. They were never critical of anything concerning their school or its activities. At the racially mixed and predominantly Caucasian schools, on the other hand, the principals would talk about any inadequacies they had. And they talked of plans for making improvements. Not so at the predominantly Negro schools; everything, they insisted, was all right. For example, at one predominantly Negro elementary school which had no lunch facilities the principal stated that this was not a handicap. He was then asked if free lunches were provided for the needy children in his school. He answered that they were not. Did he have needy children? He did. What, if anything, was done for the children? The principal stated several of the teachers would bring an extra sandwich or piece of fruit for these children. The principal not only felt that this was adequate, but defended it as the best way of handling the problem. Hot lunch facilities and free lunch for needy children are provided for most schools, including the predominantly Caucasian schools in the higher socio-economic neighborhoods. Those principals who have this program state that the lunch program is almost a necessity for operating a school.

## RACIALLY MIXED SCHOOLS

At a racially mixed high school the investigator, in trying to determine the school's attitude towards the Negro student, asked the head counselor, "Do you feel that Negro students have a special problem that white students do not have in regard to employment?" The counselor answered he did not feel that Negroes had a different problem. The counselor was asked if he knew what the Kiwanis Club was and he answered, yes. The counselor was asked if he used the Kiwanis Club to assist students who had difficulties determining what they were going to do, he answered that he did. The counselor was asked if he knew what the Rotary Club was and if he used it, his answer was yes. He was also asked if he knew what the functions of the Fair Employment Practice Commission were; his answer was no. The counselor was not familiar with the Urban League. He stated that his duties, as he saw them, were to help students who had attendance problems, to help students who had a problem deciding

on occupation, and to help in the selection of a school program. He was then asked if the student felt that because of his race his employment opportunities were limited, would the knowledge of any agencies, private or public, that dealt with this problem assist the counselor in performing his duties? The counselor answered that it would not because he would not give any special consideration to Negroes or any other group; that he would give them the same consideration that he gave to the white student. He was asked if their problem was different from the white students, would he still give the Negro student the same advice that he gave the white student. He answered that he would, because he did not believe in singling out any special group and giving them any special treatment. The investigator asked if a student felt that there was no use for his acquiring a useful occupation because of his race, would the counselor feel it his duty to tell the student that the State, being interested in the welfare of all of its citizens, had enacted laws to prohibit discrimination in employment? The counselor answered that he did not see how he could do anything for a Negro student because of any special problems he had. The investigator placed before the counselor a booklet published by the Fair Employment Practice Commission entitled *Success Story*. The investigator asked if such a pamphlet would be of any assistance to the counselor. The pamphlet stresses the value of education, the value of school, encourages the student to make career plans while in school, and shows a number of minority group people in various jobs indicating the rewards of educational achievement and training. The counselor turned the pages himself and seeing a photograph of a Negro executive with the title of "Asst. Chief, Advance Projects," stated "We have no Negroes in this school who could ever do this job." He then looked at the picture of a group of pharmacists, one of whom was a Negro, and stated that: "We have no Negro students who could qualify for this type of position." Also pictured was a Negro girl operating a tabulator; he stated: "We probably have a girl or two who might be able to do this job." A picture of a salesman for an oil company was shown in the pamphlet; the counselor felt they had no Negroes in that school who could ever hold that position. Subsequently he eliminated engineering, store managers, tool designers, accountants, doctors and lawyers as occupations requiring skills which none of the Negro students in his school could acquire. He allowed that they might make clerk-typists, automobile salesmen, social workers and, perhaps, teachers.

This man was the head counselor at a racially mixed high school that had more than 1,000 Negro students at the time he made these statements.

The head counselor at another racially mixed high school was interviewed and asked about his knowledge of the Fair Employment Practice Act and the Urban League. He had no knowledge of either. He readily confessed that he had no knowledge of the Negro community or any of the resources available in the Negro community for aiding the Negro child. He was aware of the resources in the white community for aiding the children of the community and he was not certain that all of those resources were available to the Negro student in the same manner in which they were available to the white student. This again was a racially mixed school with a large number of Negro students.

The investigator found a completely different situation at another racially mixed high school. At this school, some of its personnel are so outstanding in the work they are doing that the Commissioner feels that he should identify the school and some of its personnel. At Oakland High School, which has about 20% Negro student population, 10% Oriental student population and 5% Mexican-American student population, the Commissioner found the Principal, Paul Pinckley, assisted by two outstanding teachers, Mr. Pete Lee and Mr. Heinz Gewing, squarely facing the race problem. The principal saw the value of having teachers of all racial and ethnic groups, specifically saw the need for more Negro teachers, and had sought them out. He had expressed his concern over the lack of Negro teachers in his school when he had none. The student body president of the school was a Negro at that time. The school personnel knew of the Fair Employment Practice Act; they knew of resources within the Negro community as well as within the white community; the two teachers, Messrs. Lee and Gewing, had started an interracial club among the student body. The club was encouraged to consider problems due to race; it was reported that they tackled these problems honestly and forthrightly, and that the club provided an outlet for pent up feelings within the student body. The problems of self-segregation that Negro students often impose upon themselves in the cafeteria, in the classroom, at school dances, and at other school functions was also a subject matter. The club would talk about the desirability of having an interracial school staff and would consider the matter of discrimination in employment and housing. They discussed the racial explosions that were taking place throughout the United States. This type of student activity contrasts significantly with the only form of student activity reported by another school. At another high school with a racially mixed student body, the principal states that most of the high schools have student fraternal organizations. He reports that these fraternities are sanctioned by the schools. They cannot hold meetings on school property. They only accept white students as members. The non-white and the poorer whites, who are also excluded, are labeled as "hondos," meaning they are inferior.

In the racially mixed elementary schools, the principals of the schools seemed to have been more aware of the Negro problem than they were in either the predominantly Negro schools or the predominantly Caucasian schools. Most racially mixed schools that are located in East Oakland are in a community that is in the process of transition from a predominantly Caucasian population to a racially mixed one. The school population in these neighborhoods is also changing from predominantly Caucasian to racially mixed, or perhaps in the near future, to a predominantly Negro student body. In most cases, the Negro enrollment in these schools has occurred within the last three to five years. Many of the principals expressed an awareness of the problem the Negro families were having in the area. Many principals were in contact with the whites in the community who were having adjustment problems of their own. One school principal had personally paid a visit to the home of each new Negro family in his area and had welcomed the families to the area and welcomed their children to his school. He had shown interest in their problems. He made himself available for assistance wherever needed and whenever possible. Almost all of the

principals in these types of schools expressed a desire to have Negroes as teachers on their faculty, and many stated that they had expressed this desire to the administration. Some of the school principals are rather fumbling in their logic. One stated that he felt he needed Negro teachers because the population was changing from predominantly Caucasian to now more than half Negro. He felt that the Negro teachers who came into the schools should be more outstanding than the Caucasian teachers. He felt that this was necessary so that they could pave the way for other teachers of their race. In the racially mixed schools there seemed to be more honest concern for the problems occasioned by race than in the predominantly Negro or predominantly white schools. There were those who felt that the problem did not need to be considered at all, at least from the Negroes' point of view. One principal stated that the colored people are happy and everything is going along just fine. This same principal stated that she had no idea how the heretofore predominantly white community was accepting Negroes into the community and whether there were any problems concerning the school in this respect.

In most of these racially mixed schools the principals, in talking about the achievement of the Negro and Mexican-American students, did not paint as dismal a picture of their achievements as was painted in the predominantly Negro schools.

## PREDOMINANTLY CAUCASIAN SCHOOLS

The predominantly Caucasian schools are for the most part located in the higher socio-economic neighborhoods in Oakland and generally these neighborhoods are in the hill sections of Oakland.

The attitudes in these schools towards the students is one of total concern, and every effort is made to involve the community in the school program wherever possible. The concern for the Negro students as Negroes is not much of a problem in that there is only a token number of Negro students at any one of these schools. At the predominantly Caucasian high school, the faculty is more racially mixed than in some of the racially mixed high schools. There are Negro, Spanish-surname and Oriental extraction teachers on the faculty. The principal reports that there has never been a complaint from the community about either the race of the teachers or the race of the students. It will be noted that even though this is a predominantly Caucasian school, there are approximately 12 Negro students out of a student body of almost 1,800. It is also of note that of 81 faculty members; 3 are Negroes. The students at this high school are the highest achievers in the city. 95% of the tenth grade is headed for college; 75% of the eleventh grade is headed for college; and 65% of the twelfth grade is headed for college. The students in this school, according to the principal, having a median I.Q. of 112 as opposed to the median I.Q. in the predominantly Negro high school of 82, according to the principal of that high school.

This school reaches out to the community perhaps more than any other high school in the city and in return the community responds more readily than any other community responds to its high school. The school's theatre is used for neighborhood theatrical productions and is used for theatrical productions of the school itself. The school has a boosters club which is composed of fathers of the students. This club sponsors fund raising events for the school. This club involves it-

self in lobbying for facilities such as swimming pools for the school, as well as for a swimming pool for the only other high school in the community without one on its grounds. The other school is a predominantly Negro high school. The principal of this school in speaking about the school's Negro students, states that their academic achievement level is the same as that of the white students.

A predominantly Caucasian junior high school that has about 12 Negro students of approximately 1,000 students, has a staff of 39 teachers; 2 are Negroes. There are no teachers who have Spanish-surnames or who are Orientals. This particular junior high is the highest achieving junior high in the city. It was established in 1959. It has a large number of high ability students and the school also reports that it had experienced no faculty or parent resistance to Negro faculty members or to Negro students.

In the elementary schools that are predominantly white, one does not readily find hostile expression against Negroes or any other minority group. The principals in these schools are concerned with teachers who are subject-matter oriented rather than teachers who are discipline oriented. Without exception, they state that they would have no objection to having Negroes or other minority group representatives on their faculty provided, of course, that they were competent. One gets the feeling that these statements are made honestly and also that the teachers in these schools, whatever their race, are perhaps a bit more competent in general than the teachers in a predominantly Negro school. This would be true if for no other reason than the totally discipline oriented teacher is not regarded as being needed in these schools. The child who dresses in an outlandish fashion is tolerated, if not accepted.

## SECTION III

### CLASSIFIED PERSONNEL

Classified personnel, generally speaking, are the non-teacher personnel employed by the school district. They would include the secretarial staff, the janitorial staff, and the many other skills needed to maintain this school district. The classified personnel are not hired through the office of the Director of Personnel as are the teachers who are certificated. Their hiring is the responsibility of the business manager of the school district and his staff. The school district has a stated policy that classified personnel are employed solely on the basis of merit. The stated policy does not contain any prohibitions against discrimination because of race, color, or national origin, but the "solely on the basis of merit" statement would certainly imply that the policy of the school district is against any discrimination based upon race, color, religion, or national origin.

In trying to determine whether or not discrimination is actually practiced in the hiring of personnel, the assigned Commissioner looks at the stated policy on hiring of new employees. He is always gratified to find a policy advocating hiring on merit only. However, the discrepancy between practices and policies can be so great that the Commissioner, in order to get a picture of what is actually done, must look at the people who are hired, rather than at a statement of policy only. In the case of the Oakland schools, a review by race of the classified personnel who had been hired does not indicate that the merit employment practice stated as policy is the controlling factor in the selection of new employees. The following table is a breakdown of the total number of people employed and the number of Negroes employed by employment categories.

| | *Total Number of Employees* | *Number of Negroes Employed* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Clerical and Stenographic | 457 | 10 | (2.18%) |
| Administrative, Supervisory, and Technical | 57 | 1 | (1.75%) |
| Plumbers | 9 | 0 | |
| Steamfitters | 8 | 0 | |
| Electricians | 14 | 0 | |
| Painters | 22 | 0 | |
| Furniture Refinishers | 3 | 0 | |
| General Helpers | 15 | 0 | |
| Laborers | 8 | 1 | (12.50%) |
| Truck Drivers | 18 | 0 | |
| Carpenters | 42 | 0 | |
| Glaziers | 5 | 0 | |
| Roofers | 3 | 0 | |
| Locksmith | 1 | 0 | |
| Hodcarriers | 4 | 1 | (25.00%) |
| Millwrights | 2 | 0 | |
| Gardeners | 47 | 3 | (6.38%) |
| Stock Clerks | 13 | 1 | (7.69%) |
| Custodial | 320 | 80 | approx. (25.00%) |
| School Lunch Employees | 308 | 75 | approx. (25.00%) |
| TOTAL | 1356 | 172 | (12.68%) |

Most of the Negroes employed in the classified section except for the custodial and school lunch departments have been recently hired and some, such as the hodcarriers, are only temporary appointments. The indications are that few Negroes working here have been hired since the investigation commenced with the above stated exceptions. In the custodial department, the date of hiring the first Negro is generally fixed as being right after World War II. This is about twenty years after the first Negro teacher was hired in 1926. The school lunch employees are for the most part part-time employees. Their work day is two or at the most three hours. Conditions, therefore, make it difficult to be selective in hiring.

Color blindness in the classified personnel section, with the exception of the custodians and school lunch employees, can better be described as color exclusion. Now that the district is becoming more aware of color and problems that are based upon it, the classified section appears to be taking affirmative steps to make certain their merit employment policy will mean just that. The classified section now states that it expects to employ Negroes in more representative numbers from now on than it has employed in the past.

One attitude which turned up in this investigation was that expressed by a top administrator in the Oakland schools was that Negroes were very difficult to find for clerical and secretarial positions. This official challenged the Fair Employment Practice Commission to find qualified Negroes as clerks and secretaries. When it was pointed out to him in return that it is the duty of the school system itself to educate and train people for these positions, he replied that he noticed that Negroes didn't particularly have the talent for doing clerical and secretarial work. This statement of a high administrative official indicates that, even in the school system, the attitudes toward minority people and what they can do may not always represent an improvement over the general public's attitude.

In another instance, in the hiring of classified personnel that occurred *after* the school began to develop an awareness of color, an applicant for a widely advertised vacancy, submitted a résumé wherein he stated as part of his qualifications that he was of English-Scotch-Irish background. This statement went unnoticed even though it was retyped and placed before the Board of Education which acted upon it officially and hired the applicant without noticing that he had given information bearing upon his race, national origin and religion. The Commissioner, in handling this case, made a special effort to talk to the Board of Education concerning the hiring of this man. The Commissioner was convinced that his race, religion, or national origin were not critical in his appointment. The Commissioner feels, however, that the degree of dedication necessary to clearly establish a merit employment practice has not yet been attained by the Oakland Unified School District, certainly not in the hiring of classified personnel.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Mr. C. L. Dellums, the Fair Employment Practice Commissioner who has conducted this investigation with the assistance of the Fair Employment Practice Staff, draws some general conclusions which appear as a foreword to this report.

The first and perhaps foremost conclusion that must be drawn, is that the matter of race in the Oakland Unified School District is an important one, touching heavily upon community concern and must be reckoned with by the school board, the school administration, the schools and the teachers themselves.

Further, it must be generally concluded that the practices of the Oakland schools based upon the hiring of teachers, the promotion of teachers, the hiring of non-teacher personnel, the promotion of non-teacher personnel and the training of children for careers are of prime concern to the City of Oakland, to the State of California and to the nation.

## Appendix A

### OAKLAND UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT
### REPORT ON PERSONAL INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER APPLICANT

Date_____

Name_____ General Rating 1 1– 2t 2 2– 3
(circle one)

| IMPRESSIONS: | *Out-standing* | *Above Average* | *Average* | *Below Average* | *Comments* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Knowledge of subj. matter | | | | | |
| Personality | | | | | |
| Interest and enthusiasm | | | | | |
| General appearance | | | | | |
| Voice and speech qualities | | | | | |
| Professional attitude | | | | | |

Peculiarities _____
Reason for leaving last assignment_____
Reason for applying here_____
Limitations on assignment_____
Experience _____
Credential status _____
Best qualified to teach_____

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

PLEASE BE SURE TO COMPLETE THIS FORM FOR EACH APPLICANT YOU INTERVIEW

SIGNATURE_____

Source:

This is a reproduction of the form used by the Oakland Unified School District during the subjective evaluation. The form was supplied to the Commissioner by the Director of Personnel of the school district.

**Appendix B**

## REPORT ON PROBATIONARY TEACHER

..... SCHOOL.....
(Name of Teacher)

..... (1st) (2nd) (3rd) Year

1. Visitations and Observations.....

2. Conferences .....
(Using the Guide for the Evaluation and Improvement of Professional Services, indicate ratings by a check for each area.*)

| AREA | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Characteristics | | | | | |
| Teacher-Staff Relationships | | | | | |
| Classroom Control and Management | | | | | |
| Instructional and Guidance Skills | | | | | |
| General School Services | | | | | |
| Professional Prep. & Growth | | | | | |
| Teacher-Community Relationships | | | | | |

Key _____ 1st year -·-·-·- 2nd year ═══ 3rd year

3. Points meriting commendation.....

4. Suggestions for improvement.....

Do you recommend continuation in present assignment?..... Yes No

(If "No" is checked above) Why?.....

.....

Do you recommend this teacher for regular appointment in Oakland?.....
(For third-year probationary teachers only)

I have read the above report

..... (Teacher's Signature)

..... (Date)

I have discussed this report with the teacher

..... (Principal's Signature)

..... (Date)

*In general, it is the standard practice of the Oakland Public Schools in using the evaluation scale that a probationary teacher must receive marks to the left of the division lines as indicated for each year of service in the Oakland Public Schools. A teacher may still be recommended for further service or tenure, however, who has not more than two marks one step to the right of the division line which applies in his particular situation, i.e., first, second, or third-year probationary status.

GUIDE FOR THE EVALUATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL SERVICES, Oakland Public School

## Appendix C

### SUMMARY ON SELECTION AND RECRUITMENT SOURCE FOR 1962

| | |
|---|---|
| In State Recruitment | |
| Colleges and Universities | 121 |
| Kemp Agency | 1 |
| California Teachers Association | 3 |
| Out of State Recruitment | |
| Colleges and Universities | 84 |
| Former Oakland Teachers | 23 |
| Selective recruitment from sources other than placement offices | 22 |
| Those who applied directly | 64 |
| TOTAL | 318 |

Source:

Oakland Unified School District Report on Recruitment and Selection of Teachers, October 1962. This is a compilation made by the Commission from various parts of the report.

## Appendix D (1)

### NUMBER OF APPLICANTS

| | *Elementary* | *Secondary* | *City College* | *Misc. (inc. adult educ., physicians nurses, administrators and special classes)* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fall 1962 | 1,052 | 1,579 | 467 | 227 | 3,325 |
| Fall 1961 | 1,043 | 1,461 | 465 | 196 | 3,165 |
| Fall 1960 | 1,201 | 922 | 482 | 256 | 2,861 |
| Fall 1959 | 779 | 1,037 | 399 | 191 | 2,406 |

### AVERAGE AGE AND DEGREES HELD

| | *Total New Teachers* | *Average Age* | *Degrees B.A.* | *M.A.* | *PhD.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Fall 1962* | 318 | | | | |
| Female | 218 | 28 | 180 | 30 | 2 |
| Male | 100 | 32 | 73 | 31 | 2 |

28 states and 4 foreign countries are represented; 221 teachers (or 69%) are from California.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Fall 1961* | 295 | | | | |
| Female | 200 | 30 | 161 | 36 | 3 |
| Male | 95 | 32 | 60 | 34 | 1 |

30 states, Washington, D.C., and 2 foreign countries are represented; 193 teachers (or 65%) are from California.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Fall 1960* | 371 | | | | |
| Female | 261 | 31 | 229 | 32 | 0 |
| Male | 110 | 33 | 72 | 35 | 3 |

35 states are represented and 5 foreign countries; 190 teachers (or 51%) are from California.

Source:

This is a reproduction of page 2 of the *Report on Recruitment and Selection of Teachers, October 1962* of the Oakland Unified School District.

## Appendix D (2)

### NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED

| Fall 1962 | *Elementary* | *Secondary* | *City College* | * *Special Fields* | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 105 | 71 | 10 | 32 | 218 |
| Male | 14 | 57 | 12 | 17 | 100 |
| Total | 119 | 128 | 22 | 49 | 318 |
| Fall 1961 | | | | | |
| Female | 114 | 54 | 11 | 21 | 200 |
| Male | 17 | 60 | 13 | 5 | 95 |
| Total | 131 | 114 | 24 | 26 | 295 |
| Fall 1960 | | | | | |
| Female | 164 | 80 | 12 | 5 | 261 |
| Male | 21 | 68 | 20 | 1 | 110 |
| Total | 185 | 148 | 32 | 6 | 371 |
| Fall 1959 | | | | | |
| Female | 179 | 97 | 8 | 21 | 305 |
| Male | 18 | 76 | 14 | 4 | 112 |
| Total | 197 | 173 | 22 | 25 | 417 |

* Special Education for physically handicapped, mentally retarded, deaf, nurse, psychologist, psychometrist, librarian, supervisor, counselor and individual guidance.

### RATE OF TEACHER TURNOVER

| *(Goal (B.A.H.))* | *Elementary* | *Secondary* | *City College* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 12.5 | 10.0 | 10.0 |

*Actual Percentage of Turnover*

| | *Elementary* | *Secondary* | *City College* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fall 1962 | 12.1 | 10.6 | 9.0 |
| Fall 1961 | 13.0 | 9.8 | 7.1 |
| Fall 1960 | 14.0 | 10.1 | 9.2 |
| Fall 1959 | 15.3 | 11.6 | 6.9 |

Source:

This is a reproduction of page 3 of the *Report on Recruitment and Selection of Teachers, October 1962* of the Oakland Unified School District.

## Appendix D (3)

### PERCENTAGE OF INEXPERIENCED TEACHERS EMPLOYED

| | |
|---|---|
| *Goal* (B.A.H.) | 25% |
| *Actual* | |
| Fall 1962 | 30.1% |
| Fall 1961 | 25.4% |
| Fall 1960 | 30.9% |
| Fall 1959 | 31.0% |

### YEARS OF TOTAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE—TOTAL TEACHING STAFF

*Goal* (B.A.H.)—*Total Teaching Experience*

| *Less than 5 years* | *5-9 years* | *10-14 years* | *15-19 years* | *20-24 years* | *25 years or more* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20.0 | 20.0 | 15.0 | 15.0 | 10.0 | 20.0 |

*Actual Percentage of Teachers*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fall 1962 | 37.7 | 17.9 | 15.6 | 8.7 | 6.6 | 13.5 |
| Fall 1961 | 31.4 | 19.9 | 16.6 | 9.6 | 7.1 | 15.4 |
| Fall 1960 | 36.2 | 19.4 | 14.5 | 9.0 | 6.8 | 14.1 |
| Fall 1959 | 34.0 | 21.0 | 15.0 | 9.0 | 7.0 | 14.0 |

Source:

This is a reproduction of page 4 of the *Report on Recruitment and Selection of Teachers, October 1962* of the Oakland Unified School District.

## Appendix E

### PLACEMENT OF MINORITY GROUP TEACHERS

| | *Total Teachers* | *Negro Teachers* | *Spanish-surname Teachers* | *Oriental Teachers* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Elementary Schools | 1,158 | 164 (14%) | 10 (.86%) | 54 (4.7%) |
| Junior High Schools | 643 | 105 (16.3%) | 17 (2.6%) | 12 (1.9%) |
| Senior High Schools | 524 | 44 (8.4%) | 8 (1.5%) | 11 (2.1%) |
| Total | 2,325 | 313 (13.46%) | 35 (1.5%) | 77 (3.3%) |

| | *At Negro Schools* | *At Caucasian Schools* | *At Mixed Schools* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Elementary—Negro | 128 (78.1%) | 2 (1.2%) | 34 (20.7%) |
| Spanish Surname | 3 (30%) | 0 | 7 (70%) |
| Oriental | 21 (38.9%) | 9 (16.7%) | 24 (44.4%) |
| Junior High—Negro | 63 (60%) | 3 (2.8%) | 39 (37%) |
| Spanish Surname | 3 (17.6%) | 4 (23.5%) | 10 (58.8%) |
| Oriental | 7 (58.3%) | 1 (8.4%) | 4 (33.3%) |
| Senior High—Negro | 18 (41%) | 10 (22.7%) | 16 (36.4%) |
| Spanish Surname | 0 | 6 (75%) | 2 (25%) |
| Oriental | 1 (9.1%) | 6 (54.5%) | 4 (36.4%) |
| Totals | | | |
| Negro | 209 (66.8%) | 15 (4.8%) | 89 (28.4%) |
| Spanish Surname | 6 (17.1%) | 10 (28.6%) | 19 (54.3%) |
| Oriental | 29 (37.7%) | 16 (20.8%) | 32 (41.6%) |

Sources:

The information in these tables comes from three sources: 1) FEPC investigator's observations; 2) Equal Opportunities Committee of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Oakland School Needs; 3) U.S. Civil Rights Commission staff report, *Public Schools, Cities in the North and West, 1963: Oakland,* by Ira Michael Heyman.

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*printed in* CALIFORNIA OFFICE OF STATE PRINTING

24315—357 6-64 2M

**FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION**

| | |
|---|---|
| San Francisco: | P.O. Box 603, 455 Golden Gate Avenue (phone UNderhill 1-8700, extension 3167) |
| Los Angeles: | 322 West First Street (phone MAdison 0-2610) |
| Fresno: | 2550 Mariposa Street (phone AMherst 8-7151, extension 277) |
| San Diego: | 1350 Front Street (phone 232-4361, extension 285) |

**STATE OF CALIFORNIA**

file copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

RESORT TO HIRE NEGRO TEACHERS

Palm Springs, Calif., March 2--A newly-formed chapter of CORE in this famed resort town has negotiated with school authorities an agreement for hiring of Negro teachers.

"The Desert Pass chapter of CORE is pleased with the result of a meeting with Dr. Sellery (school superintendent) and Dr. James Runge (assistant superintendent) concerning hiring of Negro teachers," said Sidney Hagler, chairman of the CORE group.

"The administrators acknowledged the need for Negro teachers and are making a special effort to inform teacher placement centers from San Diego to the San Francisco bay area that Palm Springs is interested in qualified Negro applicants."

####

Respect

# THE WESTERN STUDENT MOVEMENT

## SUMMER TUTORIAL PROGRAMS IN LOS ANGELES

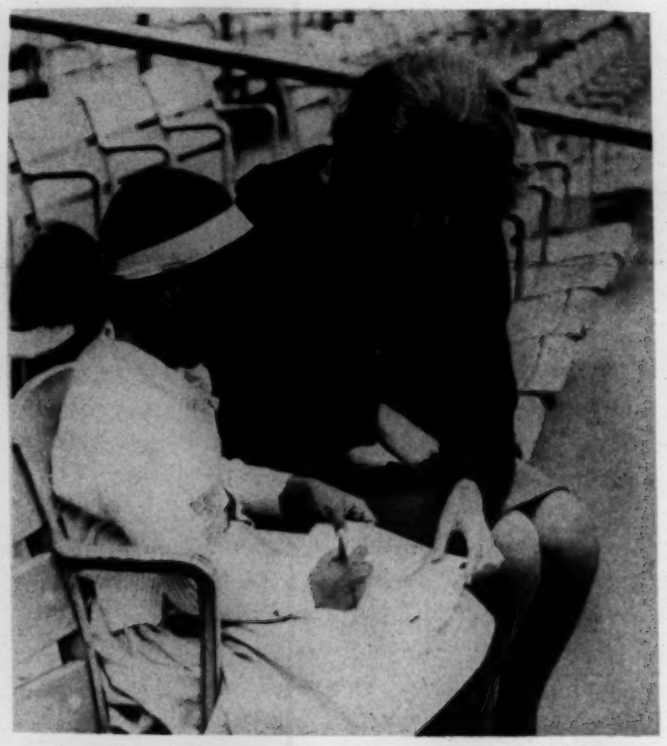
THE WESTERN STUDENT MOVEMENT is an experiment in community involvement. Its objective is to foster tutorial projects which involve not only elementary, junior-high and high school students, but the entire community in the process of education and community development; its means are the voluntary services of college students and citizens of the community of Avalon.

Avalon is a Negro ghetto --- just east of the Harbor Freeway in Los Angeles. Its high school --- Jefferson High --- ranks first in total dropouts for the Los Angeles High Schools. Only 56% of its children under age 18 are living with both parents. Approximately 15% of its labor force is unemployed. Many of its people are recent immigrants from the South.

Avalon is a community with social problems, but it is also a community with conscience and strength. For many years the citizens of Avalon have been working thru the Avalon Community Center to improve their neighborhoods and to create an atmosphere conducive to productive family and occupational life.

If you are a college student, the community of Avalon can use your help - however much you can give - this summer. The Western Student Movement will also sponsor projects during the summer in many other communities(i.e., Pasadena, East Los Angeles, Compton, Watts, Pacoima).

1) TUTOR A POTENTIAL DROPOUT. The Potential public school dropout is often intelligent, but is experiencing boredom or feelings of rejection. Often he finds his schoolwork difficult because it does not seem relevant to his environment or his experience. In most cases, his confidence in himself has been destroyed.



WSM is attempting to help solve some of these problems by working with young people to give them motivation and encouragement. Teaching experience is not necessary; it has been found that one warm person in a close relationship with another transmits the self-confidence and motivation necessary for improvement in school. Your contribution of two to four hours a week can mean the difference between a child dropping out of school and becoming a burden to himself and to his society, and that same child finishing high school and going on to better things.

2) TUTOR A POTENTIAL COLLEGE STUDENT. Many intelligent and highly motivated students from this area either do not go on to college or enter college ill prepared. Unused to rigorous academic requirements, they are often at a serious disadvantage in competition with the suburban high school graduate. Small group seminars or tutorials in literature, history, physics, chemistry and algebra will help these students prepare for college.

These groups will gather periodically for special programs: lectures in Negro history; discussions of current political, economic and social problems; workshops on college entrance and career opportunities; etc. Excursions to colleges, cultural events, museums, industries and other places of interest will be undertaken at their request to broaden experience.

3) PREPARE UNEMPLOYED MEN FOR CIVIL SERVICE AND APPRENTICESHIP EXAMS. On May 7, 1964, 1,000 of Avalon's 8,000 unemployed men and youth rallied in Wrigley Field for a "Conference of the Unemployed." They gathered to assert that they wanted jobs so they could provide a decent living for themselves and their families. 165 of those men indicated by petition to the Western Student Movement that they wanted help in preparing themselves for Civil Service and apprenticeship exams. By tutoring these men you could help them qualify for jobs and income.

4) WORK ON PROBLEM TEAMS. WSM will have three Problem Teams -- one to work with Children who need remedial instruction, another to work with youth on probation, and a third to develop reading material for children based upon their environment and experiences. Each of these teams will receive special training by experts at the beginning of the summer and will meet periodically during the summer for continued training.

If you wish to join the community of Avalon, or one of the other listed communities, in any of these programs of education and community development, please fill out the attached form and mail it to

THE WESTERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
4272 South Avalon Boulevard
Los Angeles, Calif. 90011

You will receive further information upon receipt of application.

---

PRINT NAME Date_____

Last_____ First_____

College_____ Major_____ Year_____

School Address_____ City_____ Zone_____

I can be reached at this address until (date)_____

Summer address_____ City_____ Zone_____

School and Summer Telephones_____

Will you have (access to) a car this summer?_____ How many passengers could you take?_____

Number your preferences: No pref. ( ) Elem. ( ) J.H.S. ( ) H.S. ( ) Adult ( )

Please check all times you would be available to tutor:

| | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Afternoon (1-4) | | | | | |
| Evening | | | | | |

How many hours per week could you give?_____

Are you interested in doing secretarial work for WSM?_____

Are you interested in assuming administrative responsibilities?_____

Previous experience in tutoring?_____

Education

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135 Street
New York, N. Y. 10030
Tel. 281-9650

## CORE AND I.S. 201

The dismal state of education in our nation's cities has been widely reported and analyzed. According to the observer, the source of the problem differs. There are those who argue that the home and the community from which the child comes are to blame for the situation; children are not adequately motivated, prepared nor equipped to learn and are constantly bombarded by negative community experiences. They conclude that in the face of these handicaps there is little that the school can do.

Opponents of this view argue, among them most prominently Dr. Kenneth Clark, that it is just this reaction by the school, the expectation of inferior school performance, that predetermines the outcome. To bolster their argument they cite a well-documented decline in I.Q. and school performance from the third to the sixth grade in Central Harlem schools. They insist that it is the school's responsibility, as an agent of a society which has fostered inequality, to play a forceful positive role in finding new ways to educate our children, no matter how disadvantaged.

It has long been argued by many of those who take the latter view that there is but one way in which schools can redress the inequities in public school education. Integration has been hailed as a means of insuring democratic experiences necessary to citizens of a multiracial nation. Integration is also a means of insuring the fact that black and white children, once having been educated in the same setting, would be able to be competitive in the job market.

This position has been expounded most recently in the U.S. Office of Education report to Congress, Equality of Educational Opportunity. The 737 page report has as its conclusion: "a really superior school for Negroes must indeed be racially integrated."

And yet, the Office of Education has itself been under attack by a so-called "liberal" Senate for going too fast. White America has demonstrated in countless ways -- in Chicago, Georgia, in

Congress -- that it has done all it intends to do in race relations in the forseeable future. Thus, the recommended racially integrated school would seem to be as unattainable as the cure for racism.

There is another view therefore, which challenges not only the feasibility but the validity of the assumption that the only key to educational quality is the integrated school. Those who take this position maintain:

1. Integrated schools cannot be stabilized in our rapidly changing urban centers in the face of white opposition and the white exodus to the suburbs. Integration is available to so few black children (and then often only temporarily) that it is no solution for the large majority of black children in public schools.
2. Integrated schools which provide equal education for black and white children do not enable black children to become truly competitive, particularly those from poverty neighborhoods, unless black students receive special compensatory attention to make up for the economic and social disadvantages of being raised in a ghetto community which is discriminated against, isolated and disrespected.
3. Integrated education alone does not develop in black children the sense of self-respect and identity so badly needed if they are to be motivated to learn. In fact, suddenly becoming part of an integrated school which is too often hostile and unsympathetic can reinforce feelings of inferiority and inadequacy.

The second view logically calls for a ghetto school which is in fact superior to schools elsewhere and which, because of the need for an improved self-image among ghetto children, consciously provides a sense of ethnic identity and racial pride for its pupils.

Nowhere have these issues been so starkly posed as in the case of I.S. 201. In 1958, 201 was proposed as a Junior High School to accommodate children who lived north of 125th Street and were going to overcrowded JHS 120 and JHS 45. In 1962, when parents were first given an opportunity to be heard concerning 201, there was great opposition to the school, for it was to be constructed as another segregated junior high school. After much community discussion,

plans for the school proceeded, with assurances from school officials that there would be provided an excellent curriculum and an integrated student body. However, I.S. 201 continued to be a sore issue in the community during the years that followed. Concern was expressed about the effects of air conditioning upon the health of the children. Parents began to press for details on the school's progress, the specifics of zoning, the selection of staff and where the white students could be coming from.

In February, 1966, the parents were informed for the first time that I.S. 201 would be an integrated school, meaning it would contain representative numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican children. In subsequent months it became clear that such "integration" could only be achieved through the gerrymandering of feeder patterns. This double insult to the Negro community was bitterly resented. Mass meetings, boycotts and demonstrations were staged to dramatize the intensity of community protest.

I.S. 201 had become a symbol of the bad faith of the Board of Education. It had also provided the testing ground of the efficacy of integrated education. Whether the reason was the failure of the Board of Education to recruit white children, the racist attitudes of their parents, or the realization that it takes more than a new building to provide a good education, no white children enrolled in I.S. 201.

It must be made clear that integrated quality education was desired by the parents at the very outset. They had put four years into the struggle to make I.S. 201 something more than another deadend ghetto school. And it appeared that they had failed. Integration was no longer a realistic alternative.

Yet the Negro parents were determined that their children were to be educated adequately <u>now</u>. They were not prepared to wait for the milennium when racist attitudes might be educated away or when ghetto neighborhoods would disappear.

A golden opportunity presented itself. Here were aroused parents, militantly vigilant, prepared to assume their part of the responsibility for educating their children, but determined also that the Board of Education should do its part in meeting their children's needs. And they saw new needs, not universally recog-

nized by professionals as relevant to the school performance of Negro children.

The parents were attuned to the newly awakened call for self-determination and self-assertion in the black community. They knew further that their community and individual feeling of powerlessness and the resulting lack of self-respect had a crippling effect upon their children. They therefore demanded:

1. Black authority figures (e.g. a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire. This was particularly important in view of the fact that the students were adolescents, thus impressionable and in the process of making life decisions,
2. Sympathetic teachers who respected black children, were supportive and encouraging, who did not reinforce feelings of insecurity and who expected black children to learn.
3. Curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and filled the knowledge gaps left by years of omission and neglect.
4. Increased participation in their children's educational lives. The parents knew that they, unlike middleclass parents, had no place in the power equation of the New York school system. They also probably sensed that by being vigilant and unintimidated, they would compel responsiveness and respect, not only from the school administration and teaching staff, but also from their own children.

In effect they were saying to educators that if a child of native intelligence is not achieving, the fault is not in the child, but in the system. One must assume the technique is wrong, the relationship is wrong, the measure of achievement is wrong, the perception of the child is wrong. They were saying further, as they would to a doctor with a sick patient, we will not tolerate your nursing the patient for not getting well. You have not attempted to change the medicine nor mode of treatment. If you do not accept our suggestions, we will get another doctor or we will treat our children ourselves.

And why not? Why not raise questions about the qualifications

of a Board of Education that so callously continued with "business as usual"? Was it so unexpected that parents would protest the location of a new ("windowless") school built in the heart of the ghetto when school integration had been a burning community issue? In 1966 there are only four Negro principals in the 840 New York public schools. And in spite of national discussion concerning the need for male authority images in the predominantly matriarchal Negro ghetto, all four are women. Was it so unanticipated that black parents would demand that there be "no taxation without representation"? If children were not learning at the schools from which many of the teachers came, was it so out of order to ask for the right to review the educators' qualifications?

It is possible that the cry for <u>total control</u> might not have arisen if the public, particularly the educational profession and the Board of Education, had chosen to understand the basic issues involved in the dispute. The fact is that total control by parents would never be necessary if educators understood and acted upon the thoughts and feelings of the community they were hired to serve. The cry once raised however, puts into sharp focus the feeling of alienation between parents and educators. It was useful if it has brought about a recognition of how strong is the determination of the parents to assume a new role in the educational process and how intense is their insistence upon change.

* * * * * *

Of all solutions proposed for the ultimate answer to the big city's educational dilemma, CORE would favor the building of centrally located well-equipped educational complexes offering superior education to all children and utilizing integrated curriculum and staff at all levels. The self-interest of white parents would insure the fact that such complexes would be integrated; their children would attend if the school were superior. In addition, we would want to see community freedom schools such as the one established by CORE and the Baltimore Teachers' Union in Baltimore, run by civil rights, church or civil groups, and offering black children supplementary education in their history and cultural accomplishments.

However, it is obvious that a nation that cannot bring itself to spend as much on an entire War on Poverty as it does in one month in Vietnam is not ready to spend the money necessary to change the lives of the present generation of school children. Even the six billion for education recently appropriated is only a token investment in our children's educational future.

We therefore applaud the parents of I.S. 201 for pointing out that a black community school that meets that community's human and educational needs represents a beginning solution to the dilemma of American education. We urge teachers and administrators to listen to the parents, to free themselves from the strictures of their traditional roles, to engage in honest diagnosis and see the black community as it is today. We welcome the recommendation that other institutions become partners in the search for new answers. And in total agreement with the parents of I.S. 201, we insist that the search begin now.

The public school system in America was first initiated by freed slaves in South Carolina, who, in possession of power for the first time, were determined to use it for the common good. The cry for community power at I.S. 201 must be recognized as the birth wail of a revitalized dream for school excellence. To ignore the cry, to fail to respond in kind to the hope of a people who have little hope left, is to insure frustration and to institutionalize chaos.

##################

James T. McCain
personal

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THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

# PROSPECTUS

TO: James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

FROM: Myron Woolman, Ph.D., Director
Institute of Educational Research
Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT: CORE as a National Force in Developing Human Potential

DATE: September 27, 1964

## INTRODUCTION

As muscle is increasingly replaced by machinery, the illiterate and functionally illiterate member of our society faces a losing battle for personal survival. Urban and rural slums have become self-perpetuating cancers which corrode and reduce human potential. The slum dweller is limited to his ghetto because of limited language, limited literacy and limited skill levels. He is imbedded within a social capsule whose walls defy penetration and which places him farther behind with each successive generation, as the larger society advances. Social symptoms such as delinquency and crime, unemployment and illegitimacy are by-products of the limited preparation for adulthood possible within this pauperized environment. Further, available institutions, including the schools, have been inadequate to the task of producing the literacy level, skills and attitudinal equipment necessary for productive adaptation within the mainstream of the society.

Some federal recognition of this problem exists. The President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime has been the major agency involved in combatting the problem. Very recently, legislation has been enacted to form the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) which will step up the effort considerably. However: (1) The funds available are meagre, considering the scope of the problem; (2) federal decisions, appropriations and actions are developed through compromise amongst politically powerful factions, and CORE is only one of the forces involved; (3) producing an organization, facilities and a program demands an extraordinary amount of cooperative interaction amongst and between government agencies which would involve both delay and additional compromise;

(4) these federal programs are controlled largely by educators, and conventional educational approaches to this problem already have been demonstrated to be inadequate; (5) federal programs face barriers in terms of attitudinal and educational differences, legal and bureaucratic requirements, differences in the language used by outsiders (their only available personnel to carry out the programs). This brief list of difficulties is far from exhaustive.

The great power of the federal government faces the slum community with the helpless impotence of the outsider bringing flowers to the sick-room of a man he scarcely knows; he can be expected to be relatively ineffective regardless of the price of the bouquet. On the other hand, CORE can enter these same communities with the confidence and understanding born of mutual trust, hard-won over years of effort. The same forces which reduce and largely nullify federal efforts, act to sustain and heighten the impact of CORE in these same communities. In this connection, the recent surge of legislation directed to providing legal rights and economic opportunity has not reduced, but rather has increased the frustrations and conflicts inherent in social and economic subordination. The Hungarian revolution occurred following the promises by Malenkov and Kruschev that oppression would end and would be replaced by freedom and plenty. The promises of a better future inherent in present legislation, the mood of the country, and the very existence of organizations like CORE, demand that something tangible take place or they will only add to existing frustration and lead to explosive emotional reactions which can, under certain circumstances, spread across whole communities.

The fact is, that in this national crisis, rapid and efficient headway can be made in the slum community only by an organization such as CORE; to make a dent in this problem, if there were no CORE, the federal government would have had to invent one.

## I. CORE AS A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

The key to the door which bars the way to productive participation in the greater society is, of course, to rapidly increase the level of literacy in the slum community. The fundamental position of this prospectus is that it is possible for CORE to act as a catalyst to enormously accelerate the attainment of social and economic equality, by itself acting as a major agency for producing the skills crucial to stable and productive employment and to more active and meaningful participation in our society. The Institute of Educational Research, Inc. has developed methods and techniques which permit non-teachers to develop literacy, arithmetic (and job skills) in the absence of traditional school buildings and traditionally trained teachers. These methods have been designed for use with drop-outs and other under-achieving adolescents and young adults. They have been tested and offer an immediate vehicle for use by CORE to rapidly increase literacy skills on a mass basis in each of the areas served by CORE Chapters.

The problem is to provide an escape route out of the ghetto into the mainstream of the society.

Once an adequate literacy level is reached, then, and only then can the individual progress up a job ladder. In our time, a man must be able to read sufficiently well to understand manuals and directions related to his job task. An 8th grade level of reading skill is now a minimum for economic survival.

CORE represents a national resource which can cope with the problem of community education and training from the "inside-out" rather than to attempt to affect these communities from the "outside-in". It possesses an intelligent, cohesive and energetic membership which has repeatedly demonstrated that it can achieve CORE objectives.

Each geographic area served by CORE has a system of supervisory control and a leadership structure which can carry through an action program. Further, space and facilities are already available for use by CORE members in most communities, and would be readily available in communities not now providing such facilities. In short, CORE already possesses the following resources for an educational and training program:

1. an organized administrative system capable of putting an action program into effect and supervising its use;

2. a membership capable of following out a detailed plan of action over a sustained period of time; and

3. available space and facilities within each community.

<u>The Required Ingredients</u>:

In addition to the resources previously mentioned (leadership and administration, an organized capable membership, space and facilities), an educational system requires:

1. an instructional capability,

2. educational and/or training materials, and

3. methods of evaluation and Quality Control.

For CORE's purposes, these materials should permit persons with no previous background as a teacher to provide systematic instruction in whatever facilities are available, including homes, churches, stores, or whatever well-lit, warm, dry space may be available.

Further, the programs must be designed to maintain the interest of those being trained and to insure (by means of suitable evaluations) that the learner is actually meeting the required performance standards.

The six major ingredients involved in mounting an effective program may be summarized:

1. an organized administrative structure, capable of imposing direction and guidance;

2. a body of personnel capable of meeting organizational goals;

3. available space and facilities;

4. methods of instruction which teach what is required;

5. an organized and systematized body of training materials;

6. a Quality Control and evaluation method which assures that learners meet the required standards.

## II. THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

Facilities:

The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., was established December, 1960, as a non-profit corporation operating under the laws of the District of Columbia. The statement of incorporation describing the major corporate objective reads: The more effective realization of the human resource potential...The major objectives are: the improvement of behavioral efficiency...

The Institute of Educational Research has approximately 2,000 square feet of office space and is fully equipped with office furniture including desks, typewriters, chairs, etc. In addition, it has a complete in-house printing capacity including copying and multilith equipment for reproduction. The staff consists of twenty-three administrative and research employees.

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was developed through the support of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Chairman), and is presently under test in the following locations:

| | Organization | Address | Title and Name of Responsible Officer |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Washington Action for Youth | 1420 New York Avenue, N.W. | Dr. Hyman Frankel<br>Acting Director |
| 2. | Police Athletic League Work Training Center | 121 University Place, New York, N.Y. | Mr. High Salpeter<br>Director<br>or<br>Terry Schmidt<br>Instructor |
| 3. | Job Orientation in Neighborhoods (JOIN) | 69 Bank Street New York, N.Y. | Dr. Jack Niemeyer<br>President |
| 4. | Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) | 18 Tremont Street Boston, Mass. | Mr. Joseph Slavet<br>Executive Director |
| 5. | The North Carolina Development Fund | Post Box 687 Durham, North Carolina | Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.<br>Executive Director<br>or<br>Miss Mary Hatley<br>Assistant to Director |
| 6. | D.C. Public School System | Franklin Building 13th and K Streets, N.W. | Miss Ann Pitts<br>Reading Coordinator, District Junior High Schools |
| 7. | Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools | County Office Building, 720 E. Fourth Street Charlotte, N.C. | Dr. Robert Hanes<br>Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education |
| 8. | Mobilization for Youth | 271 East 4th Street, New York N.Y. | Mr. Alan Cohen<br>Director of Reading |
| 9. | Galena Park Public Schools | P. O. Box 565 Galena Park, Texas | Mr. F. E. McGahan<br>Director of Special Services |

## III. THE READING PROGRAM

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program (APC) is based on methods initially developed in 1950. It has been tested experimentally six times with normal first graders and has been successfully shown to be able to teach reading skills to mentally retarded children. (See Appendices A-1 and A-2.) The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was first planned for use in Prince Edward County, (see Appendix B) but was shifted for use with adolescent drop-outs in coordination with the President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. It has been pilot tested in a number of locations and the results so far indicate that it produces reading skills somewhat more efficiently than estimated. It was designed to provide an 8th grade reading level within 300 hours of instruction, using a non-certified person as a teacher and whatever facilities were available.

At Washington Action for Youth, the pilot group of eight students showed gains of more than 15 months (1.28 years) in a mean time of 40.3 hours. (See circled data in Appendix A-4.)

The Pitts-Payne study (see Appendix A-3 for their memo summarizing their results) showed a somewhat greater gain in a period of one month which officially provided 45 hours of instruction.

The method is designed for use with groups, and permits one instructor, lacking teaching experience, to teach at least ten learners simultaneously.

<u>The Criteria for the Experimental Reading Program</u>:

Economic Criteria:

a. The Literacy Program should be adapted to the use of existing community resources and facilities for training, obtaining subjects and teaching.

b. The Literacy Program should be able to be used by non-professional, unskilled persons in the role of instructor at the expense of some loss of efficiency.

c. The Literacy Program should not require the use of highly specialized buildings or other facilities, but rather be designed for use in any available space where one literate person can meet in some privacy with one or more illiterates.

d. The materials used for the instructor and illiterates should be relatively cheap to reproduce in quantity.

Functional Criteria:

a. The Literacy Program should be designed so that it can be used as the first phase in developing job skills.

b. The Literacy Program should be designed to provide a capability to participate actively and productively in the total society.

The Approach:

In a recent proposal to The Office of Education, The Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. suggested that the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program be tested in a correctional setting. A statement from their proposal, relevant to the present study, follows:

> Since the above studies have been completed there have been improvements in methodology related to the development of reading skills. Woolman's Progressive Choice Reading Method now appears to take a greater role in the development of literacy skill. The Progressive Choice Reading Method has already demonstrated that it is able to be used to teach reading skills to mentally retarded children. Recently, Woolman developed a high speed version of this reading program (The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program) to obtain a high rate of literacy skill development in functional illiterates and young adults under the auspices of the President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Leonard S. Cottrell, Chairman).

This program has been favorably reviewed by the Adult Education Branch of the U.S. Office of Education (Edward W. Brice, Director) and by various authorities.

The following descriptive analysis of the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was made by the staff of a well-known publisher of reading materials, (Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Illinois).

The Progressive Choice Reading Approach

The materials are designed to increase the reading level of students, ranging in age from about 12 years through young adulthood, who read below the fourth grade level.

Woolman materials appear especially promising for the following reasons: (1) they meet the criteria recommended by the special Task Force of United States Office of Education, (2) the content of the stories is determined by a rationale designed to change attitudes of the learners, and (3) other basic skills and vocational training materials are being developed to coordinate with this basic reading program. Preliminary tryouts of the materials with several different groups of students have been encouraging.

Woolman adopts a linguistic approach to reading. His Progressive Choice Reading Method is designed to develop those perceptual skills necessary to extract meaning from printed words that are already known in speech. There are several distinctive features about the Progressive Choice Reading Method. Four of the major features are described by Woolman as follows:

Response Activation

> There will be a requirement for high rates of response as learning rate is largely a function of the activity of the learner.

Evidence of Achievement

> These children must perceive themselves as effective members of their own society....Here we are concerned with convincing evidence of achievement earned by effort and success.
>
> The (lessons) will be designed to provide clear-cut goals, indisputable evidence of goal attainment, and responsibilities, as well as privileges, as a consequence of goal attainment....

Frustration Tolerance

> The learner will be provided with learning tasks designed to produce increasing rates of response in the face of frustration, conflict, and uncertainty. This is of particular importance as the opportunity to achieve beyond the levels of their present limited environment requires an ability to maintain high response rates in the face of trying and difficult situations.

General Language Reservoir

> Finally, we are concerned with sharply increasing the verbal reservoir so that subjects can comprehend printed materials at various levels of abstraction, with sufficient precision to understand the intent of the writer....The subjects must understand, as fully as possible, language beyond the limits imposed by regions, color, or familial pattern.

Two principles of learning that particularly distinguish the Progressive Choice Reading Method are discrimination and invariance. The principle of discrimination states that any new learning factor (e.g., form of a letter) should be as highly discriminable as possible from previously learned factors. The principle of invariance states that after one learning factor (form of a letter) has been taught, then only one characteristic (e.g., its most useful sound) is taught at a time.

The combination of these principles and their application to the teaching of reading in the Progressive Choice Reading Method result in the following important characteristics.

1. Beginning readers are introduced to new letters in an order that is designed to make each letter as distinct as possible from the letter presented before it. Capital letters are presented initially, and discrimination is determined by line form.

   The letters are described in terms of straight and curved lines and classified accordingly as (a) angular -- all straight lines, (2) curved -- all curved lines, or (c) mixed -- straight and curved lines. The first letter presented is angular (M), the second is curved (O), the third is mixed (P), and so on.

2. During the initial part of the program, symbol-sound combinations are completely consistent. Beginning readers are introduced to (a) only one form of each letter -- they learn only capital letters at first, (b) only one sound for each letter -- its most useful sound, and (c) only one letter for each sound.

The Progressive Choice Reading Method is divided into three major cycles according to simplicity and consistency of sound-symbol combinations to be learned. The cycles are outlined on the following page.

Cycle I: Learning emphasizes words that contain phonetically consistent letters

Cycle II: Learning emphasizes words that contain vowel or consonant compounds

Cycle III: Learning emphasizes words that contain varying sounds for given letters and different letters for given sounds

Each cycle is divided into segments. For example, the first segment of Cycle I introduces the letters M, O, and P. Mastery of this segment means that the subject has learned to read and write all the words that can be formed by these letters: MOM, POP, MOP.

The second segment consists of T and S. Mastery of this segment means that the subject has learned to read and write all the words that can be formed by all of the letters he has learned: TOM, TOP, POT, TOT, STOP, SPOT, POPS, MOPS, and so on. Two or three letters are presented in each segment until all the letters of the alphabet have been learned except for the letter Q. The number of words the subject can read and write increases at an accelerating rate with the acquisition of each new letter.

The activities in each segment are divided into five levels of increasing complexity. Individual levels are planned so that a subject is initially presented with a very simple learning task, and as he demonstrates that he has mastered the task, he is presented with a more complex task. With each new task, the newly mastered information is thoroughly integrated with information mastered in previous levels. The five levels of complexity are outlined by Woolman below:

Audial Meaning Level:

Words which the learner must ultimately read in a given segment are used in spoken form and the learner must demonstrate understanding (content of usage) of each of these goal words.

Discrimination Level:

The learner must show that he can discriminate the characteristic features of each new learning element among dissimilar and similar alternatives using matching and printing responses.

Identification Level:

The learner must demonstrate that he can "label" (give the relevant sound for) each new learning element by printing and/or sounding responses.

Compounding Level:

The learner must demonstrate that he can blend sounds when shown printed letter compounds and vice versa.

Visual Meaning Level:

The learner must demonstrate, by printing and sounding, mastery of meaningful printed information. He must demonstrate that he can get the same meaning from speech and visual modes interchangeably for the goal words.

As students acquire vocabulary, they read stories using only the words they have learned to read. The content of the stories is crucial to the Progressive Choice Reading Method and the rationale and description of the content is presented below:

A primary initial requirement of this project is to produce a high rate of response. It will be assumed that the subjects will appear lethargic and relatively inert at the outset. These outward manifestations are seen as masking a relatively active fantasy life in which they obtain the material possessions, responsibilities and status which are in fact denied by their life circumstances. These "dreams of glory" will be the target of the initial inputs and our first effort will be to transform these covert activities into energies for overt responses.

The transformation programs will possess the following characteristics:

The Goal:

A hero or heroine with whom subjects can identify; a poor slum city dweller in extremely limited circumstances who has a goal which appears unachievable.

The Obstacles:

Lack of money, misunderstanding, time, circumstances, family, position, the law.

The Effort Made to Overcome Obstacles:

Specification of actions taken to overcome obstacles shown...above (performing extra work, resolution by discussion and explanation, awareness of unfairness by authority, unexpected support by others, assistance from a stranger, reconsideration of problem, substitution of sub-goals, persuasion of group members, unexpected support).

Goal Achievement:

Detailing of actual attainment of the initial goal or some aspect of the goal.

The Birth of New Goals:

The awareness that once the prize has been obtained that it sets up new goals. Goal achievement thus always becomes a signal for the emergence of new goals but now the hero or heroine knows that effort can produce rewards. Response is a prerequisite for success; failure in the process of goal attainment is merely a signal demanding the development of a new and better plan.

At the outset, stories will be constructed using culturally familiar terms; emphasis will be given to the values, needs and interests which already exist in the delinquent community. Thus, we begin with goals and situations which are identifiable and understandable in terms of the existing world in which these children live. The bridge is initially anchored on their side of the water. At later stages, as skills increase, vocabulary expands and confidence grows, the program gradually shifts in both attitude and content to provide a more useful language reservoir and increased awareness of the behavioral boundaries by the non-delinquenogenic community.

The Teacher's Manual is completely coordinated with the student materials, and it details specific objectives for each lesson, how to achieve the objectives, and how to determine student mastery.

## IV. PUTTING THE APC PROGRAM INTO THE FIELD

The Institute of Educational Research and CORE will be engaged in a joint enterprise in which there will be close coordination, but with a clear division of responsibilities:

<u>CORE is expected to provide</u>:

1. An administrative structure which will convey information, materials and directives to field personnel within a reasonable time.

2. Staff personnel who are literate, motivated and will follow the procedures in The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program.

3. Supply the facilities to be used in those communities in which the programs are initiated.

4. A responsible CORE official to operate as a liason with IER to facilitate planning, to provide CORE policy positions and requests, and to make decisions for CORE actions when and where required.

IER will be responsible for carrying out the following tasks:

1. Provide necessary orientation workshops and instruction to initiate programs in various communities.

2. Monitor, evaluate, and critique CORE staff and supervisory personnel to maintain level of performance.

3. Establish and maintain a record-keeping Quality Control system which will provide rapid and up-to-date information on the program as a whole and the progress of individual units.

4. Develop special materials specific to the needs of the CORE learner population.

   It is expected that the average time in which students will complete Cycles I, II and III of the APC Reading Program will vary between 100 to 300 hours as students can move at their own pace. At the present time, Cycles I, II and III are complete and ready for use in the field.

   Although the development of a Vocabulary Expansion Program (VEP) was undertaken, this program has not been completed because of lack of funds. The special CORE-oriented material will be developed as part of the Vocabulary Expansion Program. The last 150 hours of literacy training will involve the use of this special CORE material agreed upon jointly. Part of the cost of the project will involve the development and testing of these special CORE-related programs.

   The Institute of Educational Research, Inc. has licensed Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Ill., to publish and distribute the APC Reading Program (Cycles I, II and III). In accordance with IER policy, all property rights including copyright are to be held by IER in accordance with IER policy.

5. IER will collect, analyze and summarize data and write project reports of results obtained.

6. Consistent with IER's non-profit status, costs will be calculated to cover IER overhead, production, travel, etc. As the volume of CORE learners increases, IER cost per learner is expected to decrease and this reduction will be passed on to CORE as soon as it is known.

## V. THE EXPANDING WEDGE CONCEPT

The CORE Literacy Program is expected to resemble an ever-expanding wedge. All subjects participating in the Program will be tested (Pre-Test) prior to entering the Program and upon completion of the Literacy Training Program (Post-Test). IER will supply all test materials and procedures and will supervise all pre and post testing.

Progress of the Program is visualized in the following manner:

Step 1: (First four weeks) A single location will be obtained in a suitable New York City area (CORE Literacy Training Unit). Three persons from each of nine CORE units will be selected to be trained as CORE Literacy Training Teams. One week after the Teams have been established, three classes, each consisting of 15 functionally illiterate persons, will be tested and then, scheduled for two hours per day of APC instruction. The three CORE Literacy Training Teams will be trained, in part, working on each of the three classes. Each CORE Literacy Training Team will be tested on its class and when it satisfies the standards imposed by IER staff personnel, it will be released to instruct its own class using the APC Program.

In each succeeding step, the training of CORE Literacy Training Teams will involve essentially the same procedures as those employed in Step 1. IER will consider that the quality of the training given will remain its responsibility, although to the extent possible, the training itself will be shifted to CORE personnel.

## Tentative Pattern of CORE Literacy Program Expansion*

| Step | Approximate Time | Activities to be Performed | IER to Provide |
|---|---|---|---|
| One | Weeks 1,2,3,4 | Activation of first Literacy Training Unit in New York City. Assignment of nine Literacy Training Teams from New York City area. Training continued until each Team meets IER standards. | 1. Pre-tests and test supervision<br>2. APC Materials<br>3. Workships, monitoring and instruction |
| Two | Weeks 5,6,7 | Activation of nine CORE Literacy Teams from New Jersey, Penna. Maryland and upstate New York. Bring in nine additional units to same CORE Literacy Training Unit. Train CORE Teams and evaluate as in Step #1. | 4. Evaluation of CORE personnel<br>5. Planning of special CORE materials |
| Three | Weeks 8,9 | Set up second CORE Literacy Training Unit in city such as Philadelphia or Baltimore. Provide simultaneous instruction in both CORE Literacy Training Units, providing training for 18 CORE Literacy Teams (see Step 4). | |
| Four | Weeks 10,11 | Eighteen CORE Literacy Teams, drawn from Washington, D.C., North and South Carolina (and other Southern states - to be determined later) will be trained in the Training Unit set up in Step 3. | |
| Five | Weeks 12,13 | Set up third CORE Literacy Training Unit in city such as Chicago or St. Louis, and provide training for 27 Literacy Training Teams. | |
| Six | 16th Week | Set up fourth Literacy Training Unit on West Coast in city such as Los Angeles or San Francisco, making a total of 36 Literacy Training Teams which will be training simultaneously. | 6. Initiate field tests of CORE-related literacy materials and other special programs as mutually agreed upon. |

*These steps are illustrative only, and have been used to indicate the rapidity of growth possible. Actual step sequence will be worked out jointly with CORE.

In my judgment, this project offers an unparalleled opportunity to IER to carry out its function. There is no project on my horizon, past or present, which I would rather commit IER to do. I look forward to the reaction of CORE's Committee with both anticipation and the hope that we can together begin on the great task of providing more Americans with the tools needed for greater self-fulfillment.

Dr. Myron Woolman

Myron Woolman, Ph.D., Director
Institute of Educational Research, Inc.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

REPLY TO:
READING LABORATORY AND CLINIC
310 ANDERSON HALL

April 19, 1963

Dear Dr. - - -:

I have received and read the materials you forwarded regarding the efforts to solve some of the problems inherent in the Prince Edward County situation.

I have been familiar with the experiments by Bloomer and the work of Myron Woolman almost since its beginnings. Dr. Woolman has permitted me to review the Progressive Choice Reading materials as they were prepared for each research trial.

Some reading authorities would object to the emphasis upon phonics or letter sounds in this material, arguing that there is more to the process of beginning reading than just this element. They would prefer an emphasis upon word form and the use of semi-narrative materials. Under normal classroom conditions, with children of average mental abilities and the usual school experiences, this argument is sound. But in dealing with children of limited intelligence, and a lack of schooling amounting almost to illiteracy, the usual arguments do not apply. A much more practical approach, involving training in reading and writing simultaneously, under learning conditions which progress in very small steps (with no assumptions regarding the supporting language experiences of a normal classroom) is appropriate here. This detailed, sequential training by very easy stages is the inherent rationale of the Progressive Choice Method. Furthermore, the experiences of the Laubach Foundation, the Tennessee TV programs and the current Florida "Operation Alphabet" confirm the values of this particular kind of approach to reading with illiterates or the culturally-deprived. These programs have shown that a step-by-step approach keyed to reading and writing letter sounds is highly effective.

A number of reading specialists both in this country and England have tried to devise reading programs of this type. Among these are Hunter Diack of the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham, Dr. I.A. Richards of Harvard University and the late American Linguist, Leonard Bloomfield. Despite intensive efforts, the programs produced by these authorities are far inferior to the Progressive Choice Method, in my opinion. In fact, Dr. Woolman's materials are the only completely consistent programed reading materials now available, and suitable for use with school-age children. For the abnormal conditions present in Prince Edward County, I know of no more appropriate approach.

Sincerely,

George D. Spache

George D. Spache, Head
Reading Laboratory and Clinic

GDS:sab

## Appendix A-2

Director, National Institute of Mental Health July 17, 1963

Associate Director for Program Development
National Institute of Mental Health

Need for programs learning materials for non-reader, retarded children, and children who have suffered interruption of the educational process.

One of the major problems in the mental health field involves the determination of the factors associated with the outcome of child rearing practices up to adulthood. A great deal of work has been done, as you know, concerning the effects of maternal behavior in producing a variety of maladaptive results such as feeding problems, sleeping problems, enuresis, nail biting, anxiety, and other classical problems with which child guidance clinics have occupied themselves. On the other hand, we do not fully understand the causes for the recent rise in Juvenile Delinquency, and some of the disorganization shown by adolescents and late adolescent youth. The data on the increase of delinquency are now convincing, and disorganization is the sense of the lack of place in the social order upon the part of many other youth is becoming increasingly clear. It is imperative, therefore, that this Institute dedicate itself to a full and complete understanding of the factors associated with the non-fruitful outcome of elementary and secondary education and childhood experiences generally. It is only by an attack upon such problems that the Institute can, in good conscience, say that it is concerned with prevention as well as remediation.

The Program Development area of the Institute has been giving serious thought and attention to these problems for a long period of time. Considerable effort has been made to look for some gross relationships between early experiences during pre-school and early school years, and the ultimate outcome in terms of the nature of the young adult thus produced. While we have an equal interest in both favorable and unfavorable outcomes, a first order of importance must be attached to unfavorable outcomes, since they are the ones that cause public concern.

One of the interesting apparent relationships seems to be that which exists between the inability to learn to read and write during the first two elementary grades and the increased probability that such individuals will ultimately show a pattern of anti-social behavior and possibly delinquency. It would be naive and simple-minded for us to assume that the inability to learn to read during the first and second grade is itself a major determinant of later delinquent behavior. Undoubtedly the relationship is much more complex. It probably reflects the fact that the child in the first year or two of elementary school is under the pressure of adults, his teachers and his parents, to achieve a goal which for a variety of reasons such as basic inability, or disorganization of the home or both, is not really attainable by him. This pressure may well be applied either in a benign or damaging way. But during the first two years he is not disadvantaged in his relationships with his peers because they do not value him on the basis of his ability to read or write. By the time he reaches the third or fourth grade, however, these skills are more important in the daily economy of the child, and he may well become scape-goated as a dope or dummy or square, or

what ever the current jargon of childhood is, indicating a child is not quite one of the group. At this point, you will note he is disadvantaged with both adults and his peers, and he faces quite an insufferable situation. He becomes a devalued person. A moment's reflection shows that he has several possible ways available to overcome this devaluing experience. He may compensate by some area of other excellence, such as unusual ability in the field of physical prowess, athletics, or music. This he can do only if he has these other abilities. He might, if very mature, buckle down and overcome his problems directly. But this solution cannot be expected from many children. The most likely event is that he will become hostile toward the whole social circumstances of his time and that he will retaliate at first with minor peccadilloes and later with more serious anti-social behavior. These disturbed relationships really reflect his attempt to maintain his personal integrity and his sense of self. They will be associated with establishing relationships with similar disorganized children who face the same problems and therefore form quite naturally a small in-group that can well develop into delinquent gangs. This is one course of development which makes psychological sense out of the data we now have, namely that early reading disability may lead later to delinquent anti-social and possibly criminal behavior.

It is important as a consequence of these circumstances that this Institute make serious effort to understand these problems, and to explore to the fullest extent possible the development of remedial devices available including improved techniques of helping the child to overcome his reading disability.

It should also be made clear at this point that many children for a variety of reasons, such as illness, suffer an interruption of the educational process between the ages of 6 and 12 or 15. We are completely ignorant of the effect of such interruptions upon the ability of the child later to resume his normal, formal education. We do not know, for example, whether it is psychologically possible for a 10 year old child who has never been to school to dedicate himself fully to the tasks involved in the first grade learning experience. We do not know whether educational deprivation leads to peer group rejection which appears to be associated with the early reading disability of children continuously in the educational system. It is my guess that the results are as severe for the deprived child as for the one who could not originally learn to read, perhaps more severe.

In other words, these children, those unable to learn to read and those deprived of education because of bad health and other factors really represent a population in great risk of emotional and social maldevelopment.

Within recent years, the advent of programmed learning techniques has indicated that these methods have great potentiality for overcoming early learning disabilities and probably for overcoming disabilities associated with interruption of education.

It is therefore proposed that this Institute negotiate a contract with a competent group to develop programmed learning materials that can be used in testing some of the hypothesis outlined above. If the child's development can be improved by helping achieve literacy at or near the appropriate age, or at the earliest opportunity that is made available to him, we may be able to do more to prevent personal tragedy and the unfavorable outcomes of early life experience.

The staff of the Institute has surveyed the individuals and organizations in this country best able to produce these materials which could open a new chapter in preventing the development of emotional disorders. It is our considered conclusion that the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., in Washington, D. C. under the leadership of Dr. Myron Woolman is the best equipped of any available to produce these materials. It is proposed therefore, that a contract be negotiated with this organization as quickly as possible to permit it to proceed with the task. The estimate of costs at the moment are not precise, but it appears that the range will be from $55,000 to $100,000 to produce the materials of the kind needed. Presently, I strongly urge the larger amount since I feel the task ahead is a major one and that an adequate approach to the problems is a necessity. Given these materials, the Institute can plan a series of research approaches to the problems enumerated above with a high expectation that we can make a major contribution to some of the difficulties facing present day children and youth in terms of their emotional and social development. I strongly urge that you approve this proposal to enter into immediate negotiations with the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., in Washington, D. C., for the purposes here outlined.

Joseph M. Bobbitt, Ph.D.

## Appendix A-3

September 14, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools

FROM: Anne W. Pitts, Reading Coordinator, District Junior High Schools
Frances C. Payne, Chairman, Basic Track, Macfarland Junior High School

SUBJECT: Report on "The Effectiveness of Programmed Instruction: An Adaptation of the Progressive Choice Reading Method."

In our recent study the data on 66 children from Basic Track classes in four representative junior high schools* made it evident that no real progress occurs using a conventional approach - the gain over twenty-three months for these children amounted to five months. This emphasizes the fact that under-achieving students, as you have stated, tend to continue to reduce in achievement level.

In this study results for students in the Progressive Choice program were highly encouraging.

1. Educable mentally retarded junior high school children (Mean IQ - 76) in Basal Progressive Choice and Accelerated Progressive Choice over a nine month period make a year and seven months gain.

2. Junior high school children considered typical under-achieving normals (Mean IQ - 95) gained a year and six months over a single summer period providing forty-five hours of instruction.

3. All children showed remarkable involvement in the program as attested by their comments, attendance, and completion of the entire six week summer program. Not one student dropped out. The most significant aspect of this finding relates to the Macfarland students who did not live in or near Garnet area and, therefore, were required to pay carfare every day for six weeks. Attendance was excellent.

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*Paul - 8$^{303}$ ; Woodson - 8$^{201}$ and 8$^{203}$ ; Evans - 8$^{9}$ ; Macfarland - 8$^{11}$ .

THE NEXT STEP: We feel that Washington, D. C. could be the first system to put the Accelerated Progressive Choice Program to a large scale experimental test. This could be a part of the wide-scale experimentation planned for the model school system. If this were done, we are both convinced that the probability is high that Washington, D. C. will be the leader in pointing the way out of our present literacy crisis.

AWP:g
cc: Dr. Myron Wooman
Mrs. Anne O'Keefe

# Appendix A–4

## THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

### WASHINGTON ACTION FOR YOUTH PILOT DATA
Using Progressive Choice Accelerated Reading Program
(Period Oct. 20,1963 through Jan. 10, 1964)

| TESTS GIVEN | | TRAINEES IN STUDY | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | Group Mean Scores |
| I | Stanford Achievement Test | | | | | | | | | |
| | Reading | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 3.20 | 5.95 | * | 6.25 | 4.80 | 3.65 | 5.55 | 4.75 | 4.88 |
| | Post–Test | 3.50 | 8.40 | | 6.50 | 7.40 | 4.00 | 6.90 | 6.40 | 6.16 |
| | Difference Scores [1] | + .30 | + 2.45 | | + .25 | + 2.60 | + .35 | + 1.35 | + 1.65 | + 1.28 |
| | Battery Median | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 3.45 | 5.15 | | 5.40 | 5.00 | 3.90 | 5.50 | 4.60 | 4.71 |
| | Post–Test | 4.20 | 7.20 | | 5.10 | 5.80 | 4.30 | 6.90 | 5.00 | 5.50 |
| | Difference Scores [1] | + .75 | + 2.05 | | – .30 | + .80 | + .40 | + 1.40 | + .40 | + .79 |
| II | Progressive Choice | | | | | | | | | |
| | Diagnostic Reading Test | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 68 | 81 | | 85 | 72 | 76 | 81 | 73 | 76.57 |
| | Post–Test | 82 | 91 | | 90 | 91 | 83 | 86 | 80 | 86.14 |
| | Difference Scores [2] | + 14 | + 10 | | + 5 | + 19 | + 7 | + 5 | + 7 | 9.57 |
| III | Otis Intelligence Test | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | | 86 | | 78 | 81 | | 72 | | 79.25 |
| | Post–Test | | 94 | | 76 | 78 | | 79 | | 81.75 |
| | Difference Scores [3] | | + 8 | | – 2 | – 3 | | + 7 | | + 2.50 |
| IV | Social Effectiveness | | | | | | | | | |
| | Evaluation Form | | | | | | | | | |
| | Environmental | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 1 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 6.63 |
| | Post–Test | 4 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7.88 |
| | Difference Scores [4] | + 3 | + 1 | + 3 | 0 | – 1 | 0 | 3 | + 1 | + 1.25 |
| | Verbal Fluency | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 2 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 6.38 |
| | Post–Test | 5 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 7.50 |
| | Difference Scores [4] | + 3 | + 2 | 0 | 0 | + 1 | 0 | + 2 | + 1 | + 1.13 |
| | Situational Involvement | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 2 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 5.63 |
| | Post–Test | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7.13 |
| | Difference Scores [4] | + 2 | + 1 | + 1 | + 1 | + 2 | 0 | + 3 | + 2 | + 1.50 |
| | Total | | | | | | | | | |
| | Pre–Test | 5 | 20 | 3 | 25 | 24 | 29 | 22 | 21 | 18.63 |
| | Post–Test | 13 | 24 | 7 | 26 | 26 | 29 | 30 | 25 | 22.50 |
| | Difference Scores [4] | + 8 | + 4 | + 4 | + 1 | + 2 | 0 | + 8 | + 4 | + 3.88 |
| VII | Time Spent in Program (Hours) | 77.50 | 69 | 39 | 37.50 | 33 | 32.50 | 23 | 11 | 40.31 |

* Trainee attempted to take SAT pre–test but could not write name or begin responses to items and was terribly anxious in a test situation.

1. Scores show Reading Achievement Grade Level.
2. Scores show number of correct items on test.
3. Scores show IQ points on group test: Other trainees given SRA Non–Verbal Form Pre–Test, Post–Test not yet completed.
4. Scores show counselor ratings on Social Effectiveness Evaluation Form.

# Appendix B

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE

on

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.,
*Washington, D.C., March 8, 1963.*

Subject: Statement regarding bill on S. 1, Youth Employment Act, submitted to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., and the Occupational Training Center.

Mr. EDWARD FRIEDMAN,
*Counsel, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FRIEDMAN: Pursuant to our conversations of recent weeks, the undersigned are submitting herein a statement regarding bill S. 1, the Youth Employment Act.

The proposed Youth Employment Act has been analyzed and reviewed by the undersigned. We are in full agreement with its purposes and goals and consider that it could offer a powerful instrument for providing many young men with their only chance to become productive members of our society. The alternative to education and training will often be the greater cost of relief, institutionalization, and the transmission of squalor, crime, and dependency to the young.

In our judgment, the most important problem is to provide means to insure that these young men return to their home communities with greater employability than when they left. The development of modern job skills requires classification, specification of job training goals, efficient methods of training, and objective evaluation directed to continuous program improvement.

In addition, modern educational technology has advanced to the point where programed learning methods offer great advantages over conventional methods where large-scale training is required. The mass training demanded by the Youth Employment Act requires rapid and economical training and is ideally suited to these new methods. Appendix A ("Some Operational Recommendations") is an attempt to picture how these new methods could function to both simplify and accelerate this program.

Sincerely yours,

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph. D.,
*Director, Institute of Educational Research, Inc.*
JEROME BERNSTEIN, M.A.,
*Director, Occupational Training Center.*

## APPENDIX A

### SOME OPERATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR S. 1 YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT

The following points have been discussed at some length with various specialists in the field of education with special emphasis on the use of new methods in development of literacy and job skills. The following individuals represent a cross section of those with whom this general problem area has been discussed:

Dr. Edward Brice, Director, Adult Education, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Mr. Raymond Larsen, Assistant to the Director, Automation and Manpower, Department of Labor; Dr. Harold Hildreth, Office of Program Development, National Institute of Mental Health; and Dr. Donald Stedman, Director of Research, Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation.

1. Training methods should be economical, flexible, and provide for different rates of growth of proficiency, skill development, and understanding. Present classroom methods of vocational training tend to be inefficient.

(*a*) They force all students to move at relatively similar rates of speed.

(*b*) They require extensive physical plants, large numbers of trained instructors and large masses of specialized equipment.

(*c*) Teaching effectiveness of instructors varies widely, with many instructors having minimal instructor capabilities.

(*d*) Training is expensive, time consuming, and often limited to highly specific job skills which limit learner opportunity.

(*e*) Training tends to be artificial and reflects school methods rather than those in actual use.

(*f*) Industrial school methods tend to reflect industrial practices based on obsolete equipment.

2. The hard-core problem is one which focuses on men and women who have failed to obtain the necessary minimum of skills required for economic survival in technological age.

(*a*) The program should be directed to those persons who have been economically disenfranchised by reason of (1) literacy level, (2) dropouts from public school, (3) shifts in industrial characteristics of the community and (4) undertraining.

(*b*) Fundamental problems of motivation exist and methods must be incorporated into the training in order to overcome inertia and defeatism.

(*c*) The training must be designed to accommodate flexibly to persons of vastly differing intelligence, interests, and backgrounds; it must also be synchronous with existing and projected industrial requirements.

3. Programmatic training methods can provide mass training at relatively low cost. This training can be made practical, job related, and reflect current methods and practices. Programmatic methods can increase training efficiency by:

(*a*) Permitting enrollees to progress at their own rate based on experience, capacity, and motivation.

(*b*) Using nonprofessional teachers to provide instruction. This reduces costs and reduces the ratio of students to instructors.

(*c*) Training reflects actual practices; enrollees can be trained in the work setting. This reduces school cost while increasing the realism of the training provided.

(*d*) Training can be provided for:

(1) training of illiterates and functional illiterates in the development of reading skills necessary for job performance.

(2) training of job skills involving the use of names, procedures, and techniques.

(3) training for learning of concepts necessary for job performance (basic electricity, computer programing, drafting, etc.)

4. Enrollees should initially be evaluated with reference to their backgrounds, interests, and general level of capability. These factors should then be considered with relation to the job needs existing in the community to which the enrollee expects to return. The enrollee should then be assigned to a job area which—

(1) is expected to increase his employability on discharge, and

(2) is consistent with his own interests and capabilities as possible.

The enrollee should enter the program to achieve a job skill consistent with his general capabilities and existing job requirements. His work as a trainee should be systematically evaluated to determine the degree to which he progresses to the point of full employability on discharge. A quality control program should be performed by a nongovernmental agency.

The evaluation of programs under the Youth Employment Act should be objective, systematic, and thorough. The training methods, levels of proficiency attained by graduates, proportion of graduates employed, areas of skill deficiency in graduates, etc., should be made available to responsible Youth Conservation Corps personnel and other officials responsible for elimination of defects in the interest of systematic program improvement. It is necessary that these evaluations be performed by an objective nongovernmental agency to avoid confusing evaluation with justification of policy, or rationalizing the necessity for an existing state of affairs to avoid embarrassing a superior, etc., etc. Objective evaluation of the program should provide the basis for continuous program improvement and reduced program cost per enrollee.

5. All training should be directed to the enrollee's ultimate employment in his home community. During the period of enrollment the enrollee should learn a number of job tasks within a job area, such as carpentering. The enrollee must ultimately straddle the inner face between the Youth Conservation Corps and his ultimate responsibilities as a citizen. All training within the corps should be directed toward simplify this step across the inner face between these two discrete phases of the enrollee's career. Thus the Youth Conservation Corps objectives are specifiable in the requirement for simplifying this transition.

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING (PCVT)

The manor vehicle for carrying out the present plan is a facility designed to develop, test, and revise training programs. This facility, the Programmatic Center for Vocational Training (PCVT) would be responsible for:

1. Developing programs to produce reading skills.
2. Developing programs to produce academic certification (high school diploma).
3. Developing programs to produce job skills.
4. Developing methods of evaluating programs and enrollees.
5. Developing methods for overall program evaluation.

(*a*) *Level I, basic reading level.*—Illiterate persons can be taught to read by means of programs. The content should be related to adult interests and is focused on developing job-related reading skills. Enrollee change in reading skills will be evaluated frequently by methods intrinsic to the reading program. Various motivational devices would then be used to develop and maintain a reasonable rate of progress. Basic reading level materials will be written for adults. Enrollees will remain in the program until they attain approximately a fourth-grade reading level which it is estimated should require approximately 3 months for normally motivated learners. At this point, these enrollees become functionally literate and proceed to level II where reading skills function to increase their rate of progress toward developing job proficiency.

(*b*) *Level II, elementary vocational training.*—Reading: Low-skilled readers will be phased into vocational areas which require learning of (1) names of job-related objects, (2) job-rated actions and behaviors, and (3) critical supervisory worker relationships.

The reading materials in level II require the enrollee to master such materials as:

(1) The most important 100 terms (realistically and concretely defined) in the particular trade he is studying.

(2) Typical pieces of equipment, pictured and described along with functions and critical terminology.

(3) The steps involved in the process of manufacture (nontechnical presentation) of typical items produced in the trade.

(4) The typical supervisory structures which he would most likely find in the job situation along with titles, responsibilities, and critical aspects of various job descriptions.

(*c*) *Level III, operational context training.*—After the enrollee has mastered the basic terms and relationships involved in a job area such as fire protection, construction worker, carpenter, etc., steps should be taken to have him function in the more specific context. Enrollees would work in their job work situations for a minimum of 5 to 6 hours a day when they satisfied the level III criteria. For the remaining hours of each day they would (1) perform calisthenics and competitive sports, (2) work in other job areas, (3) discuss job-related problems such as how to get along on the job, and (4) contact home community for job opportunities, etc. In the work situation itself, trainees would be assigned to already skilled persons (two trainees to one skilled person). The skills they learn are specific to the needs of current industrial production methods. The object of the vocational training would be to assure enrollees at least a level II achievement (familiarization with names, objects, functions, and supervisory structures characteristic of a semiskilled vocational area). Men who attained level II or level III could be given certificates establishing the fact which could be used by USES to certify competency in the job area; they would also receive emphasis by USES for job placement. Where the evaluation indicated competency, efforts would be made to (1) obtain jobs in adjoining

job and geographic areas, or (2) extend the training to a related job skill to provide a dual jobholding capability, or (3) increase the depth of training in the area by additional programs with greater technical and informational scope. This would provide the enrollee with a specialized high-strength area within the job area as a whole.

(*d*) *Level IV, technical skill programs.*—Reading skills represent a necessary but not a sufficient ground for employment. Men who possess adequate reading skills may be unemployable for many reasons such as:

(1) Lack of specific area of specialized knowledge and/or skills.

(2) Possession of archaic and/or obsolete skills with lack of opportunity to learn new skills.

(3) Lack of motivation for seeking employment; feelings of apprehension and general uncertainty.

(4) Inability to cope with other workers and/or supervisors in the job environment.

Thus, there are large numbers of youth who possess the basic level of literacy necessary to absorb information rapidly who nevertheless remain unemployed because of factors related to training, personality, geography, and our rapidly changing technology. We can make rapid attack in these areas as the necessary reading skills would already be available; the enrollee can move into higher level technical training which takes advantage of his existing higher literacy level.

The basic area of emphasis in these programs should be related to the ever-increasing requirement for technologists. However, clearly, those who can learn technical materials can learn level II and level III materials and could be assigned to these training areas where appropriate. The effort, however, should be (within limits) to provide opportunities for learning consistent with learner capability. Several illustrative level IV type programs follow:

TECHNICAL ELECTRICITY

A series of programs would be developed to provide understanding and skills in areas requiring comprehension of practical electrical concepts necessary for skills in both title I and title II of this act. This training would be functional in both rural and urban areas, as modern industry on the farm, the field, and in the city is largely powered by electricity. These fundamental concepts are basic to modern technology at every level and should therefore be an important training area for the Youth Conservation Corps.

*Program A, basic electricity.*—This program would be modeled on program developed for industry. Certain features would differ: (*a*) it would be more concrete and provide more work-related illustrations; (*b*) certain areas would be eliminated as they are specific to the company rather than job relevant; (*c*) certain pedagogical changes would be made to reduce time and improve comprehension. However, the program would still provide (1) progress based on demonstrated proficiency, (2) continuous evaluation, (3) internal motivational devices, (4) continuing evaluation of performance, and (5) features to provide continuing revision and improvement.

*Program B, basic electronics.*—This program would be an extension of electronics (involving diodes, triodes) of program A and would be available only to students who satisfactorily completed program A.

*Program C, basic transistors.*—This program would involve recent changes in basic theroy connected with solid-state physics (transistors and dielectrics) which would make the trainee conversant with terminology, basic concepts, circuitry, and computations.

In programs A, B, and C, the learners would be required to work on actual materials as well as perform the abstract manipulations involved in the formulas and definitions. These materials should be economical, specially designed to illustrate the points covered in the course, should be sturdy enough to take continued abuse, should be reusable, and above all, should be typical of job-related skills in the field.

The use of programatic methods should permit very rapid training. It is estimated that literate motivated trainees could complete the three programs within a 6-month period. On completion, they should be familiar with current electrical concepts, basic computations, and useful methods for adjusting and correcting typical malfunctions.

Some areas would tend to emphasize program A only; some programs A and B; in some areas it might be necessary to provide all three levels to a large proportion of trainees. The employment situation in the home community must, of course, contribute to the training which would be given.

### COMPUTER INFORMATION AND SKILLS

*Program D.*—This program would provide basic information relating to the function of computers, including the rudiments of computer logic and an overview of computer programing methods and techniques.

*Program E.*—This program would provide computer information relative to computer board-diagrams, board-wiring techniques and associated technical language, definitions, etc. Programs A, B, and C could be presented also where appropriate and necessary for enriching computer training.

### KEYBOARD AND KEYBOARD-RELATED SKILLS

*Program F.*—This is a programatic method for teaching typing based on the use of a machine developed to teach typing skills programatically. This method should be rapid, economical, and self-pacing. Equipment is now being patented and should be available shortly.

*Program G, stenographic and shorthand programs.*—These materials are readily programed and could be taught with very few instructors through tape-recording techniques synchronized with written programs. Monitors could be used to insure proper operation of the equipment, standardization of testing procedures, classroom attendance, etc.

*Program H.*—This is training in areas such as IBM key punch, typing and coding, use in accounting machines, desk computers, etc.; can also be accomplished programatically. Cooperating of manufacturers in this area of the enterprise should be sought to reduce costs of equipment and to obtain resource personnel. However, the methods used for training should be developed rather than adapted from current techniques as training methods in these areas tend to be overly elaborate, very sketchy, or sales related.

### SUMMARY

The PCVT would of course provide an ever-expanding and ever-changing body of programs. Each of these programs would be continuously tested and revised. New programs would emerge and old programs dissipate in response to changes in the job requirements through continuous evaluation of the programs and the enrollees in their home communities. The programs would evolve in the direction of increased efficiency.

Programed method is economical, direct, and suited to large-scale mass training of the type required by this act.

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph.D.,
*Director, Institute of Educational Research, Inc.*

# Appendix C

## The First Federal Failure in Prince Edward County

by Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

# The First Federal Failure in Prince Edward County

by Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

Literacy brings jobs, jobs bring rights. That formula fits snugly into the Kennedy Administration's thinking about the plight of the Negro in America. "There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job," The President said in his last civil rights message to Congress. "...A distressing number of unemployed Negroes are illiterate and unskilled,... unable to do simple computations or even to read a help-wanted advertisement." Yet, on the very day that these words filled the front pages of newspapers across the country, a decision was reached in Washington that strangled what some officials believe was one of the Administration's most exciting and promising projects to create literacy and jobs and rights. The brief life and quick death of the project is a case study of federal frustration in the field of civil rights.

The case study centers on a federal plan to do something about the 1,500 Negro children deprived of schooling in southside Virginia's Prince Edward County since 1959. That year the county's Board of Supervision, faced with a court order to desegregate its schools, decided to abolish them instead. A private school, paid for by state tuition grants, was set up for the white children, but the Negro children were left unschooled and illiterate. This action was upheld by the U.S. Circuit Count of Appeals in Richmond last August 12.

The lush, green tobacco country of Prince Edward County has become the shameful and pitiable symbol of successful Southern resistance to school integration. There are 10-year-old Negro children there who never have seen the inside of a classroom. There are Negro teen-agers who soon will be too old to leave their farms and enter a school again. Prince Edward County gnaws on the conscience of America.

In the legal wrangling over Prince Edward's abolition of the public schools, the federal government has fought at the side of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Justice Department has intervened in the case, asking for the opening of public schools, and it will join with the NAACP in appealing the latest decision of the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. But last February, President Kennedy decided far more must be done.

He and his aides were discussing the final draft of his first civil rights message to Congress when he came across a paragraph mentioning the Justice Department's intervention in the court suit. As the conference broke up, Kennedy beckoned to Burke Marshall, the Assistant Attorney General who heads the civil rights division at the Justice Department. Isn't there something else, the President asked, something direct, that the federal government can do in Prince Edward County?

Kennedy did not want a federal school system there --- almost any kind would provoke a storm in Congress. But he wanted some system of making up for lost years. He wanted a remedial instruction program that could go on even if the courts ordered the county to open its schools again. Kennedy appointed Marshall a committee of one to brainstorm the government and come up with ideas.

One memorandum, circulated among the agencies of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, explained, "The President said he did not want anything negative, only positive statements as to what can be done --- so long as it is remotely possible and legal." The memorandum said Kennedy was interested in ideas "no matter how far out they may seem. No deadline has been set," it continued, "but considering the source of the request, consider it URGENT." Similar circulars went through other departments.

The ideas flowed in. One government office suggested taking the country over as an army base and running a remedial school system for the Negro children on the post. Another proposal: build a television transmittor 80 miles south in the mountains of North Carolina and beam in a special intensified educational TV program, a sort of Radio Free Edward. The White House discarded these ideas as ingenious but impractical.

But a little more than two weeks after the White House meeting, an idea came in that seemed both ingenious and practical. Dr. Robert H. Felix, director of the Public Health Service's National Institute of Mental Health, put it forward. He proposed a federal grant to a research psychologist working with a quick, new method of teaching reading. The researcher would use the Negro children of Prince Edward County as his subjects. The grant could serve science and conscience at the same time.

Felix had Dr Myron Woolman in mind. Woolman, 46 year-old director of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, is a pioneer in the use of programmed instruction for quick, mass and inexpensive education. He had demonstrated his methods in teaching soldiers to operate Nike missiles and in teaching basic concepts of electronics to new employees of Bell Telephone Laboratories. He is patenting a teaching machine for typists and pianists. And, for some time, he has been using a grant from the NIMH to teach mentally retarded children to read. His subjects in this project include pupils at the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation School in

Washington, a school visited often by Mrs. Eunice Shriver, the President's sister.

Woolman's theories are couched in complex psychological concepts, but basically he simply believes that quick breakthroughs in education may be achieved by using programmed instruction. Programmed instruction takes the pupil out of the classroom-lecture situation and puts him in front of a workbook or a teaching machine that allows him to move forward at his own pace. He may not turn the page or flick the machine forward until he has mastered the lesson before him. When he understands point A, he is rewarded by seeing point B. Programmed instruction still is in its infancy, but, at the least, it seems to be successful in teaching the rudiments of reading, spelling, and arithmetic and in teaching a specific skill that must be learned by many students in a short time. In a society unwilling or unable to spend too much more money on education, programmed instruction has the advantage of seeming relatively inexpensive. A psychologist prepares the intricate program in the workbook or teaching machine; the program may be mass produced; an untrained person may be hired to supervise the students at the workbooks and machines. (see Spencer Klaw's "What Can We Learn From the Teaching Machines?", The Reporter, July 19, 1962)

On March 11, NIMH rushed an urgent invitation to Dr. Woolman to submit an application for a grant. In four days, he submitted a 26-page proposal. Woolman proposed a $2,500,000, 5-year exper-

iment, using his "progressive choice reading program" to teach 500 Negro illiterates in the first year. Although the proposal focused on the illiterates of Prince Edward County, Woolman actually was anxious to demonstrate that his method of programmed instruction could be used to raise the level of the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Negroes and others throughout the nation who need literacy and basic work skills. Just a few days before he submitted his proposal, Woolman had sent a statement to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on the Youth Employment Act. Woolman wrote the committee that programmed instruction could raise motivated illiterates to a fourth-grade reading level in three months in a concentrated program and that these new literates could ultimately learn basic electricity, electronics, and transistor. "Programmed method is economical, direct, and suited to large-scale mass training of the type required by this act, " Woolman said.

But the psychologist made no attempt to make this clear to the White House. He understood that his research was being used to fill a political need but had organized it to remain clear of political influences. Scientists face this kind of situation all the time in a nation where so much research is paid for by private industries and the Pentagon. Woolman has worked for both. "It is... quite possible, " he wrote in his proposal, "that the proposed project will be viewed as a disguised method of providing federal schools for Negro children..." Yet he sold his idea in just those terms that would appeal to the White House: an experiment designed to solve illiteracy in Prince Edward County. The fact that this would provide other

communities with the same capability was left to the reader.

At the same time, he felt that the psychiatrists, psychologists and other social scientists at NIMH would see a limited experiment as far more scientific than one attempting to deal with the problem of Negro job skills in America. This, too, made his stress the limited picture. Despite this, Woolman believed he had a scientific experiment that might yield results brimming with sensational implications for a government trying to deal with widespread Negro unemployment and anger.

NIMH Director Felix sent a memo to his boss, James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. "The National Institute of Mental Health," Felix wrote, "is happy to propose at this time one step that might be taken to overcome some of the effects of the educational deprivation which has occurred in the last few years in Prince Edward County. Basically, the proposal is to conduct a study in the county of a greatly improved method of teaching reading which has already been developed, partly through support of an NIMH grant." Felix wrote that Woolman's programmed methods "could conceivably overcome" illiteracy in the county and "would be a perfectly legitimate research activity." He added that the research would have "considerable significance in the field of mental health, since non-reading is related to anti-social behavior and delinquency and since severe frustration phenomena during the middle years of childhood is known to occur upon the part of non-readers."

Felix obviously was enthusiastic. The enthusiasm soon caught Quigley, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Burke Marshall, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and the President. Woolman's project wouldn't solve the whole Prince Edward County problem, they believed, but it might help a large part of the Negro children catch up. On April 18, a Special Review Committee of eminent psychiatrists and psychologists and specialists from other related disciplines descended on Woolman's cluttered office in an old row house on the edge of Georgetown and grilled him for more than an hour. They discussed the project for almost three hours and then voted unanimously to recommend an NIMH grant to Woolman.

Eight days later, under pressure from Quigley, Felix mailed ballots to the 12 members of the National Advisory Mental Health Council, the group that has the final say about disbursing NIMH's $100,000,000 research fund each year. The Council was not scheduled to meet until June 20, too late to get Woolman and his proposed 21-man crew started during the summer. The ballots came in during May. Ten approved Woolman's project, one voted against it, and the twelfth member abstained.

On may 24, NIMH told Woolman to go ahead, hire his staff, and prepare to start work in Prince Edward County by August 1, But the final authorization letter from NIMH still was not in his hands. In early June, newspapers begain printing reports about Woolman's project, and a reaction quickly set in. It had a southern accent.

First, Senator Lister Hill, D-Ala., made a polite phone call to NIMH. Hill is chairman of both the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, and his generosity to medical research over the years has given him a paternal though near absolute influence over the National Institutes of Health. Hill did not say he objected to the project. He simply asked for information.

The evident objection came instead from Herman E. Downey, the flinty Tennessean who is staff director of Hill's appropriations subcommittee. Downey read the news accounts, immediately asked NIMH for the records, and then described the project as "a prostitution of medical research."

The seeming displeasure of the subcommitte that feeds money to the National Institutes of Health began to worry officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The enthusiasm of some officials began to wane. They also started to look nervously toward another southerner, Rep. L. H. Fountain, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations. Fountain is preparing to hold hearings on how NIH grants funds to researchers. Ironically, Fountain never did make a query about the Woolman project. His staff, in fact, is first looking into the situation now. But the shadow of Fountain and his forthcoming hearings loomed large enough to shake some of the convictions in HEW.

The unease showed quickly. On June 6, just after the first news accounts appeared, one of Felix's staff members, was briefing a group of federal officials and Prince Edward County residents on the mechanics of Woolman's project. Then a messenger handed him a memo from Felix. It said that the office of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Anthony Celebreeze, had ordered NIMH to hold back the project, at least until Congress adjourned for the year. Celebreeze's information officer, Harold Levy, has since denied that the Secretary himself issued the order. But, whoever was responsible, the order seemed to have Celebreeze working at cross purposes from the White House.

Some days later Mike Gorman, a member of the Advisory Council who had voted for Woolman's project, wrote a formal request for full reconsideration of the mail balloting. Gorman, a veteran of appropiration battling on mental health, is head of the National Committee Against Mental Illness. For years, he has been publicizing the crisis in mental health and promoting appropriations and donations of funds to meet it. The work has made him an intimate of the congressman who appropirate funds for mental health.

The Council met for its regular June 20 session in a conference room in "The Stone House," an aging cottage on the campus of NIH in Bethesda, Md. Ironically, it was the day after President Kennedy sent his last civil rights message to Congress, a message calling for the most sweeping civil rights bill since Reconstruction Days. The psychiatrists, psychologists and social scientists on the Council clearly had changed their earlier views.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this change came only under the pressure of southern congressmen. Part of the change could be attributed to a growing resentment among the members toward another kind of pressure. Many of the Council members felt they had voted for Woolman's project originally under political pressure from the White House.

"We're a bunch of liberals, said one member. "We were for this thing as citizens. As scientists, we were not." There seemed to be a growing number of questions as to the strict scientific validity of the project. At the meeting, Gorman lashed a scathing attack against it. He said the project had been hastily and improperly drawn "under the gun" of the White House. He said it was not relevant to the mission of NIMH, and he expressed doubts about Woolman's experience and qualifications to run it. Two other members spoke out and supported Gorman. No one mentioned the appropriations subcommittee, but the name of Fountain was brought up. Oddly, in view of the earlier, almost breathless enthusiasm, no one from NIMH arose to defend Woolman

and the project. The Council, which had voted 10 to one with one abstention for the project by mail, decided to vote unanimously against in in person. Woolman and his programmed instruction would not be used in Prince Edward County.

"It's true that we were vulnerable," said a Kennedy Administration official who followed the episode closely, "and that makes it hard to argue with the contention that our scheme was non-scientific. But I think the moral of this mess is that some people, when the chips are down, have a greater loyalty to the appropriations committees than they do to the President of the United States." The moral of this mess, however, actually may be somewhat more complicated.

For one thing, the White House, while worrying about Prince Edward County, failed to see any of the broader implications of Woolman's research. No attempt was made to push the project as a real experiment that might help the problem of Negro unemployment throughout the nation. The White House saw the project as a disguised way of helping the county and pressured for it on these grounds. In doing so, the White House feel into a trap and found itself defeated by science, not segregation. This criticism, of course, is easy to make with hindsight. Woolman and NIMH actually sold the project as a cure for Prince Edward County. That's all the White House was looking for, and its search was sincere and commendable. It may be unfair --- though accurate --- to accuse the White House of not seeing the forest for the trees. At the

same time, it would seem that the White House was just as guilty as HEW in backing away from congressional pressure. The incident, at the least, shows a lack of coordination between the White House and Celebreeze.

One of the most troublesome questions is whether the episode actually resulted in setting back the whole cause of using programmed instruction to wipe out Negro illiteracy and unemployment. It is not easy to answer. Certainly the opportunity to demonstrate the method in a dramatic laboratory has been lost. But there still is some evidence that the publicity about the incident may have given programmed instruction a boost in some circles of the federal government.

The rejection of the project did not end the Administration's search for a way to help the Negroes in the county. In early August, William van den Heuvel, an assistant to Attorney General Kennedy, worked out a plan with Negro and Virginia officials for a privately-financed school system to open in Prince Edward County in September. Full details of the remedial program have not been announced, but the schools may be staffed with some psychologists. If so, a bit of programmed instruction surely may enter the curriculum.

Woolman does not believe he has suffered any crushing defeat. The Demonstration Review Panel of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency has recommened that a grant be made to try out his methods with a few hundred children in the Washington school system. An expert in the programmed instruction field puts the Woolman situation this way: "He's probably a little punchy about what happened to him. But he really hasn't been hurt by it. His ideas have received a lot of exposure now. And he is a very talented fellow."

Nevertheless, the government has lost a unique chance to see if programmed instruction can be used to raise the work skills of culturally-deprived people. There are a few other experiments in progress. Woolman's work in the Washington schools will be one of them. Mobilization for Youth, another project of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, is using some programmed instruction in its project on the east side of Manhattan. Some work has been done in prisons and correctional institutions. A few other projects are ready to get going. But none have the advantage that Woolman would have had: a chance to work in the public spotlight with 500 Negro illiterates in one compact area.

All signs, however, show that federal job training has programmed instruction in its future, although officials don't see it as any panacea. Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Department of Labor's Office of Automation, Manpower and Training, says "We haven't used programmed instruction up to not, but we will very soon. There are oodles of companies in this field, and we

are asking HEW to check on them for us. I've been travelling about the country and looking at the material. Some of it looks pretty good. It looks like it can be used to raise the literacy and basic work skills of Negroes and others so they will be ready for technical training. Teachers are in such short supply that we have to look for something like this."

The need for these basic skills is increasing as the economy demands more and more skilled workers and the schools produce more and more dropouts. This foreshadows a mad, dangerous crisis of mass unemployment at the bottom of the economy and a critical need for skilled manpower at the top. "There are hundreds of thousands of Negroes without a fourth-grade education," Wolfbein says. "We find that we can't even train them to be gas station attendants. We worked with one company and found that 40 per cent of its business involved credit cards. Trainees have to know how to read and to add decimals. It takes more than just manning a pump. That's where programmed instruction could help, teaching the basic literacy and arithmetic."

These views are seconded by Dr. Hyman Frankel, the co-ordinator of training for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. "Unfortunately not much is being done right now," he says. "We really are at the very beginning. There has been a lot of thinking about programmed instruction. We don't believe it is the key to the problem of job skills, but it has tremendous possibilities. Of course, there has been a lot of resistance to it by traditional educators . But we are going to move with much more acceleration now."

The comments by Wolfbein and Frankel may be the key to the episode. No one knows whether programmed instruction really can do the job of uplifting the skills of illiterates. But its possibilities for literacy and job skills seem too attractive for the bureaucratic machinations over Woolman and Prince Edward County to hold it back very long, if at all.

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Southern Regional Council
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATLANTA and WASHINGTON

# RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

*By*
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# Racial Differences in Academic Achievement

The problem of the differences in academic achievement between white and Negro pupils is one that is too important to leave to hearsay. Fortunately, there is a growing store of factual information that bears upon this question, and it is the purpose of this report to review the findings of two prominent school systems relative to the problem.

The first analysis concerns the Atlanta public schools and the second the Washington, D.C. system. Atlanta has made a notable attempt to get at the differences between the achievement of Negro and white pupils in a segregated system by using an outside agency to set up and carry out a comprehensive survey. The Washington school system has completed five years under an integrated set-up, and is in its sixth year under such a program; it, therefore, provides a good example of what may happen to scholastic standards with integration. The fact that in the District of Columbia schools there is an exceptionally large proportion of Negro pupils makes the findings of considerable interest.

# The Atlanta Study

In August of 1955 the Atlanta Board of Education adopted a resolution in response to petitions filed for desegregation of the schools. This resolution charged the Superintendent with the responsibility of finding out differences between white and Negro pupils in achievement.

At a subsequent meeting of the Board it was decided that the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, should be employed to conduct a survey of the schools. The resolution emphasized that the survey should be entirely one of fact finding, and was not to be one recommending procedure for desegregation.

The testing of pupils, and the scoring and processing of the test results were to be entirely in the hands of the Educational Testing Service. This testing was accomplished during the first three weeks of January, 1956. All pupils in the 4th and 6th grades of all regular elementary schools (66 white and 31 Negro schools) were given the Stanford Achievement Test in reading and arithmetic. All pupils in the 8th grade of the regular high schools (13 white and 4 Negro schools) were given the Iowa Every-Pupil Test in arithmetic. All pupils in the 12th grades of these same schools were given the Essential High School Content Battery.

The large numbers of pupils tested gives added significance to the test results from the Atlanta survey. There were, in round numbers, 6,500 4th graders, 6,000 pupils in grades 6 and 8 and 3,000 in grade 12.

Before summarizing the results, it is necessary to say a word about testing methods.

In measuring pupil achievement, "grade scores" are used. A grade score of 4.0 is the middle score made by a national sample of pupils at the time they enter the 4th grade and, similarly, a score of 5.0 or 6.0 represents the middle score of the national sample of pupils at the time of entering grades 5 and 6 respectively. A score of 4.5 represents the middle score of the national sample at the mid-point of the 4th grade and a change of one decimal unit in the score indicates approximately a month's change in achievement.

A word of caution, however, needs to be added whenever reference is made to a grade norm. Such a norm by definition is the point below which 50% fell and above which 50% of the scores rose. Another way of saying the same thing is that on any properly standardized test, half of all the pupils in the country would fall below the grade norm and half would be above it; half of the students tested will always score, in other words, "below average." It is therefore essential that any serious analysis of differences in academic accomplishment show not only comparisons in terms of grade score, but also show the spread of these scores and the degree of overlapping of the two groups being compared. This was done with admirable precision in the Atlanta survey. The spread of scores is expressed in terms of the percentage of pupils making scores above or below a particular point in the scale. Overlapping is also expressed in a percent. This percentage describes the portion of white pupils whose scores were equaled by Negro pupils or vice versa.

Now, what did the Atlanta survey show?

*First,* as the report states, the most significant fact revealed is that the achievement differences *within* the white and Negro groups were greater than the differences *between* the two racial groups. This was true at all levels; it showed up most sharply in 6th grade reading where white pupils were per-

forming anywhere from four grades *below* to five grades *above* their own grade; this meant a range of *nine grades*. Similarly, substantial numbers of Negro pupils were reading anywhere from five years below to two years above their grade level, a range of seven grades. This may appear startling to anyone not familiar with the results of testing, but actually it is typical.

As Walter W. Cook reported in his article, "Individual Differences and Curriculum Practice," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1948) 39:141:

> "When the educational achievement of a typical 6th grade class is measured, we find a range of approximately 8 years in reading comprehension, vocabulary, arithmetic reasoning, arithmetic computation, the mechanics of English and other forms of achievement."

In a school by school comparison, similar differences are shown. Looking only at the white schools, the school with the highest average achievement in reading at the 6th grade level showed a median of 8.5, while the white school with the lowest average achievement had a median score of 3.8. Among Negro schools, the highest 6th grade median was 4.4 and the lowest 2.6.

These scores will have for professional educators implications for the future development and potential of a desegregated system. Interpreting them strictly on the surface, we see four apparent facts:

—if Atlanta is more or less typical, an integrated school system would have, at the start, a wider range of student achievement than is the case in either of the segregated systems;

—the achievement levels of an integrated system would, at the start, be weighted downward as compared with the present white system;

—the spread of achievement levels in an integrated system would, at the start, be greater than in the present white system, but not much greater: in 6th grade reading, for example, a range of ten grades instead of nine as at present;

—substantial numbers of Negro students would be *above* average.

*Second,* there were students of superior achievement of both races, although proportionately more were found among white pupils than among Negroes. At the various grade levels, from 40% to 60% of white pupils met the standard set by the top half of the national sample, while from 2% to 10% of Negro pupils did so. But it should not be overlooked that the figures show that on most tests less than half of Atlanta's white students in 1956 were up to the national medians.

*Third,* the overlap between white and Negro students was considerable. On the tests at all levels, the scores of approximately 35% to 65% of the white students were matched by those of 35% to 65% of the Negro students. This would indicate that roughly half of the white and Negro students are about equal in achievement.

*Fourth,* a few Negro elementary schools showed higher averages than did some white schools.

*Fifth,* the survey re-enforced earlier studies which showed that the farther one moves up the educational ladder in a segregated system, the greater are the achievement differences of white and Negro pupils. This progressively widening difference has probably a two-fold meaning. In the first place, it has been repeatedly shown that irrespective of race the range of individual differences in achievement gets broader as one ascends through the grade levels. Second, differences in academic achievement are related to socio-economic background regardless of race, and these differences would seem to have a progressively retarding effect on achievement. Since more Negro pupils are so handicapped in terms of background, they show up less favorably than the total white group.

These findings revealed in the Atlanta survey contribute concrete evidence as to the kinds of academic problems which need to be dealt with by any school system contemplating the possibility of school desegregation.

# The Washington Experience

Now let us turn our attention to a system which effected integration when faced with such problems.

Immediately after the May 17, 1954, ruling by the Supreme Court, the Washington schools entered the spotlight of national concern. With specific reference to the District of Columbia that decision flatly stated that, "Segregation in public education is not reasonably related to any proper governmental objective and thus it imposes on Negro children of the District of Columbia a burden that constitutes an arbitrary deprivation of their liberty in violation of the due process clause."

Had this ruling come at any time prior to the date of its issuance it would have posed a serious problem. But coming when it did, it found the Washington schools already engulfed in serious difficulties.

First, our nation's capital city had experienced a shift in racial population patterns which began many years prior to the segregation ruling. At the end of World War II the ratio of white pupils to Negroes in the Washington schools was 50,000 to 39,000. By 1950 the Negro pupils were in the majority and by 1958, 74% of the pupils enrolled in the schools were Negro.

Much of the enrollment increase was caused by migration of new families to the District. It might be of interest in passing to mention the origin of this influx. In a recent survey it was found that the 6,000 Negro pupils who had transferred to Washington schools in a given year came from 47 states; 45% were from the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

Second, the District of Columbia school system was attempting to meet the problem of an increased total pupil load and a mounting Negro majority with out-moded administrative machinery, a serious shortage of classrooms and teachers, and a glaringly unrealistic program for maintaining overall scholastic standards.

As far back as 1946 about 7,000 Washington pupils were on half-sessions in double-shift schools. Of this number more than 6,000 were Negroes. In 1948 a survey ordered by the Senate and House District Appropriations Subcommittees revealed that 18% of the classes in white grade schools and 40% of those in Negro schools had in excess of 40 pupils.

That there was unequal financing is attested by the survey made in 1954 by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This survey revealed that the expenditure for each white pupil was $240.27, and that for each Negro pupil was $186.71.

Perhaps the greatest handicap of all to a system facing a rapidly changing racial population pattern was the dual system of administration and supervision. Under that system there were first-assistant superintendents, one Negro and one white.

In the case of the Negro schools, the first-assistant superintendent was by law in sole charge of their administration. This line of demarcation in administration and supervision was carried all the way down. For example, there were two city-wide heads of the Department of English, one for white and one for Negro schools.

Separate testing programs were maintained for Negro and white schools, and in general each organization operated as though there were no common obligations to be discharged.

It is not surprising that as a consequence separate academic standards obtained for Negro and white pupils. For example, in 1953, prior to integration, the median grade equivalent in reading for the 6th grade in the white schools was 7.2. In 1954 when test results for all 6th graders, Negro and white, were reported together, *for the first time,* the average was substantially lower at 4.9. This did not represent a loss by the whites but merely reflected the fact that the Negro pupils, who constituted over 60% of those tested, were considerably below the whites and thus brought the median score down.

How long such a cumbersome and unrealistic plan of organization would have continued in the face of the mounting needs is a matter of conjecture. The Supreme Court's ruling was taken as the occasion for making changes that were already past due.

The Superintendent's plan to implement the Board's policy was approved by that body on June 2, 1954. It provided for extensive desegregation by the following September. A subsequent plan provided for staff reorganization to unify the school system. One assistant superintendent assumed charge of all senior high schools, another of all junior high schools, still another of all elementary schools and a fourth was placed over all vocational high schools and adult education.

The Negro and white supervisory staffs were unified under the direction of a deputy superintendent. A uniform testing program was adopted, and in 1956 there was introduced into the 10th grade the track system of ability grouping. Each year thereafter another grade was added to the track plan until the three years of senior high school had been included.*

Further changes in the instructional program designed to raise academic standards included special summer remedial reading classes, a reading clinic, and increased pupil services to the physically, emotionally, and mentally handicapped. The teaching load at the elementary level was reduced, and there was a reemphasis on thorough teaching.

*This extensive revamping of the Washington schools, long advocated by the administrators of the system, came about through an aroused citizenry cooperating with the School Board and the staff in a determined effort to make sure that under integration not only would academic standards be main-*

*The track system has now been extended to the junior high and elementary grades.

*tained but actually raised. It was the added hope of all these people that juvenile delinquency and other social ills might be favorably affected through this extended cooperative community effort.*

What are the facts as to the academic standards in the schools of the District of Columbia, now that this program has been in effect over five full years?

The year 1955-56 was the first time that white and Negro pupils were included in the same testing program. With a school population composed of more than 60% Negro pupils, the median scores were below national norms. The gauge that is significant in measuring the effectiveness of the program undertaken is the amount of improvement that has taken place since 1955-56.

*From the time the first city-wide testing program became operative in 1955-56 to the time for the 1958-59 tests a gain was made in the median achievement of every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.*

The 1958-59 tests showed the 6th grade medians to be at or above national norms in five out of six sections of the test battery.

By this same year the 3rd graders were within either three or four months of the national norm in all subjects tested, and the average rise in these subjects over the 1955-56 figures was seven months.

During this period of improvement the percentage of Negro pupils increased sharply. In grade three, for example, it rose from 66.3% in 1955-56 to 79.1% in 1958-59, and at the 6th grade level the percentage rose from 63.9 to 75.6.

Thus, academic achievement rose at the same time as the proportion of Negro students rapidly increased.

Reading is usually considered the subject where the handicap of a meager background might show up most disadvantageously and particularly is this true in reading comprehension, often referred to as "paragraph meaning."

On this phase of the test there was at the 8th grade an improvement between 1955-56 and 1958-59 of eleven months, with the median rising to only two months below the national norm. For grades 3 and 6, the improvement was eight months. Fifth graders showed a six-month gain, and 9th graders scored a gain of five months.

Word-meaning, another phase of the reading test, showed gains ranging from three months for 5th graders to six months at grade levels 3 and 6.

In arithmetic reasoning, which is mostly problem solving and calls for considerable reading competence, a gain of eleven months was made at the 9th grade level with gains of nine, eight, five, and three months in grades 6, 3, 8, and 5 respectively.

Language, another background-related subject, showed a six-month gain at the 6th grade level, and a three-month gain at the 5th grade level. These were the only levels where comparable language tests were given.

One change made in the high schools was the adoption of a multiple-track system of ability grouping. Among other objectives it was believed that this would be a means of ensuring that the more capable pupils would not be neglected. A comparison was made of scores on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development by 275 top graduates in 1958 who were not in the Four-Track Program, and 275 top honors students in 1959 who were.

Results of these tests show that the median score in Natural Sciences rose from the 80th percentile to the 86th; in Correctness of Expression, from the 91st to the 96th percentile; and in Quantitative Thinking, from the 85th to the 90th percentile. Comparable improvement was shown in the verbal section of the College Entrance Board Examinations.

These figures furnish substantial evidence that these top students have profited by the opportunities provided them. They demonstrate further that integration has not reduced the capacity of Washington schools to produce students of the highest quality.

*The most encouraging trend in social improvement has been reduction in the delinquency rate of nonwhite children between the ages of five and seventeen. This dropped from 37.1 per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 in 1958. While it cannot be claimed that school integration brought this about, it can certainly be said that integration did not result in an increased delinquency rate among non-whites. Nor did it adversely affect the rate of white delinquency, which fell slightly from 15.3 to 15.2.*

Another more direct indication of a school system's effectiveness is the drop-out rate among students after they pass the compulsory school attendance age. The greatest loss usually occurs between grades 9 and 10, the point where youngsters enter senior high school. In 1956, 18% of the white and 35% of the Negro pupils left school at this point. In 1957, the percentages had dropped to 14 for whites and 27 for Negroes.

In summarizing the evidence as to what has taken place scholastically in the Washington schools, it is safe to state that during the five years completed under an integrated program, accompanied by an extensive reorganization and a reemphasis on adequate provision for instruction, steady progress in academic standards has been made.

# Conclusions

The following observations summarize the findings from the studies of the Atlanta and Washington school systems.

1. The Atlanta survey reasserted two well-known facts which are basic to all educational plans seeking to preserve and improve educational standards: that differences in individual achievement are very marked; and that differences *within* any racial group are greater than differences *between* groups.
2. Both the Atlanta study and that of the Washington schools revealed that under a segregated plan, proportionately more of the white pupils than Negro pupils met standards set by the top 50% of the national test group.
3. The Atlanta study showed that the overlap in the achievement of the white and Negro groups was very considerable; that between 35%-65% of the scores made by white pupils were matched by a corresponding percentage of the scores of Negro pupils. Overlap occurred not only with individual scores but there were some Negro schools whose median scores exceeded those of some white schools.
4. The Atlanta study showed that in a segregated system the racial differences in achievement were more pronounced in the higher grades than in the beginning grades. However, it should be remembered that in *any* kind of school set-up, it is typical that the *range* of scores increases as pupils advance from grade to grade.
5. The Washington study showed that during the five years following integration, marked progress has been made in academic achievement. From the time the first city-wide tests were given in 1955-56 to the time when the 1958-59 tests took place, a gain was made in the median score for every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given. The tests results show pronounced gains in reading and such reading-related areas as arithmetic reasoning and language.
6. The Washington study shows that with the introduction of the Four-Track system, 275 top students under this program achieved percentile scores well ahead of a comparable group of students from the last class that was not under the Track program. This program was introduced as one means of raising standards for the top students.
7. Data collected by community agencies and by the school system itself show that integration was accompanied by a definite decrease in incidences of juvenile delinquency among the non-whites, and a reduction in drop-outs between the 9th and 10th grades for both racial groups.

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Schools

## DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Several states have enacted pupil placement laws that are more or less copies of the Alabama law of 1955. These laws establish a series of criteria by which the assignment of students to their schools is to be made. The obvious and usually admitted purpose is to make difficult the entrance of a Negro into a white school.

In applying at least two of the criteria, school administrators can rely on something more than fears and guess-work. They can draw on the experience of Southern and border school districts which have desegregated in recent years.

These two criteria provide that, in assigning pupils, the school boards shall consider:

-the effect of admission of the pupil upon the academic progress of other students in a particular school or facility thereof;

-the effect of admission upon prevailing academic standards at a particular school.

These criteria are found in the placement laws of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Texas. They are in the desegregation plan of the city of Atlanta, which has the approval of federal district court. Similar language is used in the placement law of Florida.

In March, 1959, administrators of 17 desegregated school systems participated in a conference held at Nashville before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Twelve of them spoke to the question of the effect of desegregation on academic standards and on the white students; their remarks are reproduced below. The superintendents of Greensboro (N.C.), Clinton (Tenn.), Talbot County (Md.), San Angelo (Tex.), and Pinal County (Ariz.) did not comment specifically on the subject; the general tenor of the statements of the last two, however, clearly suggests that no adverse scholastic results have accompanied desegregation.

Not one of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question reported that desegregation had harmed the academic progress of white students, or had lowered academic standards.

1. From the testimony of Dr. Ward I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Del. (pages 77, 158*):

Question: ...do you have any observations with reference to the quality of the work done by the white pupils in the same schools? Are they doing less well than they did before the Negroes moved in in large numbers?

Dr. Miller: Well, we have, as I say, over the last 4 years developed our grouping program to a point where we classify our youngsters according to performance and scholastic achievement, and those standards are set for each particular track on which the youngsters run. The accomplishment of the average white student is better than it was. The accomplishment of the above average and the advanced placement and honor classes is truly remarkable...

Question: In other words, what you are saying is that there has been no diminution of quality resulting from this integration.

Dr. Miller: We feel it is better.

Later in the conference, Dr. Miller remarked:

Dr. Carmichael, your experience with reference to the improvement in academic achievement of the pupils since integration went into effect is similar to that we experienced in Wilmington. We would like to think that this had very little relation to integration but more to the beginning of results of a definite drive to improve instruction on all levels, of teacher workshops, of improvement in method, improved supervision, improved all along the line in our instructional program.

2. From the testimony of R. B. Piper, Superintendent of Schools, Logan County, Ky. (page 184):

Question: Have you noticed any decrease in the quality of the performance of white students since the--

Mr. Piper: No, sir. Our testing program doesn't indicate anything of that type.

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* Page numbers refer to the Commission's printed transcript.

3. From the testimony of William Henry Oliver, Superintendent of Schools, Nashville, Tenn. (pages 88, 92):

> ...Our children are all in school, and are, we believe, achieving normal success in their studies...
>
> * * *
>
> ...I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together.

Mr. Oliver has permitted the quotation of the following, from a letter of January 8, 1960:

> Although my opinion is not based very largely on objective tests, I do not think that desegregation has affected the scholastic performance of white children in our schools, nor do I think that desegregation has required any lowering of our academic standards. This opinion is based on information secured by the various methods available to me as Superintendent.
>
> Please bear in mind that we have desegregated only the first three grades and that we have mixed with our white children at the present time only about forty-five Negro students altogether and that these are scattered among nine different schools.

4. From the written statement of Dr. John H. Fischer, the then Superintendent of Schools, Baltimore, Md. (pages 149, 150):

> We are frequently asked what effect integration has had upon academic standards. The answer is that academic standards are not changed in any school merely by the presence of a second race. The requirements for an honor's diploma or for a passing grade on an examination are not altered by integration. The tests of successful performance in courses in the skilled trades are the same whether the trade is being learned by a white boy or a colored boy. A child's standing on a nationally standardized reading test is determined not by his race but by his ability and background. Desegregation has no more effect on academic standards than it has on the yardstick by which a pupil's height is measured.
>
> What does happen, of course, is that as white and Negro children of poorer social, economic,

and cultural backgrounds enter a school the average achievement for the school as a whole has declined. But those individual children who are capable of outstanding work continue to perform at a high level...

As more and more of the families of stronger cultural background have moved to the suburbs and have been replaced in many cases by others that have known few advantages, the problems of the schools have naturally increased. This change in the schools reflects the change in the families now forming a growing fraction of our population. It is felt whether the children attend all white, all Negro, or integrated schools.

...There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.

5. From the testimony of Dr. Jack F. Parker, Principal of Webster Junior High School, Oklahoma City, Okla. (page 98):

Question: Do you have any observations with reference to the quality of the work being done by the Negro students that are now in white schools or on the other side, the quality of the work done by the white students in the schools where there are now Negro students as compared to before?

Dr. Parker: Yes...We have had the same experiences that have been indicated heretofore; that is, that the Negro pupils are more concentrated in the lower ability levels.

However, we feel that in our school in particular, where there has been a very great change in the student population during this 4-year period, that we adjusted rather well. We feel that we do maintain different ability groups, and we feel that the standards so far as achievement is concerned have been maintained.

6. From the testimony of the late Dr. Omer Carmichael, Superintendent of Schools, Louisville, Ky. (pages 154, 155-6, 158):

Question: ...Do you have any observations with reference to the average quality of performance of either the Negroes or the whites after they move from the separated into the desegregated schools?

Dr. Carmichael: ...Now, you asked, if I got your question, in the desegregation what, if any, changes we have observed. It happens that one of our principals on sabbatical leave last year wrote a doctor's thesis on what happens to scholarship or to achievement of pupils in a school system in the process of desegregating. His findings can be summarized in about this statement, that there was definite improvement in the 2-year period in the achievement of both races. The achievement of the Negro children increased markedly more than did the achievement of the white children. ...there was certainly improvement, and it is statistically significant for the Negro at all levels, and the white did not suffer. The white slightly improved, but not as much as the Negro.

* * *

Question: ...you speak of the improvement of achievement in the whites in those integrated schools. You do not attribute that to integration.

Dr. Carmichael: The improvement of the white is very slight. It is hardly--it is not statistically significant.

Question: Did the whites make similar improvement in their segregated school?

Dr. Carmichael: Yes.

Question: So you would not attribute this improvement to the integration.

Dr. Carmichael: I would not attribute the improvement in case of the white to it.

* * *

At a later point, Dr. Carmichael remarked: "...there was improvement in the schools that were biracial, there was improvement in the all-Negro schools, there was improvement in the all-white schools. We were concentrating on our problem, we were doing the job a little better than we had ever

done it before. It was all around improvement, but as far as we can tell, integration did not reduce it greatly, and it helped it for the Negro children who had the integrated experience, apparently."

7. From the written statement of David M. Green, Superintendent of Schools, Dover, Del. (page 166):

The scholastic standards of the Dover High School have not been lowered by the admission of Negro pupils.

8. From the testimony of Dr. Rex M. Smith, Assistant State Superintendent of Schools, West Virginia (pages 119-20):

Question: ...Do you have any comments or observations...as to whether or not there has been any reduction in the quality of the program for the white students...?

Dr. Smith: ...No; we haven't. That again goes back to the matter of keeping records in the various schools and the counties, and our records would not indicate--that is, grades of white youngsters versus grades of Negro youngsters--but in the overall program, that is, taking the records as a whole, there isn't any evidence that the record has gone down.

I would say it is a normal rise as we are hoping from year to year. I could not identify Negro versus white records. We just don't have them...

9. From the testimony of Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C. (pages 57,60,61):

In 1954, which was the first year of integration, all six grades made a median score of 4.9 in the paragraph meaning in the Stanford achievement test against a national norm of 6.6. This obviously is far below standard. In 1953 the white sixth grades made a median score of 7.2 on the progress reading test.

At once the charge was made that the desegregation lowered school standards. What really happened was that we began to report achievement record scores for the entire school system. The method of reporting had changed, not the facts.

* * *

Question: The integration of the Washington school system has had a good deal of publicity in the national press and the news magazines and so forth, and I think that a general impression has gained wide acceptance that there has been a substantial deterioration in the quality of the instruction in your schools. I take it you don't believe that is true.

Dr. Hansen: That is a conclusion that is founded, as I said in the first part of my presentation, upon misinterpretation of the facts. What we are showing is that we can improve overall standards, and this we have been able to do since 1954, and what we need to emphasize over and over again is that up to 1954 we were reporting achievement tests only in the white schools. For some reasons or another we neglected doing a similar type of survey testing in Negro schools.

* * *

Question: And it is your conviction that the quality of the education that you are now offering in the Washington school system to these bright youngsters at the top is at least equal to what you had prior to 1954.

Dr. Hansen: I think it is better...

10.* From the testimony of Charles L. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Hobbs, N. Mex. (page 14):

Question: [There] is a common statement that is made, that it has the result of reducing the quality of the total program, so that the white children are disadvantaged somewhat, too. Do you have any comment on that?

Mr. Mills: I don't think the percentage in our situation has been large enough to have hurt the quality of the total program overall. I think that if it were larger, it would pull it down maybe, but in our case, no.

11. From the testimony of Claude C. Harris, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Muskogee, Okla. (page 33):

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* The last three statements indicate doubts about the future effects of desegregation; none of the three, however, reports any bad effects in experience to date.

Question: You have already commented that some of the Negroes have been very good students, and I take it that there are not enough Negroes in the schools so that you feel that they would in any way adversely affect the academic standards.

Mr. Harris: To say the /majority/* is so great that they are not affected.

12. From the testimony of Dr. Hugh Bryan, Superintendent of Schools, Leavenworth, Kans. (page 24):

Question: Do you have any feeling that the desegregation that you have now in effect has hampered or lowered the standards that you are able to maintain for your white students? Has it had any harmful effect on the quality of the programs being offered?

Dr. Bryan: No; I would say that it has not; possibly for several reasons. We have a small integration. According to my figures we have 140 in a student population--well, we have 140 Negro students attending integrated schools. One hundred of those are in the high school, which leaves only 40 of them which are distributed over the junior high and 4 rather large elementary schools. The largest number in any elementary school is 12.

* The transcript reads "minority," which would seem to be a typographical error.

Report L-23A, Revised
September 22, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W., Rm.201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

# DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which have desegregated since 1935 (when the University of Maryland admitted a Negro to its Law School). Most of these institutions did not desegregate until after 1948, and the majority of them have been added to this list within the past two years. A few of them still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro student has yet been enrolled, but statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race.

| ALABAMA | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Spring Hill College, Mobile | Roman Catholic |
| **ARKANSAS** | |
| Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights | State |
| Arkansas College, Batesville | Presbyterian |
| Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville | State |
| Arkansas State College, State College | State |
| Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway | State |
| College of the Ozarks, Clarksville | Presbyterian |
| Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia | State |
| Southern State College, Magnolia | State |
| University of Arkansas, Fayetteville | State |
| **DELAWARE** | |
| University of Delaware, Newark | State |
| **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** | |
| American University | Methodist |
| Catholic University of America | Roman Catholic |
| District of Columbia Teachers College (merger of Wilson Teachers College and Minor Teachers College) | Municipal |

* The list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

| DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CONTINUED | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Dunbarton College of Holy Cross | Roman Catholic |
| George Washington University | Private |
| Georgetown University | Roman Catholic |
| Georgetown Visitation Junior College | Roman Catholic |
| Immaculata Junior College | Roman Catholic |
| Trinity College | Roman Catholic |
| **FLORIDA** | |
| Barry College, Miami | Roman Catholic |
| Dade County Junior College, Dade County | State |
| St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg | County |
| University of Florida, Gainesville | State |
| University of Miami, Coral Gables | Private |
| University of South Florida, Tampa | State |
| **GEORGIA** | |
| Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur | Presbyterian |
| Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta | State |
| University of Georgia, Athens | State |
| **KENTUCKY** | |
| Asbury College, Wilmore | Private |
| Ashland Junior College, Ashland | Municipal |
| Bellarmine College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Bethel College, Hopkinsville | Southern Baptist |
| Brescia College, Owensboro | Roman Catholic |
| Berea College, Berea | Private |
| Centre College of Kentucky, Danville | Presbyterian |
| The College of the Bible, Lexington | Disciples of/ |
| Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond | State Christ |
| Georgetown College, Georgetown | Southern Baptist |
| Lees Junior College, Jackson | Presbyterian |
| Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary | Presbyterian |
| Morehead State College, Morehead | State |
| Murray State College, Murray | State |
| Nazareth College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Paducah Junior College, Paducah | Municipal |
| Pikesville Junior College, Pikesville | Presbyterian |
| Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville | Southern Baptist |
| Union College, Barbourville | Methodist |
| University of Louisville, Louisville | Municipal |
| University of Kentucky, Lexington | State |
| Ursuline College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Villa Madonna College, Covington | Roman Catholic |
| Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green | State |
| **LOUISIANA** | |
| John McNeese State College, Lake Charles | State |

| LOUISIANA, CONTINUED | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette | Roman Catholic |
| Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge | State |
| Louisiana State University at New Orleans | State |
| Loyola University, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary | Southern Baptist |
| Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond | State |
| University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette | State |

MARYLAND

| | |
|---|---|
| Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore | YMCA |
| Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore | City |
| College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| Goucher College, Baltimore | Private |
| Charles County Junior College, La Plata | County |
| Catonsville Community College, Catonsville | County |
| Essex Community College, Essex | County |
| Frederick Community College, Frederick | County |
| Harford Junior College, Bel Air | County |
| Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park | County |
| Prince George's Community College, Suitland | County |
| Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown | County |
| Hood College, Frederick | Private |
| Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore | Private |
| Loyola College, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| The Maryland Institute, Baltimore | Private |
| Mt. St. Agnes College, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg | Roman Catholic |
| Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore | Private |
| St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg | Roman Catholic |
| St. John's College, Annapolis | Private |
| St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City | State |
| State Teachers College, Frostburg | State |
| State Teachers College, Salisbury | State |
| State Teachers College, Towson | State |
| United States Naval Academy, Annapolis | National |
| University of Maryland, College Park & Baltimore Divisions | State |
| Washington College, Chestertown | Private |
| Western Maryland College, Westminster | Methodist |

MISSOURI

| | |
|---|---|
| Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg | State |
| Culver-Stockton College, Canton | Disciples of Christ |
| Harris Teachers College, St. Louis | Municipal |
| Joplin Junior College, Joplin | District |
| Junior College of Kansas City | Municipal |
| Junior College of Flat River | Municipal |
| Moberly Junior College, Moberly | Municipal |
| Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville | State |

| MISSOURI, CONTINUED | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Northwest Missouri State Teachers College, Maryville | State |
| Park College, Parkville | Presbyterian |
| St. Louis University, St. Louis | Roman Catholic |
| St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph | Municipal |
| Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau | State |
| Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield | State |
| Trenton Junior College, Trenton | Municipal |
| University of Kansas City | Private |
| University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions | State |
| Washington University, St. Louis | Private |
| Webster College, Webster Groves | Roman Catholic |
| Westminster College, Fulton | Presbyterian |
| **NORTH CAROLINA** | |
| Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville | Municipal-County |
| Belmont Abbey College, Belmont | Roman Catholic |
| Black Mountain College, Black Mountain | Private |
| Charlotte Community College, Charlotte | Municipal |
| Duke University, Durham | Private |
| Mars Hill College, Mars Hill | Southern Baptist |
| North Carolina State College, Raleigh | State |
| Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer | Methodist |
| Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont | Roman Catholic |
| Southeastern Theological Seminary, Wake Forest | Southern Baptist |
| University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill | State |
| Wake Forest, Winston-Salem (graduate school only) | Southern Baptist |
| Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa | Presbyterian |
| Western Carolina College, Cullowhee | State |
| Woman's College of University of North Carolina, Greensboro | State |
| **OKLAHOMA** | |
| Altus Junior College, Altus | District |
| Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton | State |
| Central State College, Edmond | State |
| Conners State Agricultural College, Warner | State |
| East Central State College, Ada | State |
| Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton | State |
| El Reno Junior College, El Reno | District |
| Murray State Agricultural College, Tishomingo | State |
| Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee | Municipal |
| Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami | State |
| Northeastern State College, Tahlequah | State |
| Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa | State |
| Northwestern State College, Alva | State |
| Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee | Southern Baptist |
| Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City | Private |
| Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City | Methodist |
| Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha | State |
| Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore | State |
| Oklahoma State University, Okmulgee | State |
| Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater | State |

| OKLAHOMA, CONTINUED | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell | State |
| Phillips University, Enid | Disciples of Christ |
| Poteau Community College, Poteau | Private |
| St. Gregory's College, Shawnee | Roman Catholic |
| Sayre Junior College, Sayre | District |
| Seminole Junior College, Seminole | District |
| Southeastern State College, Durant | State |
| Southwestern State College, Weatherford | State |
| University of Oklahoma, Norman | State |

| TENNESSEE | |
|---|---|
| Austin Peay State College, Clarksville | State |
| East Tennessee State College, Johnson City | State |
| Madison College, Madison College | Private |
| Maryville College, Maryville | Presbyterian |
| Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro | State |
| Memphis State University, Memphis | State |
| Peabody College, Nashville | Private |
| Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville | Methodist |
| Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville | State |
| Tusculum College, Greeneville | Private |
| University of the South, Sewanee | Episcopal |
| University of Tennessee, Knoxville | State |
| University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis, & Martin Branches | State |
| Vanderbilt University, Nashville | Private |

| TEXAS | |
|---|---|
| Amarillo College, Amarillo (Junior College) | Municipal |
| Austin College, Sherman | Presbyterian |
| Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin | Presbyterian |
| Cisco Junior College, Cisco | District |
| Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon | District |
| Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas | Private |
| Del Mar College, Corpus Christi (Junior College) | Municipal |
| DeMazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin | Episcopal |
| Frank Phillips College, Borger (Junior College) | District |
| Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville | Municipal |
| Howard County Junior College, Big Spring | County |
| Incarnate Word College, San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Kilgore College, Kilgore | District |
| Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont | District |
| Laredo Junior College, Laredo | Municipal |
| Lutheran Concordia College, Austin | Lutheran |
| Midwestern University, Wichita Falls | Municipal |
| McMurry College, Abilene | Methodist |
| North Texas State College, Denton | State |
| Odessa College, Odessa (Junior College) | District |

| TEXAS, CONTINUED | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Pan American College, Edinburg | County |
| Paris Junior College, Paris | Municipal |
| St. Edwards University, Austin | Roman Catholic |
| St. Mary's University of San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| San Angelo College, San Angelo (Junior College) | Municipal |
| San Antonio College, San Antonio (Junior College) | Municipal |
| South Plains College, Levelland (Junior College) | County |
| Southern Methodist University, Dallas | Methodist |
| Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde | District |
| Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth | Southern Baptist |
| Texas Christian University, Brite College of the Bible, Fort Worth | Christian |
| Texas College of Arts and Industries, Kingsville | State |
| Temple Junior College, Temple | Municipal |
| Texas Lutheran College, Seguin | Lutheran |
| Texas Southmost College, Brownsville (Jr. College) | Municipal |
| Texas Technological College, Lubbock | State |
| Texas Western College, El Paso | State |
| Trinity University, San Antonio | Presbyterian |
| University of Dallas, Dallas | Roman Catholic |
| University of Texas, Austin | State |
| Victoria College, Victoria (Junior College) | Municipal |
| Wayland Baptist College, Plainview | Southern Baptist |
| West Texas State, Canyon | State |
| Wharton County Junior College, Wharton | County |
| Texas Woman's University, Denton | State |
| St. Phillips College, San Antonio (Jr. College) | District |
| **VIRGINIA** | |
| Bridgewater College, Bridgewater | Brethren |
| College of William & Mary, Williamsburg and Norfolk Divisions | State |
| Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg | Mennonite |
| Medical College of Virginia, Richmond | State |
| Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond | Presbyterian |
| Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia Alexandria | Episcopal |
| Richmond Professional Institute of the College of William and Mary, Richmond | State |
| Union Theological Seminary, Richmond | Presbyterian |
| University of Virginia, Charlottesville | State |
| Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg | State |
| **WEST VIRGINIA** | |
| Bethany College, Bethany | Private |
| Concord College, Athens | State |
| Davis and Elkins College, Elkins | Presbyterian |
| Fairmont State College, Fairmont | State |
| Glenville State College, Glenville | State |
| Marshall College, Huntington | State |

| WEST VIRGINIA | Legal Control |
|---|---|
| Potomac (Junior) State College of West Virginia University, Keyser | State |
| Salem College, Salem | Seventh Day Baptist |
| Shepherd College, Shepherdstown | State |
| West Liberty State College, West Liberty | State |
| West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery | State |
| West Virginia University, Morgantown | State |
| West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon | Methodist |

Gordon Norrell

# STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS ON SCHOOL SEGREGATION, NORTHERN STYLE

SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

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MARCH 29, 1962

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE
15 EAST 84TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, NEW YORK

My name is Will Maslow; I am Executive Director and General Counsel of the American Jewish Congress. The AJC, a national organization in existence since 1918, seeks, among other purposes, to combat racism and all forms of religious and racial prejudice.

In 1954, we, along with millions of our fellow-Americans, hailed the epochal decision of the United States Supreme Court in the School Segregation cases. We were particularly proud because in its historic footnote 11 the Court cited two AJC studies on the harmful psychological effects of segregation. We recognized at once that the Court had not only outlawed segregation created by state statute in 17 Southern and border states but had also simultaneously forbidden any segregation practices in Northern states consciously contrived by public educational authorities. Spurred by this decision, we began a study of school segregation in the North which resulted in the publication in 1959 of a report entitled "From Color Blind to Color Conscious" and one in 1961 entitled "De Facto Public School Segregation."

It is a common fallacy that school segregation is only a Southern problem. Almost half (48%) of the 18 million Negroes in this country now live outside the 11 states of the Confederacy. The largest concentrations of Negro population are now found in the metropolitan areas of the North, as the following 1960 census figures demonstrate (figures rounded off):

| Number of Negroes in Our Largest Cities 1/ | |
|---|---|
| 1. New York City | 1,087,000 |
| 2. Chicago | 812,000 |
| 3. Philadelphia | 529,000 |
| 4. Detroit | 482,000 |

1/ Source: New York Times, March 15, 1961.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | WASHINGTON, D.C. | 411,000 |
| 6. | LOS ANGELES | 334,000 |
| 7. | BALTIMORE | 326,000 |
| 8. | CLEVELAND | 250,000 |
| 9. | NEW ORLEANS | 233,000 |
| 10. | HOUSTON | 215,000 |
| 11. | ST. LOUIS | 214,000 |
| 12. | ATLANTA | 186,000 |
| 13. | MEMPHIS | 184,000 |
| 14. | DALLAS | 129,000 |
| 15. | CINCINNATI | 108,000 |
| 16. | PITTSBURGH | 100,000 |

IT WILL BE OBSERVED THAT OUR FOUR LARGEST NORTHERN CITIES.-NEW YORK, CHICAGO, PHILADELPHIA AND DETROIT - EACH CONTAINS A LARGER NEGRO POPULATION THAN ANY OF THE LARGEST SOUTHERN CITIES - NEW ORLEANS, HOUSTON, ATLANTA, MEMPHIS OR DALLAS.

NEGROES IN OUR NORTHERN METROPOLISES ARE HERDED TOGETHER IN BLACK GHETTOES.[2/] NEGROES IN THESE GHETTOES ATTEND THE SCHOOLS LOCATED IN THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS. THE RESULT IS THAT SUCH SCHOOLS HAVE A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO ENROLLMENT. FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, THESE SCHOOLS MAY BE SAID TO BE SEGREGATED, ALTHOUGH THE SEGREGATION IS DE FACTO,[3/] RATHER THAN STEMMING FROM GOVERNMENT POLICY. IN ADDITION, SOME LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS HAVE BY ONE DEVICE

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2/ MCENTIRE, RESIDENCE AND RACE, 32-67 (1960); GRODZINS, METROPOLITAN SEGREGATION, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, OCTOBER 1957; REPORT OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS 1959, PP. 354-374.

3/ IN TAYLOR V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF NEW ROCHELLE, 191 F. SUPP. 181, 194, NOTE 12 (S.D. N.Y. 1961) THE COURT DEFINED "DE FACTO" SEGREGATION AS THAT "RESULTING FROM FORTUITOUS RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS" AND "DE JURE" SEGREGATION AS THAT "CREATED OR MAINTAINED BY OFFICIAL ACT, REGARDLESS OF ITS FORM."

OR ANOTHER CONTRIVED TO BRING ABOUT OR MAINTAIN A SEGREGATED SYSTEM. THESE DEVICES INCLUDE GERRYMANDERING, SELECTION OF SITES FOR NEW SCHOOL BUILDINGS, TRANSFER POLICIES, DELIBERATE UNDER-UTILIZATION OR OVER-UTILIZATION OF CERTAIN SCHOOLS AND ARBITRARY ASSIGNMENT OF GRADES TO PARTICULAR SCHOOLS. 4/

THE FOLLOWING TABLE BASED ON OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL SOURCES LISTS THE NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN OUR LARGE NORTHERN CITIES:

NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN CITIES

| CITY | NUMBER | % OF NEGROES IN EACH SCHOOL |
|---|---|---|
| NEW YORK | 102 OUT OF 573 | 90 OR HIGHER 5/ |
| CHICAGO | 98 OUT OF 383 | 60 OR HIGHER 6/ |
| PHILADELPHIA | 38 OUT OF 271 | 99 OR HIGHER 7/ |
| DETROIT | 62 OUT OF 222 | 90 OR HIGHER 8/ |
| LOS ANGELES | 77 OUT OF 404 | 85 OR HIGHER 9/ |

4/ 1961 REPORT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, VOL. 2, "EDUCATION," PP. 101-110; MASLOW, DE FACTO PUBLIC SCHOOL SEGREGATION, 6 VILLANOVA LAW REV. 353,360 (1961).

5/ BOARD OF EDUCATION, CENTRAL ZONING UNIT, "ELEMENTARY SCHOOL AND PUBLIC ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION," JAN. 1962. PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN ARE CLASSIFIED WITH NEGROES FOR THIS PURPOSE.

6/ ESTIMATE OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE, FEB. 28, 1962, WHICH CLASSIFIES AS A "NEGRO" SCHOOL ANY SCHOOL IN AN AREA WHERE NEGROES CONSTITUTE 60% OR MORE OF THE POPULATION, THE ASSUMPTION BEING THAT WHITE PERSONS IN SUCH AREAS TEND TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO PAROCHIAL OR PRIVATE SCHOOLS. SEE TESTIMONY OF CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE SUBMITTED TO CHICAGO SCHOOL BUDGET HEARING, DEC. 19, 1964.

7/ PHILADELPHIA BD. OF EDUCATION, "FOR EVERY CHILD, THE STORY OF INTEGRATION IN PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS," OCT. 1960, PP. 1-2.

8/ REPORT OF CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY, MAP, PAGE P6, N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 11, 1962, P. 58. THIS COMMITTEE WAS APPOINTED BY THE DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION.

9/ INCLUDES 34 MEXICAN-AMERICAN SCHOOLS. REPORT OF EDUCATION COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNITY CONFERENCE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, P. 21, JAN. 1960. THIS REPORT WAS SUBMITTED TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS AT ITS CALIFORNIA PUBLIC HEARINGS.

NUMBER OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN CITIES, CONT'D

| CITY | NUMBER | % OF NEGROES IN EACH SCHOOL |
|---|---|---|
| CLEVELAND | 40 OUT OF 130 | 60 OR HIGHER [10] |
| TOLEDO | 9 OUT OF 57 | 50 OR HIGHER [11] |
| SAN FRANCISCO | 7 OUT OF 101 | 60 OR HIGHER [12] |
| BOSTON | 14 OUT OF 154 | 90 OR HIGHER [13] |
| INDIANAPOLIS | 7 OUT OF 89 | ALMOST 100 [14] |
| YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO | 3 OUT OF 31 | 90 OR HIGHER [15] |
| JERSEY CITY | 8 OUT OF 28 | 50 OR HIGHER [16] |
| KANSAS CITY, KANS. | 7 OUT OF 38 | 100% [17] |

IN BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA, THE SUPREME COURT CONCLUDED THAT COMPULSORY RACIAL SEGREGATION OF CHILDREN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS "HAS A TENDENCY TO RETARD THE EDUCATIONAL AND MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEGRO CHILDREN." DOES DE FACTO SEGREGATION HAVE A SIMILAR DETRIMENTAL EFFECT? THE NEW YORK

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10/ ESTIMATE OF SIDNEY Z. VINCENT, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND.

11/ LETTER FROM TOLEDO BOARD OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS, JAN. 7, 1960.

12/ INCLUDES TWO ASIAN SCHOOLS. ESTIMATE OF SAN FRANCISCO JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL, MARCH 20, 1962.

13/ UNOFFICIAL ESTIMATE, 1961.

14/ INDIANAPOLIS HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL, REPORT, P. 2, JUNE 20, 1959.

15/ MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS, REPORT, PP. 1-2 (1959).

16/ ACCORDING TO A STUDY OF THE LOCAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 10, 1962.

17/ ACCORDING TO THE LOCAL SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 20, 1962.

CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION CONCLUDED IN A FORMAL RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY ON DECEMBER 23, 1954:

> PUBLIC EDUCATION IN A RACIALLY HOMOGENEOUS SETTING IS SOCIALLY UNREALISTIC AND BLOCKS THE ATTAINMENT OF GOALS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION, WHETHER THIS SEGREGATION OCCURS BY LAW OR BY FACT.

THE NEW YORK STATE BOARD OF REGENTS WHICH SUPERVISES ALL THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE STATE, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, CAME TO A SIMILAR CONCLUSION IN 1960. DECLARING THAT "SCHOOLS ENROLLING STUDENTS LARGELY OF HOMOGENEOUS ETHNIC ORIGIN MAY DAMAGE THE PERSONALITY OF MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN" AND "IMPAIR THE ABILITY TO LEARN," IT FOUND THAT SUCH SCHOOLS "BLOCK THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GOALS OF DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION."

SCHOOL BOARDS IN NORTHERN CITIES THUS HAD TWO ALTERNATIVES AFTER THE DECISION IN THE School Segregation cases. THEY COULD, LIKE THE CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION, HIDE BEHIND THE STRIKING PHRASE USED BY JUSTICE HARLAN IN Plessy v. Ferguson AND BE "COLOR-BLIND" (163 U.S. 537, 599 (1896)), REFUSING TO ASSUME ANY RESPONSIBILITY FOR SCHOOL SEGREGATION ARISING FROM RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS. OR THEY COULD BE "COLOR-CONSCIOUS" RECOGNIZING WITH THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD THAT SUCH SEGREGATED SCHOOLS ARE "EDUCATIONALLY UNDESIRABLE." AS THE Detroit News EDITORIALIZED IN ITS COMMENT ON THE REPORT OF THE DETROIT COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES:

> THIS MEANS ABANDONMENT OF THE SCHOOLS' STUDIED NEUTRALITY ON RACE, THE EFFECT OF WHICH HAS BEEN TO BOLSTER DE FACTO SEGREGATION, IN FAVOR OF A POLICY WHICH ACCEPTS A RESPONSIBILITY TO FURTHER DESEGREGATION WHERE REASONABLE OPPORTUNITY OFFERS ITSELF. 18/

A DECLARATION OF POLICY IS, HOWEVER, ONLY THE FIRST STEP IN THE SUSTAINED EFFORT REQUIRED TO BREAK DOWN SEGREGATION IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM OR AT LEAST TO PREVENT ITS FURTHER SPREAD. WHILE CONDITIONS OF COURSE VARY FROM CITY TO CITY, EXPERIENCE IN NEW YORK CITY AND ELSEWHERE INDICATES THAT

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18/ DETROIT NEWS, MARCH 11, 1962.

THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL STEPS ARE NECESSARY:

1. Racial Census

An ethnic and racial census of the pupil enrollment should be made. This should not be done by questioning the children but by the visual observation of the classroom teacher who would furnish the total for her class. (In no event should a school system record the race or religion of a particular child.) Such a census was conducted in New York State by direction of the State Commissioner of Education and in Detroit by the local board of education.

2. Zoning for Integration

In drawing school attendance lines, which now customarily take into account traffic hazards, distances from home to school, topographical barriers and the necessity of equalizing school capacity, the zoning officer should consider the necessity for achieving racial integration as a cardinal factor in zoning. It is not enough to review such lines to eliminate gerrymandered school districts. Such gerrymandering is now obviously illegal and has so been held by the Courts.[19/]

3. Site Selection

Whenever possible, new school buildings should be located not in the heart of black ghettoes but at their borders or in mixed neighborhoods. School boards must also anticipate population movements to prevent new schools from becoming all Negro or all white.

4. Permissive Transfers

Under the plan adopted by New York City in 1960, children in predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools were given the option of transferring to other schools in the borough with a much lower Negro-Puerto Rican population

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19/ Clemons v. Bd. of Education of Hillsboro, Ohio, 228 F. 2d 853 (6th Cir. 1956), cert. denied, 350 U.S. 1006 (1956); Taylor v. Bd. of Education of New Rochelle, 294 F. 2d 36 (2d Cir. 1961), cert. denied, 82 Sup. Ct. 382 (1961).

AND WITH UNFILLED CLASSROOMS. CHILDREN EXERCISING THIS OPTION ARE PROVIDED FREE TRANSPORTATION TO THE RECEIVING SCHOOLS. THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION REPORTED RECENTLY THAT 4965 ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PUPILS WERE ATTENDING 127 SCHOOLS OUTSIDE THEIR HOME NEIGHBORHOOD UNDER THE OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN.[20]

IT WILL BE NOTED THAT THE OPTION OF TRANSFERRING IS NOT GIVEN ONLY TO NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN. ANY PUPIL OF A DESIGNATED "SENDING SCHOOL" IS ALLOWED TO TRANSFER. THIS PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY WAS RECENTLY APPROVED BY FEDERAL JUDGE KAUFMAN AS THE FIRST STEP IN THE DESEGREGATION PLAN WHICH HE DIRECTED THE NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y. SCHOOL BOARD TO SUBMIT FOLLOWING LITIGATION IN WHICH HE HELD THE SCHOOL BOARD GUILTY OF CONTRIVING TO PERPETUATE SEGREGATION AT A SCHOOL IN THE TOWN WITH A NEGRO ENROLLMENT OF 94%. ON APPEAL, THE PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY WAS APPROVED BY THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS AS A "MODERATE" BEGINNING.[21] AT PRESENT, THE ENROLLMENT AT LINCOLN SCHOOL, AS A RESULT OF THE OPTIONAL TRANSFERS OF 267 CHILDREN NOW CONSISTS OF 90% NEGROES.[22]

5. Reclassifying Schools

PERHAPS THE MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD OF REDUCING OR EVEN OF ELIMINATING SEGREGATION IS THE SO-CALLED PRINCETON PLAN, NAMED FOR THE CITY IN NEW JERSEY IN WHICH IT WAS ACCOMPLISHED. UNDER THIS PLAN, WHERE THERE ARE TWO ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, NOT TOO FAR APART, ONE BEING PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND THE OTHER PREDOMINANTLY WHITE, ONE SCHOOL IS CLASSIFIED AS A KINDERGARTEN TO FOURTH GRADE SCHOOL AND THE OTHER AS A FIFTH TO EIGHTH GRADE SCHOOL. THIS RESHUFFLING OF CLASSES MAKES FOR COMPLETE INTEGRATION.

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20/ Bd. of Education Press Release, Jan. 8, 1962.

21/ Taylor v. Bd. of Education of New Rochelle, 191 F. Supp. 181, Aff'd, 294 F. 2d 36 (1961), cert. denied, 82 Sup. Ct. 382 (1961).

22/ N.Y. Times, Dec. 12, 1961.

A VARIANT OF THIS PLAN WAS RECENTLY DEVELOPED IN MORRISTOWN, N.J. THERE A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL IN THE CENTER OF TOWN WAS ABANDONED AND THE CHILDREN TRANSFERRED TO FOUR OTHER SCHOOLS IN THE CITY WITH PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ENROLLMENTS.[23] THE MORRISTOWN PLAN IS FEASIBLE, HOWEVER, ONLY WHEN THERE ARE "WHITE" SCHOOLS WITH EXCESS CAPACITY NOT TOO FAR FROM THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL.

WHERE THE PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS HIGH, ALL OF THE MEASURES DESCRIBED ABOVE MAY BE INEFFECTIVE. IN NEW YORK CITY, IN 1960, THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF MANHATTAN WERE EITHER NEGRO OR PUERTO RICAN. IN THE CITY AS A WHOLE, 40% OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION WERE FROM THESE ETHNIC GROUPS.[24] BY JANUARY 1962, THE CITY-WIDE PERCENTAGE HAD INCREASED TO 44.8.[25] IN 1957, THERE WERE 64 ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE NEGRO-PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT EXCEEDED 90%. BY JANUARY 1962, DESPITE NEW YORK CITY'S NEW PERMISSIVE TRANSFER POLICY, THE NUMBER OF SUCH SCHOOLS HAD INCREASED TO 102, CONSTITUTING 17.8% OF ALL THE CITY'S PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS,[26] AS A RESULT OF THE CONTINUED DROP IN WHITE ENROLLMENTS. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM HAS BEEN ABLE, HOWEVER, TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN WHICH THE "CONTINENTAL WHITE" POPULATION EXCEEDED 90% FROM 290 IN 1957 TO 215 IN JANUARY 1962.[27]

DESEGREGATION IS ONLY ONE PART OF A SCHOOL BOARD'S TASK. INDEED, WERE IT TO STOP AT DESEGREGATION, IT WOULD NOT PERFORM ITS CONSTITUTIONAL DUTY OF EQUALIZING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL ITS PUPILS. NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHIL-

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23/ NEW YORK TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.

24/ NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, TOWARDS GREATER OPPORTUNITY, A PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS DEALING WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION, JUNE 1960, P. 6, HEREAFTER CALLED THE THEOBALD REPORT.

25/ JAN. 1962 REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ZONING UNIT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION.

26/ IBID.

27/ IBID.

DREN, LIVING IN SLUMS, WITH LITTLE OR NO PARENTAL SUPERVISION, MOVING FREQUENTLY IN THE MIDDLE OF SCHOOL TERMS,[28] WITH POOR MOTIVATION AND LOW EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND OCCASIONALLY SPEAKING ENGLISH POORLY,[29] WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN ATTENDANCE AT A THEORETICALLY INTEGRATED SCHOOL TO OVERCOME SUCH HANDICAPS. PHYSICAL FACILITIES, EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL, SIZE OF CLASSES, OVERCROWDING, CALIBER AND EXPERIENCE OF TEACHERS AND CURRICULUM MUST ALSO BE EQUALIZED.

A DELIBERATE PROVISION OF INFERIOR FACILITIES FOR MINORITY GROUP CHILDREN IS OBVIOUSLY A VIOLATION OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT EVEN WHERE THE SCHOOL BOARD IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR SEGREGATION. BUT WHERE ONE GROUP IN A SCHOOL SYSTEM IS MARKEDLY HANDICAPPED IN COMPARISON WITH OTHERS, THE PROVISION OF EQUAL FACILITIES FOR EACH MAY BE INEQUITABLE. "EQUAL PROTECTION OF THE LAW," THE SUPREME COURT HAS TOLD US, "IS NOT ACHIEVED THROUGH INDISCRIMINATE IMPOSITION OF INEQUALITIES."[30] NEITHER IS IT ACHIEVED THROUGH THE MECHANICAL PROVISION OF EQUAL FACILITIES WHEN ONLY DISPROPORTIONS WILL REDRESS PRIOR INEQUALITIES AND CULTURAL DEPRIVATIONS. AS THE LOWER COURT STATED IN THE NEW ROCHELLE CASE: "THERE ARE INSTANCES WHERE IT IS NOT ONLY JUSTIFIED, BUT NECESSARY, TO PROVIDE FOR SUCH ALLEGEDLY 'UNEQUAL TREATMENT' IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE EQUALITY GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION." OR, AS THE NEW YORK CITY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS PUT IT IN EXPLAINING THE SPECIAL SERVICES REQUIRED BY "DIFFICULT" OR "SPECIAL SERVICE" SCHOOLS, "THE NATURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE OUGHT TO BE COM-

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28/ IN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN MANHATTAN, THERE WERE 669 ADMISSIONS AND 456 DISCHARGES IN ONE SCHOOL YEAR OUT OF A TOTAL SCHOOL POPULATION OF 1550; IN A BROOKLYN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, 610 ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES IN A SCHOOL POPULATION OF 1335; IN A BRONX SCHOOL 1077 ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES IN A STUDENT BODY OF 1450. PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, HOW DIFFICULT ARE THE DIFFICULT SCHOOLS?, P. 13 (1959). SEE ALSO THEOBALD REPORT, P. 43.

29/ ABOUT 80,000 CHILDREN IN THE NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM "DO NOT SPEAK THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, OR SPEAK IT WITH SUCH LITTLE COMPETENCE AS TO REQUIRE SPECIAL TRAINING IN THE USE OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE." STATEMENT BY MAX J. RUBIN, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION, PRESENTED TO THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL FINANCING, JAN. 19, 1962.

30/ SHELLEY V. KRAEMER, 334 U.S. 1, 22 (1948).

SISTENT WITH THE NEEDS OF THE CHILDREN.[31]

IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO ENSURE THAT THE SIZE OF CLASSES IN THE SEGREGATED INFERIOR SCHOOLS IS NO LARGER THAN IN OTHER SCHOOLS; THEY MUST BE SMALLER TO COMPENSATE FOR RACIAL AND ETHNIC HANDICAPS. SIMILARLY, A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF REMEDIAL READING AND ARITHMETIC TEACHERS, GUIDANCE COUNSELORS AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL MUST BE DETAILED TO EDUCATIONALLY DEPRIVED CHILDREN. FINALLY, THERE MUST BE AN END TO THE PRACTICE UNDER WHICH THE WORST TEACHERS IN THE SYSTEM ARE ASSIGNED TO THE DIFFICULT SCHOOLS. EMPHASIS SHOULD BE ON THE NEEDS OF THE SCHOOLS RATHER THAN ON PREFERENCE OF TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS.

THE FACILITIES OF PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS ARE OFTEN FLAGRANTLY INFERIOR TO THOSE AVAILABLE AT PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS. USUALLY THIS INEQUALITY RESULTS FROM THE FACT THAT NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS TEND TO COINCIDE WITH OLD BLIGHTED SLUM DISTRICTS IN WHICH ARE LOCATED THE OLDEST SCHOOL BUILDINGS OF A CITY CONTAINING OBSOLETE SCHOOL FACILITIES. BUT THE INDIFFERENCE OF SCHOOL BOARDS AND THE FAILURE TO ADOPT CORRECTIVE OR AMELIORATIVE MEASURES OFTEN COMPOUND THE DISCRIMINATION. THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE CHARGED PUBLICLY IN FEBRUARY 1962[32] THAT

A. THE AVERAGE AGE OF NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN CHICAGO WAS 5 YEARS MORE THAN THAT OF "WHITE" SCHOOLS.

B. NEGRO SCHOOLS HAD STRIKINGLY FEWER LIBRARIES, LUNCHROOMS, HOME MECHANICS ROOMS AND OTHER NON-CLASSROOM FACILITIES.

C. OF 24,700 STUDENTS ON DOUBLE-SHIFT, 90% WERE NEGROES, ALTHOUGH THEY CONSTITUTE ONLY 43% OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL POPULATION.

D. THE APPROPRIATION FOR EACH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILD WAS 20% LESS IN NEGRO SCHOOLS THAN IN WHITE SCHOOLS.

THAT THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF CHILDREN IN SEGREGATED SCHOOLS IS MARKEDLY BELOW THAT OF THEIR WHITE PEERS IS A MATTER OF COMMON KNOWLEDGE VERIFIED BY MANY

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31/ THEOBALD REPORT, PP. 10-11.

32/ STATEMENT OF THE CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE SUBMITTED TO THE ILLINOIS SCHOOL PROBLEMS COMMISSION, FEB. 1, 1962.

STUDIES. AN INVESTIGATION IN 1955 BY THE PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK CITY AT THE REQUEST, AND WITH THE COOPERATION, OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION REVEALED THAT THE AVERAGE READING TEST SCORES OF NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN IN THE CITY'S PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS WERE TWO YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS BELOW THOSE OF A SAMPLE OF EIGHTH GRADE CHILDREN IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS. THE COMPARABLE AVERAGE ARITHMETIC TEST SCORES SHOWED A DIFFERENTIAL OF TWO YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS.[33] IN 1962, THE PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ESTIMATED THAT 171,000 CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WERE "RETARDED TWO OR MORE YEARS IN READING."[34] SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN AND OF ITSELF IS OBVIOUSLY NOT THE ONLY FACTOR RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS EDUCATIONAL RETARDATION[35] BUT THAT IT PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE SEEMS CLEAR.

NEW YORK CITY IS BY NO MEANS ATYPICAL. A RECENT REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE NEW YORK STATE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION BY DR. MARK SCHINNERER, ITS SPECIAL CONSULTANT, DECLARED:

> A 1960 PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDY OF 14 OF THE LARGEST CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING NEW YORK, FOUND THAT APPROXIMATELY 1 OUT OF 3 OF THE PUPILS WAS SEVERELY CULTURALLY DEPRIVED. THE ESTIMATE FOR 1950 WAS THAT THE NUMBER HAD BEEN 1 IN 10. IT WAS ESTIMATED, FURTHER, THAT THE NUMBER WOULD BE 1 IN 2 BY 1970 IF A MASSIVE AND EFFECTIVE EFFORT WERE NOT MADE TO HALT AND REVERSE THE TREND.

THERE ARE INCREASING INDICATIONS THAT NORTHERN SCHOOL BOARDS OTHER THAN THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION ARE BECOMING "COLOR-CONSCIOUS" AND BEGINNING TO ASSUME THEIR EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES. IN SAN FRANCISCO, THE BOARD

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33/ PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, THE STATUS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION OF NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN IN NEW YORK CITY, OCT. 1955, P. 24.

34/ STATEMENT OF MAX J. RUBIN, SUPRA NOTE 29.

35/ SEE DEUTSCH, MINORITY GROUP AND CLASS STATUS AS RELATED TO SOCIAL AND PERSONALITY FACTORS IN SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT, SOCIETY FOR APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY, NEW YORK STATE SCHOOL OF INDUSTRIAL AND LABOR RELATIONS, CORNELL UNIVERSITY, 1960.

OF EDUCATION RECENTLY DIRECTED ITS SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT TO FIND OUT HOW MANY OF ITS PUBLIC SCHOOLS WERE DE FACTO SEGREGATED AND TO RECOMMEND A CORRECTIVE PROGRAM.[35A] IN DETROIT, A CITIZEN'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE LOCAL BOARD OF EDUCATION COMPLETED A TWO YEAR STUDY AND SUBMITTED A 450 PAGE REPORT CONTAINING 150 RECOMMENDATIONS TO COPE WITH WIDESPREAD SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.[36]

LAST MONTH, MANY LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS IN NEW JERSEY BEGAN INDEPENDENTLY TO DEVELOP SOLUTIONS. IN MORRISTOWN, AS HAS BEEN NOTED (P. 8), A PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL IN THE HEART OF A BLACK GHETTO WAS ABANDONED AND ITS PUPILS TRANSFERRED TO FOUR OTHER NEIGHBORING SCHOOLS WITH PREDOMINANTLY WHITE ENROLLMENTS.[37] IN JERSEY CITY, N.J., THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD, CONCEDING THE EXISTENCE OF DE FACTO SEGREGATION IN SOME OF ITS SCHOOLS, APPOINTED A TEN-MEMBER COMMITTEE, COMPRISED OF FIVE EDUCATORS AND FIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LOCAL NAACP "TO WORK OUT THE PROBLEM."[38] IN NEWARK, THE SCHOOL BOARD ADOPTED A PLAN, EFFECTIVE IN SEPTEMBER 1962, UNDER WHICH PUPILS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOLS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO TRANSFER TO SCHOOLS IN OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS WHICH HAVE ROOM FOR THEM. TRANSPORTATION WILL NOT BE FURNISHED, HOWEVER.[39] IN MONTCLAIR, A CITIZENS COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE SCHOOL BOARD RECOMMENDED A PUPIL REASSIGNMENT PLAN TO FURTHER INTEGRATION IN THREE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS.[40] IN PLAINFIELD, THE LOCAL SCHOOL RECOGNIZING A RACIAL IMBALANCE IN ITS ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS HIRED FIVE EDUCATORS TO STUDY THE PROBLEM.[42]

IN STAMFORD, CONN., A CITIZENS ADVISORY GROUP APPOINTED BY THE LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD RECOMMENDED A REVISION OF SCHOOL DISTRICT LINES TO PREVENT A NEW HIGH SCHOOL FROM BECOMING ALL WHITE.[43]

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35A/ SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, JAN. 24, 1962.
36/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 11, 1962.
37/ NEW YORK TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.
38/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 10, 1962.
39/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 17, 1962.
40/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 15, 1962.
41/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 13, 1962.
42/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
43/ REPORT OF THE CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR THE DISTRICTING OF THE SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS, NEW YORK TIMES, DEC. 14, 1962.

WHERE SCHOOL BOARDS HAVE IGNORED LOCAL PROTESTS AGAINST EDUCATIONAL SEGREGATION OR HAVE BEEN SLOW IN ACTING, LITIGATION HAS ENSUED. LAW SUITS, PRINCIPALLY IN THE FEDERAL COURTS, CHARGING ILLEGAL SEGREGATION IN AMITYVILLE, N.Y.,[44] IN CENTREVILLE, ILL.,[45] IN CHICAGO,[46] DETROIT,[47] ENGLEWOOD, N.J.,[48] HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.,[49] MANHASSET, N.Y.,[50] NEWARK, N.J.,[51] ORANGE, N.J.,[52] PASADENA, CALIF.,[53] AND PHILADELPHIA[54] ARE NOW PENDING.

THE EFFORT TO RAISE THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF UNDER-PRIVILEGED NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN REQUIRES VAST SUMS OF MONEY. IN NEW YORK CITY, THE BOARD OF EDUCATION SPENT ABOUT $300,000 IN A THREE-YEAR PERIOD IN ONE SCHOOL ALONE (J.H.S. 43) IN AN EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENT WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF SLUM CHILDREN COULD BE LIFTED SPECTACULARLY BY SATURATING THE SCHOOL WITH REMEDIAL TEACHERS, ATTENDANCE AND BEHAVIOR COUNSELORS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND AUXILIARY PERSONNEL.[55] BUT AS THE NEW YORK CITY SUPERINTENDENT HAS POINTED OUT TO HIS COMMITTEE, THERE ARE 200 SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK ENROLLING ABOUT

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44/ NEW YORK TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
45/ CHICAGO DEFENDER, OCTOBER 8, 1961.
46/ WEBB V. BD. OF EDUCATION, NO. C61, 1569, N.Y.TIMES, OCT. 1, 1961. A SECOND SUIT BY ANOTHER GROUP OF NEGRO PLAINTIFFS WAS FILED IN JANUARY 1962. N.Y.TIMES,, MARCH 20, 1962.

47/ SHERILL SCHOOL PARENTS COMMITTEE V. BD. OF EDUCATION OF DETROIT, CIVIL ACTION NO. 22092 (E.D. MICH., 1962). DETROIT FREE PRESS, JAN. 23, 1962. AN EARLIER SUIT CHARGING SEGREGATION AT AN ALL-NEGRO SCHOOL WAS SETTLED IN FEDERAL COURT AFTER THE SCHOOL BOARD AGREED TO TRANSFER 42 WHITE STUDENTS TO THE SCHOOL. N.Y. TIMES, SEPT. 8, 1961.

48/ N.Y.TIMES, FEB. 6, 1962. THE SCHOOL BOARD IN APRIL 1961 HAD ENGAGED THREE PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS, INCLUDING DR. DAN DODSON, TO STUDY ITS ENROLLMENT PROBLEMS. THEIR REPORT IS DUE THIS MONTH.

49/ N.Y.TIMES, FEB. 21, 1962.
50/ N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 22, 1962.
51/ N.Y.TIMES, OCT. 3, 1961.
52/ N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 6, 1961.
53/ JACKSON V. PASADENA CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT, SUPERIOR COURT OF CALIFORNIA COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES. N.Y.TIMES, MARCH 20, 1962. A DEMURRER TO THE COMPLAINT WAS SUSTAINED ON SEPT. 27, 1961 AND AN APPEAL TAKEN.
54/ CHISHOLM V. BD. OF EDUCATION, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 29706 (E.D. PA.), N.Y. TIMES, JUNE 8, 1961.
55/ THEOBALD REPORT, P. 84.

200,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children that need this intensive program and from 50 to 60 million dollars will therefore be needed if New York City is to provide such children with equal educational opportunity. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has accordingly concluded that the "per pupil cost of $200 a year places this program beyond the reach of most school systems."[56]

Apparently recognizing that the program is too expensive even for New York, the school officials of that city have now launched a modified version of the J.H.S. 43 experiment, at a cost of only $50 per pupil per year.[57] This "Higher Horizons Program" is now operating in 63 elementary and secondary schools in New York City involving about 40,000 children. Federal, state and municipal funds totaling about $1,500,000 are invested in the program. The Board of Regents which supervises public and private education in New York State has urged the extension of this program to every city in the state but the state legislature appropriated only $200,000 for this purpose.[58]

The 1961 report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights describes no less than 16 experimental programs conducted all over the country to improve the educational opportunities of minority group children. But their expansion to entire school systems will require immense sums which are not available to school boards desperately trying to replace antiquated buildings, reduce class size and hire new teachers with inadequate budgets. There is only one place from which such vast sums can be obtained and that is the Federal Government. The harmful combined effects of slum neighborhoods and school segregation can only be overcome by huge expenditures.

Precedents for such Federal assistance already exist. For example, Con-

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56/ United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 Report, Volume 2, "Education," P. 129.

57/ Id. at 131

58/ CTS Bulletin, Spring, 1961, published by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

GRESS PROVIDED IN 1958 FOR A PROGRAM OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE TO STATE PLANS FOR GUIDANCE, COUNSELING AND TESTING OF SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN.[59/] UNDER THESE PROVISIONS, PAYMENTS ARE MADE TO THE VARIOUS STATES TO AID THEM IN PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO IDENTIFY STUDENTS WITH OUTSTANDING APTITUDE, TO ADVISE STUDENTS OF COURSES BEST SUITED TO THEIR ABILITY AND TO ENCOURAGE STUDENTS WITH OUTSTANDING ABILITY TO COMPLETE THEIR SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION AND TO TAKE THE COURSES NECESSARY FOR ADMISSION TO COLLEGE. A SIMILAR PROGRAM OF ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE LAUNCHED TO OVERCOME THE EDUCATIONAL RETARDATION RESULTING FROM SEGREGATION AND SLUM CONDITIONS.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY HAS RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEM. THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION REQUIRED IN THE 1961 BILL THAT 10% OF ALL SUMS ALLOTTED TO ANY STATE SHOULD BE EARMARKED TO IMPROVE THE LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION FOR UNDERPRIVILEGED CHILDREN. (S. 1021, SEC. 109). THE 1962 BILLS GO FURTHER. H.R. 10145, INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVE FRANK THOMPSON, JR., OF NEW JERSEY IS ENTITLED "IMPROVEMENT OF QUALITY OF TEACHING IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS." SEC. 201 (A) OF THAT BILL AUTHORIZES THE APPROPRIATION OF $50,000,000 A YEAR FOR FIVE YEARS IN THE FORM OF GRANTS TO STATES "TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS." ONLY WHEN SUCH A BILL BECOMES LAW AND FEDERAL FUNDS BECOME AVAILABLE TO ASSIST MUNICIPAL SCHOOL BOARDS CAN THEY BEGIN TO EQUALIZE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL THE CHILDREN ENTRUSTED TO THEIR CARE.

WILL MASLOW

MARCH 27, 1962

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59/ 20 U.S.C., SECS. 481-484.

file Gordon

Schools

REMARKS OF STANLEY H. LOWELL, CHAIRMAN
NEW YORK CITY COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AT YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1962

I am privileged to chair the panel on "Northern School Desegregation" on this occasion of the 75th anniversary of the founding of Yeshiva University.

I will address myself briefly to four aspects of this timely subject: First, let us look at the dimensions of the problem of segregated schooling as it affects us in the North. . . Second, let us touch upon the relationship between the northern and southern aspects of this problem. . . Third, let us consider the moral value at the root of the problem. . . And, finally, let us examine the reason why it is especially fitting for such a discussion to take place at Yeshiva University.

The words of your great president, Dr. Samuel Belkin, suggest our point of departure. For it was he who said that, "Knowledge is important, not only for the continuance of our cultural heritage, but for the preservation of life itself. Recognition of the moral law is of paramount importance for the survival of life itself."

It was moral law, in great measure, that led to the founding on Bill of Rights Day in December, 1955 of the Commission on Human Rights (then known as COIR). With Mayor Robert F. Wagner's strong support, the City Council in that year enacted Local Law 55, possibly the nation's most comprehensive human rights statute. Briefly, the law

charged the Commission to eliminate discrimination whether it was practiced consciously or accidentally by public agencies, private corporations, groups or individuals.

The reasons for the passage of such a law in New York City are quite obvious. In many ways we lead the nation. . . and the world. But we also have our problems, among them intolerance, bigotry, discrimination and segregation. You might call ours "accidental segregation," or, as we in the legal profession refer to it, de facto segregation. It is against the law. . . against public policy, but it still lingers on.

The establishment of the Commission on Human Rights--throwing the full weight of policy and law behind anti-bias programs and policies--marked one turning point in our history. Now we are about to enter the next phase. It is quite possible that the time has come for a careful re-examination of our traditional concepts in the much-discussed areas of equality and integration--a reexamination which would carry us beyond theoretical promises to living realities.

In the City of New York, the Commission, other public agencies, many private organizations and such splendid educational institutions as yours have succeeded in reshaping the public's mind. Today bias is unfashionable. We should follow up on this advantage. We should use this time to plan and execute concrete action programs which would channel this new thinking in positive directions.

A look at the Census figures tells us that almost half (48 per cent actually) of the 18 million Negroes in this country now live outside the 11

states which once-formed... and sometimes act as if they are still a part of the Confederacy. According to the 1960 Census figures, New York City alone has 1,087,000 Negro citizens. Taking New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit, each contains a larger Negro population than any of the largest southern cities including New Orleans, Houston, Atlanta, Memphis or Dallas.

Like others who came to this country before them, Negroes came North seeking better opportunities. And, in many instances, they did improve their lot. But problems remained and other problems, mainly in the creation of ghetto housing, arose. In spite of the combined efforts of many men of goodwill and in spite of the heart-warming and striking instances of individual progress, the pace of integration in housing has been slow. There are many reasons.

High among them is the barrier to the Negro's economic progress, which prevents much real movement... and we at the Commission have confirmed this since passage of the historic Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs (Fair Housing Practices) Law some four years ago. Secondly, while many white persons are more than tolerant, most have not as yet reached the point where they work actively to create integrated housing situations. The result, we all know, is segregated schooling and it can be just as real whether it is de facto or de jure.

A report issued by the Central Zoning Unit of the Board of Education in January of this year points up the seriousness of this problem.

It showed that 102 out of 573 elementary schools in New York City were predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican. I won't belabor the point: facilities in these schools are often inferior to those available at predominantly white schools. As a part of the vicious circle, inequality is almost built-in...because Negro residential areas coincide with slum districts and old buildings can be expected to have obsolete facilities.

Segregated schools in our city were outlawed long before the United States Supreme Court's historic decision of May 17, 1954. We eliminated them, legally, in 1920. But many years later Negro parents still found it necessary to petition the Board of Education in an attempt to correct obvious injustices.

In December of 1954 the Board of Education officially recognized that something had to be done. It acknowledged that segregated, racially homogeneous schools damage the personalities of minority group children, decrease motivation and impair their ability to learn (whether they happen to live in the North or in the South). Significantly, the Board added, "white children are also damaged...public school education in a racially homogeneous setting is socially unrealistic and blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education, whether this segregation occurs by law or by fact."

The New York State Board of Regents made a similar statement in 1960, so that both the City and State were unanimous in suggesting that education should be "color conscious" rather than "color blind."

But a declaration of policy is one thing, and actual achievement is another. And, this again, is where the Commission on Human Rights enters into the picture.

Reflecting enlightened educational attitudes as well as deep-seated community feelings, the Commission urged the Board of Education to adopt a seven-point program designed to translate policy statements into realities.

Very briefly, the Commission recommended high-level direction and staffing of a school integration program... the assignment of qualified teachers to schools with large minority group populations... in-service training programs... expanded efforts to build community understanding... the use of school site selection policies to advance integration. And the Commission made another recommendation. It urged the adoption of a policy that we have since come to know as "open enrollment."

Today open enrollment is one of the most tangible expressions of our city's official "open city" policy. On January 8th, the Board of Education reported that nearly 5,000 elementary and junior high school pupils were attending 127 schools outside their neighborhoods, under this program.

On April 5th of this month, the Board announced the further assignment of 3,591 pupils to open enrollment schools for next September. A total of 105 schools in all boroughs except Staten Island have been selected as receiving schools.

There is much more to the story of open enrollment. One aspect involves sheer numbers:

Some would ask whether New York City can really integrate its schools. Three-fourths of the children in public elementary schools in Manhattan are either Negro or Puerto Rican. In the city as a whole, 40 per cent are from these two groups. And the latest figures suggest that the percentages may be going up. In 1957, for example, there were 64 elementary schools in which the Negro-Puerto Rican enrollment exceeded 90 per cent. By January of this year, the number had increased to 102--constituting about 17.8 per cent of all the city's public elementary schools as a result of declining white enrollments.

On the other side of the ledger, all-white elementary schools decreased from 209 in 1957 to 217 in January of this year. But figures alone do not give us the full picture. We should know... all of us, that is... precisely where we are going and why. We should plan and act on the basis of understanding and objectives.

School desegregation under open enrollment has been positive and dynamic, but we must give serious thought to the next phase of the North's attack on school segregation. And we must clear away the cobwebs of misinformation and fuzzy thinking. How many people realize that:

1. School desegregation and integration are not indentical.

2. Integration should involve specific school administrative approaches (e. g., curriculum changes and new teaching methods) and it should rest firmly on a foundation which recognizes the dynamics of social and psycholigical classroom activity. In other words, it requires changes--geared to the most up-to-date thinking in both methods and approach.

3. And further that this total educational process should provide the tools, techniques and motivation for integrated extra-school, adult living.

Our actions here in New York...the situation recently spotlighted in New Rochelle...and the accelerated pace of activity in New Jersey, in Ohio, in Detroit, in Chicago and on the West Coast demolish the remnants of the myth that this is solely a southern problem. It is a national problem without doubt. But there are differences of degree. Progress in this field might be measured this way: First comes the elimination of legal segregation. Next there is movement toward desegregation. And, finally, there is the attainment of integration.

The South, in many instances, is at Step 1 on the way to Step 2...it is eliminating legal segregation and moving toward desegregation. The North, in many instances, is at Step 2 on the way to Step 3. In other words, it is moving...somewhat unsurely...from desegregation toward integration.

As I indicated earlier, we have found at the Commission on Human Rights that bias is becoming unfashionable in our city. And it would not be stretching a point to suggest that it was about time.

Men of vision have proclaimed for centuries that equality was or should be the base of man's relations with his fellows. This concept--social justice--is the keystone of the Judaic-Christian ethic.

The major social chord which the Hebrew prophets kept vibrating was justice. In its various usages, it meant order, law, right, legal right. The concept of social democracy developed hand in hand with the evolution of the idea of one God. And this principle, activated through love, is Christianity's major chord, its gift to social ethics.

Today, with the principles having been firmly established and with a degree of acceptance having been won, we must hold the warmth and dignity of this promise and move unfalteringly ahead a step or two. Now the time has come to make integration a cardinal principle in our modern democratic concept. We must strive to make integration one of the norms in our culture. And, having done so, we need not fear that whites as well as Negroes will be desirous of striving for it.

It is at this point in our development and in our thinking that the Commission needs understanding and assistance. Helpful suggestions will come from members of this panel, I am sure. Educators, generally, can play a vital role--and Yeshiva University symbolizes this new kind of educational mission. This, as Dr. Belkin has so aptly phrased it, is "the higher moral purpose of education..."

This kind of education will continue to point the way to action.

# # # # #

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# Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

Subcommittee on Integration in
Federally Assisted Education

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Washington 25, D.C.

DEBORAH WOLFE
DIRECTOR

JAMES BRANIGAN
COUNSEL

429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 5257

July 30, 1962

Dear Mr. Hill:

I wish to take this opportunity to express my personal appreciation, as well as that of the members and staff of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education, for your kindness in appearing in hearings conducted by the Subcommittee on June 15, 1962, in its investigation of the progress of compliance by our schools with the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

The hearings have just been printed, and I am happy to enclose a copy.

We feel that through the findings of this Subcommittee, compliance with the Supreme Court decision will be much more rapid.

Moreover, we believe the studies and hearings on this question will help our citizens to become more enlightened and better able to participate in the full process of integration of the schools.

Your interest in helping to alleviate this pressing problem is genuinely appreciated.

Sincerely,

DOMINICK V. DANIELS, M. C.
Chairman

Enclosure.

Mr. Norman Hill
Assistant to Director, Program Department
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DPW:dfb

Schools

Statement of Norman Hill, Assistant to the Program Director, CORE - the Congress of Racial Equality before the Committee on Education and Labor of the U. S. House of Representatives, June 15, 1962, Washington, D. C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

My name is Norman Hill and I am the Assistant to the Program Director of the Congress of Racial Equality whose office is located in New York City, at 38 Park Row. I wish to thank the Committee for this opportunity to appear and to present testimony on the urgent need for the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Supreme Court in 1954 in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka declared that enforced racial segregation in public education is a denial of equal protection under the 14th amendment.

Yet today, eight years after this historic decision, 2,800,000 Negro children in the South still attend segregated schools. In the states of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, no effort has been made to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1960-61 only 7% of all Negroes in public schools in the 17 southern states attended school with white pupils. The public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia have been closed since September of 1959 in defiance of a court order. Tuition grants involving state and local funds have been used to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. In Louisiana measures have been taken by the executive and legislative

branches of the government to maintain segregation despite a Federal court order. Accompanying the defiance on a state level were civic disorder and a boycott of the public schools serving as the foci of the controversy. A further indication of the breakdown of law and order were the harassment and economic reprisals directed against the few whites who attempted to comply with the Federal order.

Such evidence clearly manifests the urgent and immediate need for further steps on a federal level -- namely the enactment of a public school desegregation bill. The relevant and pressing question is: how to extinguish public school segregation. Open defiance continues. Progress is excruciatingly slow. Millions of minority group children are suffering under an inferior physical and psychological educational environment, are experiencing an incalculable harm which may never be undone.

Granting the existing widespread school segregation is in the South, it is in reality a national problem, a cancer of the North as well as the South. On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," thus clearly encompassing segregation de facto as well as de jure. Examples of segregation in northern and western school systems occur by official action in the form of gerrymandering, zoning, selection of sites for schools and staffing and by culpable inaction, particularly in view of widespread residential segregation.

In reiterating support for a public school desegregation bill, I would cite Title II providing for grants to school boards and local

governments to facilitate desegregation and Title III authorizing technical assistance by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for desegregation problems. These provisions are the means by which desegregation can occur and at the same time maintain and improve the quality of education. Concurrently the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is a recognition of the necessity and urgency of school desegregation, a realization of the importance of avoiding the compounding of existing inequalities in facilities, staffing and quality of education resulting from segregation.

Millions of minority group children, North and South, await fulfillment of the 1960 Democratic Party platform pledge, "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should submit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963," and the Republican plank stating that, "We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay." The time is now!

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# RACE AND THE SCHOOLS

-- a report on educational problems
with recommendations for remedial action.

Respectfully submitted to the Board of
Education of San Francisco by the
Council for Civic Unity.

Prepared by the CCU Education Commitee.
Adopted by the CCU Board of Directors on
September 5, 1962.

Council for Civic Unity
437 Market Street
San Francisco 5, California
(EXbrook 2-3877)

## Preamble

The function of the public school is to educate. Horace Mann said that education is "the greatest equalizer of the conditions of man - the balance wheel of the social machinery," but he did not mean that the school was to be used as a tool for social change or remedy, except within the framework of its educational function.

This Council for Civic Unity report concerns itself with the changing intergroup relations problems of the city only insofar as they affect the proper educational functions of the schools, and are in turn affected by the proper educational functions of the schools.

The CCU report is divided into two parts. Part I delineates briefly the educational problems that changing circumstances in San Francisco have created.

These problems of education fall into two broad and connected categories:

1) the disproportionate number of under-educated children among certain racial and ethnic groups;
2) the under-educated condition of all children with respect to living democratically and harmoniously in our heterogeneous community.

Part II suggests specific remedies which fall into three categories:

1) Maximum Integration;
2) Compensatory Education; and,
3) Education in Human Relations.

San Francisco can be justly proud of the role which the schools have played in preparing its children to be, in the words of Dr. Spears, "self-paying members of the economy and . . . active participants in the civic and cultural affairs of the community." However, the nature of the vast population changes of the past few decades have so altered the task of enlightening children that qualitative changes in education are now in order. Dr. Spears has also pointed with justifiable satisfaction to the role of the schools in aiding in the accomplishment of successful integration in certain of the city's neighborhoods - the presence of good schools has helped to hold older residents during racial changes in some districts. In the course of performing its basic educational task, the schools can continue to fulfill this social role, now for the entire city.

San Francisco has an unparalleled opportunity to learn from the experiences of other urban communities and to forestall some of the tragic developments that have taken place in those cities. The San Francisco School Board has evinced its good will and intentions in this matter, but the matter of time is critical. There can indeed be a "point of no return."

The Superintendent's report of June 19 addressed itself to only one aspect of the larger problem. His report did not - and perhaps was not intended to - offer to the Board of Education a choice of ways to deal with these urgent educational problems. It is the intent of CCU's report to do so within the limitations of being an "outside" agency.

## I - THE PROBLEMS

A goal of the public school in America has always been to develop each student to the extent of his ability, so that he can lead as productive a personal life as he is able, and so that he will fulfill as productive a role in the economic and social life of the community as he is able.

In order to accomplish this function, the schools have had to constantly adapt their endeavors to meet changing times and needs. For example, when the life of the nation became increasingly commercial, the school program shifted radically, as it did again when the nation's economy became increasingly urban and industrial. The school program was also changed drastically and deliberately with the development of universal school attendance, first in elementary schools and then in secondary schools. The "program changes" were not just changes in curriculum; they were also changes in methods of administration; in methods of pupil placement; in meeting special needs; in the very definition of immediate goals.

Educators have recognized that the schools could lose their educational function and become a stagnant weight on society and the individual child if they did not strive to keep in step with, and lead, significant social changes. The effort has often been difficult, there have never been an panaceas, the community has not always given the educators the support they needed - but the educators have persisted.

### Background Social Problems

The social changes taking place in San Francisco today which require significant educational changes, with an urgent time factor built in, are these:

1) The rapid change in the racial and ethnic composition of San Francisco.

The proportion of nonwhites in San Francisco has doubled in the past ten years and it has been conservatively estimated that it will increase by at least half again in the next ten years.

In 1950, 10 per cent of the population was non-white; today about 20 per cent is non-white; in 1970 at least 25 per cent will be non-white. In 1950 about 5 per cent was Negro; today over 10 per cent is Negro; in 1970, over 15 per cent will be Negro. In addition, the proportion of people who are ethically grouped as "Spanish-speaking," of Mexican, Latin American or Puerto Rican ancestry, has increased rapidly. In 1960 there were over 50 thousand San Franciscans with Spanish surnames.

Because of family sizes among these groups, the change in school population has been drastic, and will be even more drastic. (In 1960, 29 per cent of all births in San Francisco were non-white, 17 per cent being Negro). The population pattern in the public school is affected further by the fact that 25 per cent of all school age children in San Francisco attend private or parochial schools; most of these children are white. In 1960, according to the U. S. Census reports, there were 93,258 children enrolled in the public schools, of whom one-third, 30,554, were non-white.

2) The increasing growth of non-white ghettoes in San Francisco.

There has been some residential dispersion of non-white families throughout the community generally, but this scattering has lagged so severely behind the growth of the non-white population that the total effect has been a rapid build-up of concentrations and ghettoes.

In 1960 there were 8 census tracts which contained more than a 50 per cent Negro population, as against two such tracts in 1950. In 1960 seven census tracts were over 75 per cent nonwhite (Negro and other nonwhites), as against three such tracts in 1950; seventeen census tracts had over 50 per cent nonwhite populations as against eight in 1950. Nonwhite concentration in San Francisco has become, and in the next ten years will continue to become, more severe.

3) The accompanying growth of socio-economic and educational ghettoes in San Francisco.

These racial ghettoes, particularly the Negro ghettoes, are socio-economic islands.

Item: The median income of the Negro family in San Francisco is only about 70 per cent that of the white family.

Item: 44 per cent of all male workers (White plus nonwhite) in San Francisco in 1960 were engaged in "white collar" jobs, 22 per cent of male nonwhite workers were so employed - from these figures it is estimated that the proportion of Negro workers in "white collar" positions is only one third that of whites. 16 per cent of all workers were in the skilled "blue collar" positions as against 9 per cent of the nonwhite labor force. The proportion of unskilled workers among non-whites is far higher than among whites.

Item: The percentage of unemployed is twice as high among Negroes as among whites.

Item: 30 per cent of housing occupied by nonwhite renters is sub-standard, as against 15 per cent for whites.

Item: The proportion of white adults who have completed high school is 50 per cent higher than that of Negro adults.

Item: School achievement is dramatically lower in every racially ghettoized situation tested. In a community adjacent to San Francisco, a University of California study has just compared achievement in two different areas of the city with these results:

| | AREA A | AREA B |
|---|---|---|
| Per cent white | 97 | 22 |
| Reading Test Score (Mean) | 106 | 73 |
| Arithmetic Test (Mean) | 83 | 54 |
| Per cent reading at grade level | 97 | 40 |
| IQ Test (Mean) | 126 | 101 |

More than 15 per cent of San Francisco's schools have a racial imbalance approximately that of the "Area A" schools above, and more than 15 per cent of San Francisco's schools have a racial imbalance approximately that of "Area B" schools above.

Item: While Dr. Spears cannot furnish data for San Francisco, studies elsewhere show that Negro students drop out of school at a rate at least 50 per cent higher than that of white students.

4) There is a "vicious cycle" which traps persons in socio-economic ghettoes but which can be broken by positive action through the schools.

Speaking of the people who live in these metropolitan ghettoes around the country, a recent report of the National Education Association said: "While many are victims of prejudice, much of their difficulty in adapting to urban life . . . stems from the true inadequacy of their cultural background for the modern environment."

(It would be a serious mistake to underestimate the positive social traits of most people living in the ghettoes. Robert Weaver, Administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency has observed "Slums in American cities tody house families which hold a wide range of values and evidence a variety of behavior patterns. Some are households with female heads and are stable none-the-less; others may be ungrammatical but adhere to high moral standards; still others evidence all the attributes of middle-class behavior and are dedicated to its values, if not recipients of its rewards. All three groups have ambition and talent, but fight an uphill battle in maintaining respectability and achievement for themselves and their children . . .")

In short, a vicious cycle is operating; low economic status to ghetto to low educational achievement to low economic status . . .

These ghettoes tend to become self-perpetuating traps, historically created and continually nourished by discrimination, but now regenerated constantly by something more

A central ingredient in this vicious trap of the racial ghetto is the sheer isolation of the non-white, particularly the Negro, who is walled in more effectively than America's ghettoized ethnic groups ever were fifty years ago - partly because of the difference in discrimination based on color, partly because of the difference in the American economy today. There is the danger, as there never was that these metropolitan Negro ghettoes - these cultural, educational and economic ghettoes - can become frozen. Fortune magazine's Charles Silberman wrote of this possibility:

"The danger is not violence but something much deeper and harder to combat: a sense of permanent alienation from American society. Unless the Negro position improves quickly, Negroes of whatever class may come to regard their separation from American society as permanent, and so

consider themselves permanently outside the constraints and allegiances of American society. The Negro district of every large city would come to constitute an American Casbah, with its own values and its own controls - and a deep hostility to the white community."

In his report, Dr. Spears rightly recognized that, "San Francisco, along with other great American cities, has always absorbed immigrants and moved them up the ladder to swell the bulging middle class that characterizes our society." But the situation of Negroes today has the elements of a separated and closed caste system containing its own limited middle-class and large lower class.

At what point can this vicious cycle be broken? What can society get off this causative merry-go-round? A break-down in housing discrimination is crucial, but it is no longer enough. The socio-economic, cultural and educational ghetto has grown too big and is too tough. A deliberate and strong remedy applied at the point of the schools in this vicious cycle is a sine qua non if this destructive cycle is to be broken soon enough or at all.

Educational Problems Related to the Social Problems

However, CCU is not raising the question of the schools being used as a general social instrument (although this may be indeed a valid question to raise), but is restricting itself to the successful educational function of the schools within the context of the above lightly-sketched conditions.

There would seem to be two different ways in which these conditions apply directly to the educational function of the schools:

1) As a result of a specific group situation a large number of individual students are being under-educated with respect to preparation for a productive economic and personal life.

Statistically speaking, at the point at which students leave school and enter the job market or college, a markedly disproportionate number of nonwhite students are: a) under-qualified in relation to other students; b) under-qualified in relation to their own natural capacities; c) resultantly in an inferior competitive position.

This ghettoized group has a school achievement of at least 25 per cent below that of the rest of the school community; it has a college entrance rate drastically below that of the rest of the community; it has a percentage of drop-outs drastically above that of the rest of the community. Yet, as a group its innate potential for intellectual and academic attainment is the same as that of the rest of the community.

In his new book, The Culturally Deprived Child, Dr. Frank Riessman has summarized a number of studies and school experiences which show the debilitating effect of the ghetto, with its lack of stimulation, upon achievement. He concludes, "School districting, which tends to segregate youths from different social strata, lessens the educational aspirations of underprivileged youngsters." A recent study made in the Bay Area showed that educationally disadvantaged children are much more likely to want to go to college and embark upon professional careers when they are in an integrated school

milieu. A report on de facto segregation by three prominent consultants at the request of the Englewood, New Jersey, Board of Education reads, "However, there is a growing array of research studies and of testimony of experienced educators leading to the conclusion that, because of the stigma attached to an all-Negro enrollment in the color-caste situations, children who are subjected to such a school environment generally fail to achieve up to the inherent talent which lies within them, regardless of the effort and talent put into the educational program. Professor Kenneth Clark, with others assisting presented an array of data as evidence in Brown v. Board of Education (347 U.S. 483, 1954) showing that a school which is all-Negro, because of this very fact, cannot secure the best possible achievement of its pupils. Dr. Carl F. Hansen, reporting as Superintendent of Schools of Washington, D.C., revealed that learning and school achievement in the Washington Schools had improved as a result of the removal of the stigma of segregation coupled with positive effort to attack the problem of under-achievement."

There is no question but that the ghettoized group, as a group, is under-educated and, that therefore the school - perhaps through no fault of its own commission - is failing to perform its educational function for a substantial number of students.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that in our modern economy with a lower need for an unskilled labor force every year, to be under-educated means to be more and more marginally employable. The vicious cycle is accelerated.

2) All children are being under-educated with respect to living democratically and harmoniously in our heterogeneous community.

To begin with, the most effective and indispensable education for intergroup living is contact. In one study of families in all-white public housing, 32 per cent who had had no personal contact with Negroes had favorable attitudes toward Negroes; but 74 per cent who had neighborly association with Negroes in a mixed project had a degree of esteem for Negroes. None of these families had been able to choose their public housing quarters' so it was the proximity and resulting neighborly relations alone which caused the differential in attitudes. There is no end of evidence on this point. Children who are racially isolated from each other are deprived of this important social education.

## II - SUGGESTED REMEDIES

The areas of remedy open to the schools in addressing the two educational problems are three-fold:

1) Maximum Integration

a) A significant goal if achievement is to reach its highest potential and if the prime educational function of the school system is to be fulfilled.

b) A significant goal in order for the educationally disadvantaged groups in the schools and in the community to feel that they have a stake in a society which really cares about them.

c) A significant goal if all of our youth is going to be educationally prepared to live in the community harmoniously and fruitfully.

2) Compensatory Education

a) This is a traditional educational concept already accepted by the San Francisco Board of Education, e.g., specialized education for children who are deaf, crippled, retarded, homebound, etc.

3) Education in Human Relations

a) The most effective education for harmonious intergroup relations is embodied in maximum integration. But, there is need also for deliberate programming within the schools and in the school curricula towards this end.

These three roads to remedy cross at many points and no one of them alone can achieve the goals. Programs of maximum integration and compensatory education both need to be applied to the problem of the generally under-educated and under-achieving youth in our schools. Programs of maximum integration and of compensatory education and of other forms of intergroup relations education all need to be applied to the problem of educating all of our youth to live together in San Francisco. A piecemeal approach cannot be effective; a comprehensive approach planned on all levels is needed.

1) Towards Maximum Integration

In his report to the Board of Education, Dr. Spears concludes,". . . any program to improve the situation would need to be educationally sound if established by official Board action."

"Educational soundness" consists of a balance of factors. As indicated in CCU's report*, integration in the schools is educationally sound and educationally advantageous.

CCU recommends that the Board adopt a policy statement that maximum integration is a goal of the San Francisco Unified School District. This need not be a threat to the policy of neighborhood school districts, which is also an educationally sound concept. School districting is now based on requirements relative to building utilization and the convenience and safety of the

* See pages 5, 6, 13, 15

children. CCU suggests that the principal of maximum integration be added to these criteria.

Recommendation:

The explicit policy which CCU recommends for adoption by the Board of Education is that:

1) Maximum integration in the public schools is educationally desirable and will be one factor of legitimate consideration in the placement of pupils, teachers and schools.
2) The definition of "maximum integration," upon which the above policy can be implemented, is an overall racial pattern in the schools which most nearly approximates the racial proportion of the total school population. This signifies a direction rather than a rigid proportion or quota in any given school.

Because of the social factors which influence neighborhood residential patterns, it is obvious that the goal of maximum integration cannot be absolutely attained by the schools alone. There may be some schools in which maximum integration could not be attained without transporting some children from School A to School B, and from School B to School A, simply to meet the goal exactly. CCU is not suggesting that this be done. CCU believes that the school's task is to do everything within its power, and in balance with its other educational goals, to approximate these proportions as nearly as possible, utilizing the remedies suggested below. Obviously, the goal is towards the best pattern of maximum integration for the school system, which means in effect that the movement shall be away from the worst single ratio in any given school.

There are several educationally sound remedies open to the Board of Education with which to implement the policy of maximum integration.

1) Districting: To achieve the above policy goal, the administration should determine school district lines with the factor of maximum integration included along with minimal requirements imposed by the other criteria of safety, distance, topographical barriers and school capacity. In other words, if these last four factors do not critically intervene, adjoining school district lines should be readjusted when they can help achieve an overall pattern of maximum integration.
2) Site selection: The selection of sites for new schools, or relinquishment of buildings for other uses, should take the factor of maximum integration into account along with other standard considerations.
3) Reclassification of Schools: When two schools are neighboring, it may be possible to achieve maximum integration by assigning lower grades to one building and upper grades to the other.
4) Secondary Feeder Patterns: The feeder pattern of junior high and high schools may be changed to obtain maximum integration.

5) School Utilization: In those cases as cited by Dr. Spears, where children are assigned from overcrowded to undercrowded schools the factor of maximum integration should be considered in the selection of schools.

6) Open Enrollment: When other remedies have not been fruitful in achieving maximum integration, children may be given the option of transferring to schools with unfilled classrooms as long as the transfer helps to achieve a pattern of maximum integration. This procedure has provided some relief from the situation and has at least visibly opened the jaws of the oppressive ghetto trap in other communities without imposing drastic burdens.

An impersonal racial head-count in the schools is required if the program above is to be implemented. A sharp distinction can be made at least between racial labeling in the records of an individual student and a simple head-count census conducted by the school staff. There is nothing objectionable about the latter, it does not involve embarassing the individual student or altering his records; it is now authorized for a number of official California state processes, and it is indispensable for the program of attaining maximum integration.

In reply to the argument that the schools should remain "color blind" in order to provide equal educational opportunities, the noted consultant, Dan W. Dodson has written, "The basic philosophy of intergroup relations in crashing through institutionalized segregation and apartheid policies was most clearly stated by Justice Harlan in the famous Plessy v. Ferguson decision. In his dissent he stated that any arm of government in dealing with people should be 'color blind.'

"Today however when it comes to integration as contrasted to desegregation, the shoe is on the other foot. The Supreme Court decision of May 1954 can be, and is, widely interpreted to mean that children reared in segregation are traumatized in their perception of self. This has injected a new value into the picture. This value indicates that when segregation, either enforced or de facto occurs, it is the responsibility of the government to break it up. This cannot be done by being color blind."

The Council is confident that if the Board of Education adopts the recommended policy of Maximum Integration, it will be implemented as soon as is possible from a practical consideration.

2) Compensatory Education

A recent report of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association predicted, "If present trends are not reversed, half of the inhabitants of the large city of 1970 may be (educationally) disadvantaged - - persons unable to participate constructively in their society." The report stated that these are persons from "homes characterized by poverty, meager educational background, lack of privacy, emotional instability, shifting personal relationships, personal conflicts and mobility." These are people coming from rural backgrounds where they lived in isolation from the mainstream of American society. They are caught up in a new urban world which is difficult to join.

In his new book "The Culturally Deprived Child," Dr. Frank Riessman lists these "conventional reasons" usually given to explain why disadvantaged children do poorly in school:

"1. The lack of an 'educational tradition' at home, books, etc.
2. Insufficient language and reading skills.
3. Inadequate motivation to pursue long-range educational career, and poor estimate of self.
4. Antagonism towards the school, the teacher.
5. Poor health, improper diet, frequent moving, and noisy, TV-ridden homes."

Without dismissing the above, he adds some other causes connected with the school itself:

"1. The discrimination, frequently unintentional, seen in the classroom, Parent-Teacher Association, guidance office, psychological testing program, etc. which alienates Johnny and his family.
2. Johnny's ambivalence toward education - not simply rejection of it - his lack of school know-how, test-taking skills, information concerning college, and his anti-intellectualism.
3. The culture of the school which overlooks and underestimates his particular skills and mode of intellectual functioning that arise out of his culture and way of life.
4. The deficits in Johnny's background which necessitate special transitional techniques to bring him into the academic mainstream. These do not require a 'soft' approach, a lowering of standards, a capitulation to his deficiencies."

It should not be assumed that the ghetto family does not value education, often they perceive it as unattainable or nor directly related to the vocations open to them. In a study of educational and vocational aspirations conducted by Bernard C. Rosen, it was revealed that Negro respondents placed high value on education but had low vocational expectations.

Of course, not all Negro children are educationally disadvantaged, nor are all disadvantaged children Negroes - in some cities, it is the children of the Southern mountain white migrants who present educational problems to the schools, in others it is the children of Spanish-speaking families - but the factor of race is important in producing culturally deprived children as we have indicated.

The Concept of Compensatory Education

In his report of June 19, Dr. Spears gave attention to this problem and introduced the concept of "compensatory educational opportunity" through a quotation from a talk by Dr. John H. Fischer, Dean of Columbia University Teachers College.* To cope with the problems of the educationally deprived children, special school programs must be devised. It is to the credit of the San Francisco Board of Education that it long ago recognized the need for special school programs for the physically handicapped child and that more recently it took advantage of funds from the Ford Foundation to undertake a program in the Western Addition for the educationally handicapped pupil. The Board is to be further commended for its recent appropriation of a considerable sum to enable the expansion of this vital program and also for its efforts to seek further Federal and private monies to begin a similar program in Hunters Point.

It is to be hoped that these programs will produce the dramatic results in stimulating motivation, raising achievement levels, improving school - community relations, that have resulted from similar experiments in other cities. The way has been shown for the attack upon educational deprivation. There is nothing mysterious about the programs. They are based upon smaller teacher-counselor-pupil ratios, inservice training for school personnel, utilization of special materials and activities, and closer liaison with parents and community agencies including those concerned with employment. The operating cost for "compensatory educational opportunities" appears high when measured against the traditional school program, but this cost is low when placed in proper perspective by contrasting it with the expenses created by delinquency, welfare and the incalculable loss of human ability.

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*" In the cases of some Americans, and that of the Negro American most dramatically, our traditional system has failed for a long time and in countless ways to provide that equality of opportunity that should be the condition of all our people.

Could it be that to achieve total equality of opportunity in America we may have to modify currently accepted ideas about equality of opportunity in education itself? Is it conceivable that some of our children are entitled to more and better educational opportunities than most of the others? In fact, of course, the question has already been answered. Thousands of mentally and physically handicapped children, regardless of race, regularly receive teaching service, physical facilities and supporting services more extensive and more costly than those furnished children who are considered physically or mentally normal. In the cases of many Negro children - and the generalization would apply also to certain other minority groups - we may need to substitute for our traditional concept of equal educational opportunity a new concept of compensatory opportunity.

I doubt that anyone is in a position now to say precisely what the concept of compensatory educational opportunity would mean in every case, but my purpose here is not so much to answer the question as to raise it for discussion. The concept of compensatory opportunity should certainly not be restricted to any one group and, as I have suggested, it has already been applied to other types of disability. But, to the degree that a child's race or cultural background handicap him, and especially where they are attributable, at least in part, to earlier governmental action, they should be taken into account in adjusting his educational program."

Recommendations:

The San Francisco Unified School System should expand its current programs both in scope and in goal. Full "Compensatory educational opportunity" should be available to every child who is in need - this is a great challenge to the school today. This challenge should not be met at the expense of the city's programs for other students for its very essence is to equalize opportunities so as to attain the highest levels of education for all of our children. To date, San Francisco's School Community Improvement Program has been limited in aim and application. There is need now for comprehensive central planning for an expanded effort; planning based upon full knowledge of achievement levels, school by school, upon the disabilities of children and of the erosive influences of the ghetto. CCU is confident that the citizens of San Francisco will give support, financial and otherwise, to expanded opportunities projects. To lessen the direct financial burden placed upon the cities whose populations require these intensive school ventures, CCU suggests that State and Federal resources be sought. There are ample precedents in the funding of programs for physically handicapped school children.

Further, the School Board might take the lead in suggesting and coordinating community projects that should enhance the school programs. There are now gaps between school and community which the Board can point out, suggest remedies, offer cooperation and assign liaison personnel. For example:

- - a corps of qualified community volunteers, properly screened and trained, who will take a child each "under their wing", not for behavior purposes but to educational ends - helping with the homework, encouraging effort, etc. For this program not to be offensive to parents, the schools or the community will probably have to provide neutral ground as has been done in the pilot program now being operated in the Western Addition by the LINKS and YWCA.

- - The school and community should work more closely with parents who are concerned about the advancement of their children. A report last June of the Subcommittee on Schools, Bayview-Hunters Point District Citiaens Committee asserted ". . . that our schools have had small success in their essential role of assisting family and community to transmit to our children the attitudes which build and sustain self-respect, individual dignity, and self-sufficiency and in achieving social and economic assimilation." Perhaps parent-teacher workshops, where each might participate on the level of common concern and mutual respect, may be begun by the Board of Education with the help of the Bay Area's excellent universities.

- - For another example, there are now school-employer-labor gaps which should be filled. Here again it would not be amiss for the schools to offer cooperation and make explicit suggestions, although the project

should be a community one not left entirely to the school district for implementation.

- - The role of the counselor is a vital one in guiding children along the educational paths, vocational or academic, suited to their interests and abilities. At present, counselors are overburdened to the point that they can allow but a short time during the school year for each pupil. There is need for more counselors, persons trained well with the best information available to them. The examples of possible programs suggested above could be very helpful as a supplement to the work of the counselor.

In summary, a program of "compensatory education," one with high educational standards, is needed today beyond the curricula and participant limitations of San Francisco's present pioneer project.

Integration As An Aid To Compensatory Education

Failure to implement the policy of maximum integration in schools would greatly impede the programs of compensatory education for ghettoized children. Studies and the experiences of desegregated school systems (cited above on page 5), indicate that ghettoized children are roused positively toward achievement in an integrated school situation where more emphasis is placed by other students upon educational attainments. Low achievement appears to be more a function of lack of stimulation of the cultural isolation which characterizes the ghetto, than lack of ability. It is also a generally accepted generalization that culture - - whether we mean values, expectations, or si mply the skills that go with urban living - - is learned through contact, preferably through participation in common tasks. Dr. Spears has cited the language difficulties faced by children coming from some groups in San Francisco. If these children were in a setting where correct English is the norm, it is likely that their language facility would be greatly enhanced and that their disabilities would not adversely affect other students whose backgrounds have given them correct language habits.

CCU wishes to emphasize that it is not suggesting that the educational standards of San Francisco's schools be diluted. Evidence from school systems which have desegregated indicates that educational standard levels need not fall and that children not educationally disadvantaged have not suffered in achievement.

Also, the point should be made that not all nonwhite children are educationally disadvantaged, nor are all disadvantaged children nonwhite. Many nonwhite parents have been able to provide excellent environments to prepare their children to take advantage of San Francisco's educational offering and some of these parents live within the confines of the ghetto. But the facts of the ghetto cannot be ignored. Dr. James Conant in his book, "Slums and Suburbs," has investigated these facts and concludes, "Social dynamite is building up in our large cities in the form of unemployed out-of-school youth, especially in the Negro slums. We need accurate and frank information neighborhood by

neighborhood . . . Leaving aside human tragedies, I submit that a continuation of this situation is a menace to the social and political health of the large cities."

3) Education About Human Relations

In his textbook, The Principles of Teaching, Dr. Spears has observed "The number one purpose of the American school is to train for American citizenship." Expanding upon this thesis, a Section of the Education Code of the state of California stipulates:

> "Each teacher shall endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice and patriotism, to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity and falsehood, to instruct them in the principles of a free government, and to train them to a true comprehension of the rights, duties, and dignity of American citizenship."

America has relied heavily upon its schools to propogate the basic values upon which the nation is predicated. The enormous task of Americanizing millions of immigrants was performed admirably by the public schools. This fundamental American educational goal remains today. "One of the greatest challenges facing the United States today is that of giving all Americans a basis for living constructively and independently in the modern age, " states a report of the National Educational Association. "The requirement is not for conformity but for compatibility. To make all people uniform would be as impracticable as it would be inconsistent with American ideals. To give all people a fair chance to meet the challenges of life is both practicable and American."

Events indicate daily that a prime problem facing American citizens is to cultivate the ability to live together in peace with peoples of all kinds in this most heterogeneous world. The child who does not understand the differences between racial and ethnic groups will be crippled as an adult. He will be unable to function effectively as a citizen, for his vision will be constricted by prejudice.

Americans as a people have been distinguished for their faith in education One continually hears the thought that education is the answer to the problems of race relations which also distinguish this country. Recognizing that education is but one answer among many, the question may be raised: What can be done by the schools to teach the facts of human relations systematically to our children? What can be done to help school personnel discover the facts about the intergroup differences among their students so as to develop a perspective to better deal with the educational needs of each child?

Guiding Principles for a Human Relations Education Program

Professor Charlotte Epstein of the University of Pennsylvania has written that an adequate educational program should deal with three aspects of human relations:

"1. Young people need the knowledge in the field; i.e. the facts about groups other than their own and how groups interact with each other in various social settings.

2. Young people need an awareness of and sensitivity to the needs and problems of groups other than their own.

3. Young people need opportunity to develop skills in interacting creatively with people of groups other than their own."

Successful programs of human relations have been carried on at all levels of education. Much has been written about these programs and it is not the purpose of CCU's report to set forth their content in detail here. However, in the lower grades it appears that this information is best imparted not as a separate subject but when incorporated in the reading and discussion materials of an academic subject such as English. In the secondary years, students are apparently able to deal with this information directly in specialized courses.

Inquiry reveals that San Francisco's public school children are not given the opportunity to learn about human relations systematically as they progress from kindergarten to high school gradua tion. In the elementary schools individual teachers may bring in pertinent materials as part of their regular instruction, but the student may move through the school without having had the advantage of such a teacher. Also, because teaching about human relations is left to the interests of individual teachers the result for the student is apt to be simply the cultivation of some insights which, while valuable, do not form into a related body of knowledge. At the secondary level, again individual teachers may teach about human relations within the context of other subjects - such as civics, history or English - but those courses dealing specifically with social problems are elective and are missed by many students.

Recommendation:

The San Francisco Board of Education should institute a program of human relations education to progress systematically through elementary and high school.

Integration and Human Relations Education

Judge Zirpoli recently reminded us of the changing relations between Negro and white people. If children are to learn about this, if they are to develop a comprehension of what is actually meant by the tenet, "All men are created equal," they must have the opportunity for face-to-face contact with children of the other race. "With the growin g segregation of residential living in America, the plaguing question which continuously arises is 'how can educators lead modern day youths out of their hiding into meaningful encounters with each other to the end that they learn the skills of citizenship commensurate with the demands of the times of which they are a part?", asks Dan Dodson of New York University, "I submit that it cannot be done adequately, with each little neighborhood school becoming a 'turf' whose primary purpose is to shut out life rather than to let in life."

This is why implementation of the principle of maximu m integration by the San Francisco Board of Education would be educationally sound for all children. Human relations education is of limited use when taught in a homogeneous racial setting. "All men are created equal . . . but . . . 'they' are not good enough to go to our school." "All men are created equal . . . but . . . we are not good enough for 'them'." The experience of children outside of

class can defeat the teacher's best efforts to follow the directions of California's Educational Code. The lack of personal contact, coupled with the stigma inherent to segregation, undermines the teaching of American values and leads to the cynicism of hypocrisy. Research has shown that attitudes can be influenced more by contact than by teaching. If, as some claim, education will eventually solve the problems of employment and housing integration, perhaps, if Negro and white children learn to get along during their most impressionable years, they will be more willing to accept one another as adults.

In-service Training

The fourth "R" in education - human relations - is a need of school personnel as well as of pupils. Dr. Spears' report indicated that some opportunity for this had been given to teachers last year through adult education courses. He also noted a pamphlet published by the school system ten years ago as well as special programs for some faculty members in selected secondary schools. Because these programs were profitable, Dr. Spears stated that he intends to intensify efforts along these lines.

Dean Fischer of Columbia has noted, "In dealing with a population which is racially and culturally integrated, the school must begin by encouraging teachers to understand the special factors in the backgrounds of all their children, to take these differences imaginatively into account, and to build curricula and teaching techniques that reflect not only idealism but realism as well." Teachers do not just teach, their daily interaction with students is a demonstration of human relations standards. The same may be said for administrators, counselors, and for non-professional personnel including custodians and clerical workers. All adults who have contact with children in a school setting are influential.

Research has shown, for example, that teachers from a middle-class background hoften have a difficult time teaching the child from a lower socio-economic group where there is a prevalance of behavior pattern so different as to be in conflict with middle-class values. Effective in-service courses can help teachers follow the counsel of psychiatrist Frank Riessman, "Understand the culture of the underprivileged, including the positives. This is not the same as recognizing the economic difficulties and general life conditions of the educationally deprived . . . But understanding of this culture must include a genuine appreciation of the positives that have arisen out of the effort, however insufficient at times, to cope with the difficult environment."

Recommendation:

The Board of Education should institute extensive, and on-going, in-service training programs in human relations for all school personnel.

Textbooks

Recently, the California Board of Education gave attention to the woefully inadequate treatment of the history and contributions of minorities in our textbooks. History texts present a Southern version of the Civil War because they are written to sell in the South as well as in the North. Texts should be factual not propogandistic. Minority children now learn little of the part which their

ancestors have played in the making of America. For example, the Negro child reads of the idyllic days of slavery and of a few individual Negroes who have gained prominence. He finds little in his school books to inspire him about Americans who are Negroes.

Teaching materials should reflect that heterogeneity which is peculiar to American life so that each child may find that of which he is a part. The books from which our children learn the basic academic subjects seldom contain pictures or examples with which minority children can identify. Primary readers are about small, white, middle-class families, complete with grandparents, silver table setting, and a dog. Our school materials should reflect the principles of maximum integration.

Recommendation:

The Board of Education should have textbooks and other teaching materials reviewed thoroughly for their accuracy, comprehensiveness, and balance in presenting the part played by all groups in the United States. Because of the system of textbook selection in California, the San Francisco Board of Education should support the State Board of Education's efforts to obtain more factual works.

Teacher Placement

There are other school problems related to human relations education which can be corrected. There appears to be some concentration of Negro teachers in schools of racial imbalance. While there is some value in this - it allows for easier identification of Negro children with successful people - it also is important that white children should have a similar opportunity for contact with Negro adults. A maximum pattern of integration for teachers should also be adopted. This means a policy of frankly "recognizing" the race of a teacher in an assignment. Under the circumstances, it is a casuistry to say that this is some kind of inverted discrimination. The burden of this document and of the action which the Board should take is the recogn ition that we are in a period where, for the purposes of educational achievement and indeed democratic achievement, a policy of constructive race-consciousness, rather than neutral race-blindness, is essential. This is not to say that the desires and seniority privileges of teachers who are Negroes should be ignored. It is merely to indicate what the attempt and thrust of the Board of Education should be in teacher placements.

Recommendation:

The Board of Education should adopt a policy of "permissive assignment" of teachers to implement the principle of maximum integration.

Intramural Integration

Another important question is that of intramural integration. It is common observation that while some schools may be integrated,there is little meaningful interaction between children across group lines. This has been called "voluntary"segregation, but it might better be termed "habitual." Schools should recognize the tendency toward habitual segregation and the resulting

racial tensions which are a product of the lives which children have led outside of the school setting.

Experience has shown that a positive program on the part of administrators and teachers can reduce habitual segregation. An experienced children's psychiatrist, Dr. Rutherford Stevens, has commented, "Some children will find it a problem initially to relate to other children with a greater diversity of socio-economic and cultural backgrounds than in their previous experience. They may be expected to develop sub-group loyalties, based on racial factors, in an effort to deal with this new stress. However, as soon as educators achieve a favorable school climate through resolution of their own conflicting attitudes and provision of strong objective leadership, the children's racial loyalties can be expected to give way to school, team and class identifications and loyalties." The faculty of a school should be helped to analyze this problem as it exists in their school and to develop coordinated efforts to counter it. For example, in a school in another city, no Negro children participated in the extra-curricular clubs, inquiry showed that they felt they were not wanted in clubs. This was a direct reflection of the isolation of Negroes not only in the larger community but in the teaching materials of the school itself.

Recommendation:

The Board of Education should encourage positive programs by school faculties to reduce habitual segregation where it exists in the schools.

4) Recommendations for Implementation of the Remedies

For the implementation of the above program - concerning Maximum Integration, Compensatory Education, and Human Relations Education - the Council for Civic Unity recommends:

1. The establishment of a central administrative division within the San Francisco Unified School District which can coordinate the programs and which can also serve as the center of contact and communication for interested parents and sections of the community (CCU is pleased to note that Dr. Spears has already appointed an assistant on race relations and hopes that this will lend to the adoption of CCU's recommendation for a central administrative division.);

2. Finally, the CCU reiterates its belief that the Board would find it helpful - as other Boards of Education have - to appoint an advisory committee for this comprehensive and specialized program. Such a committee would, of course, not be a policy-making body, or in any way a substitute for the Board of Education which is the duly constituted and well qualified citizens body for guiding school matters. However, there are complex intergroup relations and community relations problems intersecting the educational problems in this particular program. There are resources in the community on which the Board could draw to assist it in this unusual task. The advisory committee could be made up of Board members, administrative personnel, intergroup relations experts from our institutions of higher learning, and knowledgable individuals representing all segments of the community. Such

a committee could help relieve the Board from some of the exorbitant time-burdens of preliminary work; could provide some regular and valuable expertisse on the overall social problem, without cost;and could comprise an important bridge of communication between the Board and affected parts of the community in this sensitive situation.

## SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1) Towards Maximum Integration

CCU's primary recommendation is that the San Francisco Board of Education:

a) adopt a policy that maximum integration in the public schools is educationally desirable and will be one factor of legitimate consideration in the placement of pupils, teachers, and schools;

b) define maximum integration, upon which the above policy can be implemented, as an overall racial pattern in the schools which most nearly approximates the racial proportion of the total school population. This signifies a direction rather than a rigid proportion or quota in any given school;

c) adopt a policy that the following remedies will be used by the school administration to achieve a pattern of maximum integration:

1. Periodically redistricting towards that end, without abandoning other minimal requirements which enter into the determination of "neighborhood school" districts;
2. consideration of maximum integration, along with other standard factors, in the selection of new school sites or the relinquishment of existing buildings to other purposes;
3. splitting the grades between neighboring schools;
4. changing the feeder pattern of secondary schools;
5. achieving maximum integration in the current process of relieving overcrowding;
6. when the above procedures produce limited results, permitting transfers to unfilled schools if the policy of maximum integration is served.

2) Compensatory Education

A) The San Francisco Unified School System should expand its current programs of compensatory education both in scope and in goal.

B) The School Board might take the lead in suggesting and coordinating community projects that should enhance the school programs.

3) Education About Human Relations

a) The San Francisco Board of Education should institute a program of human relations education to progress systematically through elementary and high school.

b) The Board of Education should have textbooks and other teaching materials reviewed thoroughly for their accuracy, comprehensiveness, and balance in in presenting the part played by all groups in the United States. Because of the system of textbook selection in California, the San Francisco Board of Education should support the California Board of Education's efforts to obtain more factual works.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

January, 1963

MEMORANDUM

RE: PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE NORTH AND WEST

FROM: June Shagaloff
Special Assistant
for Education

The Association's attack on public schools segregated-in-fact in the North and West has been extended in the past year to more that sixty-nine cities in fifteen states. From California to Connecticut, the NAACP has examined school policies and practices and, based on the findings, has alerted communities to the existence of northern style segregation and its damaging educational effects. Increased demands for desegregation and mobilization of parent-community support have followed, together with demonstrations against discriminatory practices.

Twelve northern and western public school systems, at the beginning of the 1962-63 school year, desegregated completely or took steps to achieve greater desegregation as the direct result of NAACP activity. Vigorous community-action programs are underway in other communities to eliminate or reduce racial segregation in the schools and to raise educational standards. Continued evasion and inaction by school officials in some instances has resulted in litigation. Eighteen, of a total of twenty-one legal actions challenging existing public school segregation have been filed by the NAACP under the direction of its General Counsel, Robert L. Carter. In Rochester, New York and San Francisco, bi-racial school desegregation suits have been brought for the first time on behalf of white and Negro parents by the NAACP.

The accelerated attack of the NAACP, announced early in 1962, is in compliance with directives of the Annual Convention calling for intensified efforts "to insure the end of all segregated public education in fact or by law by all means available..."

Attached is a state-by-state report on the scope of NAACP activity and the status of public school desegregation in the North and West.

## Section I

DESEGREGATION, September, 1962

The plans of public school desegregation adopted in the following communities include re-zoning, The Princeton Plan (assignment of pupils by grade to two or three schools combined in a single attendance area), and re-organizing the use of schools. Where extensive segregated housing precluded more effective plans, open enrollment (transfer of students from overcrowded, segregated to under-utilized, predominantly white schools) was adopted. (See Section II for more detailed reports on these communities.)

Eloy, Arizona

The elementary schools were rezoned to eliminate segregation after the Pinal County NAACP Branch petitioned the school board to desegregate. The high schools were desegregated in 1954.

Mt. Vernon, Illinois

The segregated Washington Elementary School was closed, and students and teachers were reassigned to existing schools. (Until several years ago, all Negro pupils attended the segregated school regardless of where they lived. Subsequently, Negro students were permitted to attend the school in their zone, if they so desired.)

Danville, Illinois

Elementary school zone lines were redrawn and permissive transfers for white pupils were eliminated.

Jersey City, New Jersey

Following a report by the Jersey City Branch on the extent of segregation-in-fact, the Board of Education, in March, designated the segregated schools "improper" and established a school committee to meet with NAACP representation. The school board subsequently agreed to extend open enrollment and engaged a consultant to develop more extensive desegregation plans.

Montclair, New Jersey

After continued efforts by the Montclair NAACP Branch, including school picketing and other demonstrations, the Board of Education agreed to close the segregated Glenfield Junior High School and appointed a citizens committee to develop a permanent reorganization plan for the junior high schools. The NAACP subsequently opposed the school board's proposed desegregation plan on the basis that it would establish predominantly Negro schools while by-passing the assignment of Negro pupils to a virtually all-white junior high school. The school board rescinded this plan, rejected the proposals of the citizens committee, and adopted a plan calling for the assignment of Glenfield Junior High School students to each existing junior high school.

Morristown, New Jersey

The school board in 1962 agreed to re-examine the virtually all-Negro Lafayette Elementary School and to consider desegregation plans. The attorney for the school board advised, "no serious debate can challenge the self-evident conclusion that

the Lafayette School is racially segregated within the prohibition of the law." The school board subsequently considered six alternative plans and adopted a plan calling for reorganization of the schools. The segregated school was reorganized as an integrated junior high school, and elementary school pupils and teachers were reassigned to existing grade schools.

Newark, New Jersey

The school board initiated limited open enrollment after the Newark NAACP Branch filed a federal court school suit. The suit was subsequently withdrawn.

Portsmouth, Ohio

After the NAACP Branch charged discriminatory elementary school zoning, the school board announced that zone lines would be redrawn, applying without exception to white and Negro students. White parents vigorously objected to the new zoning and the school board subsequently recinded the plan. The NAACP and Negro parents picketed and successfully boycotted the segregated school until the Board announced the proposed rezoning would be put into effect. The board also agreed to rezone the entire school system to achieve greater desegregation, effective in 1963.

Xenia, Ohio

The Board of Education, responding to demands of the NAACP Branch for desegregation, adopted open enrollment for 1962 until the entire elementary school system could be rezoned in 1963 to desegregate completely.

Coatesville, Pennsylvania

Vigorious NAACP action resulted in the adoption of the Princeton Plan whereby students are assigned, by grade, to schools combined in a single zone. The school board assigned all students in the new zone to the formerly predominantly Negro school for grades one to three, and to the white school for grades four through six. White and Negro teachers at both schools were reassigned to assure faculty integration. Earlier, the school board attorney advised: "...the law is very clear as set down by the Supreme Court and the Brown decision...It is the duty of every board of school directors to proceed to integrate with all deliberate speed...A school system with segregated schools is in violation of the laws."

Twin Oaks, Pennsylvania

A successful parent boycott of the segregated elementary school, led by the Chester NAACP Branch, resulted in the elimination of discriminatory school practices.

## OTHER ACTIONS

The Washington, Pennsylvania Board of Education announced that the elementary schools would be desegregated at the beginning of the spring, 1963 term.

In Oakland, California, the NAACP rejected the limited plan of open enrollment adopted by the school board in December, 1962 as "completely inadequate" in eliminating racial gerrymandering and other discriminatory practices which extend racially segregated schools.

In Chicago, Illinois, an extremely restricted plan of open enrollment, initiated in the fall after years of inaction by school officials, was severely criticized by the NAACP and other groups as inadequate.

In Plainfield, New Jersey, the NAACP initiated legal action challenging open enrollment as "an evasion of the fact of desegregation."

In Detroit, Michigan, the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the Board of Education completed a two-year study of public schools segregated-in-fact and related problems.

## STATE ACTION

California in 1962 became the second state to recognize the educational undesirability of public schools segregated-in-fact. The State Board of Education, at the urging of the NAACP, directed local school authorities to consider "the ethnic composition" of schools in establishing zone lines, consolidating school districts (required by the state), and selecting school sites.

In New York, the state policy adopted in 1960 by the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York and in 1961 by the Commissioner of Education urging the elimination of segregation-in-fact was followed by a state-wide racial census of elementary schools students to determine the extent of existing segregation. The census, based on observation, was made by local Superintendents of Schools at the direction of the State Commissioner of Education.

A third state, New Jersey, has been urged by the NAACP in the Orange school complaint "to formulate and implement a state-wide policy requiring all local Boards of Education to take immediate steps...to eliminate racial segregation in the public school districts under their supervision and control." (Fisher et. al. v. The Board of Education of the City of Orange, New Jersey, et. al.)

## Section II

## STATUS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

### ARIZONA

#### Eloy

The Board of Education announced June 6th that effective September, 1962, elementary schools would be rezoned to end segregated elementary schools. The Board acted in response to a petition calling for desegregation filed by the Pinal County NAACP on April 24th on behalf of 31 parents and 47 children following a conference of the NAACP, Negro parents, and the Special Assistant for Education.

The NAACP petition stated, "It is now April, 1962, eight years after the May 17th decision which placed a constitutional obligation on every school board in the United States to desegregate all public schools under its control. While partial desegregation has been ordered by this Board, there is no valid reason why complete desegregation should not have been long since accomplished."

#### Phoenix and Tucson

The Phoenix and Tucson NAACP Branches are examining the public schools to determine the extent of predominantly Negro-Mexican schools, zoning practices, and educational standards. The NAACP Branch in Tucson has urged school officials to change discriminatory policies which exclude Negro students from distributive education courses.

### CALIFORNIA

#### State-Wide

The General Counsel and Special Assistant for Education on April 12th appeared before the California State Board of Education urging the adoption and implementation of a state-wide policy to eliminate racially segregated public schools existing in fact.

The State Board, on May 10 - 11, called for affirmative steps to eliminate racial segregation and directed the State Superintendent of Schools to draft regulations requiring rezoning of school districts, governing site selection for new schools and prescribing racial and ethnic integration as a cardinal principle in school district unification. The State Board made it clear that desegregation will be an important factor in securing state approval of district unification and reorganization as required by the State Legislature.

The directive of the California State Board of Education was hailed by NAACP Executive Secretary as a "major breakthrough in the northern states, the impact of which will be felt not only in California, but throughout the North and West. California's newly adopted policy clearly recognizes the undesirability of segregated schools regardless of the causes and the responsibility of school authorities to eliminate all forms of segregation."

On June 14, the State Board adopted a basic policy statement reaffirming the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 declaring that racial segregation per se in public education was discriminatory. The Board stated,

> "... We now find...some of our schools are becoming racially segregated in fact, and that this challenge to equality of educational opportunity must be met with the full thrust of our legal authority and moral leadership ....in all areas under our control or subject to our influence the policy of elimination of existing segregation and curbing any tendency toward its growth must be given serious and thoughtful consideration by all persons involved at all levels. Wherever and whenever feasible, preference shall be given to those programs which will tend toward conformity with the views herein expressed."

At the regular October meeting, the Board adopted the following three-point program implementing its policy statement of June 14th:

1. A regulation requiring local school boards to consider ethnic integration in establishing school zone lines (effective November 22, 1962);

2. A resolution of the Superintendent of Public Instruction amending a section of the California Administrative Code, requiring consideration of ethnic integration in the selection and improvement of school sites (effective November 22, 1962);

3. A directive to County Committees on School District Organization and County Superintendents of schools requiring consideration of ethnic integration in the reorganization of local school districts. (Reorganization and consolidation of school districts, required by the State, must be approved by the State Board of Education.)

Berkeley

On September 18th, the NAACP and other groups formally urged the Board of Education to eliminate existing school segregation. The NAACP asked the board to acknowledge the detrimental impact of racially homogeneous schools, to adopt the principle of integration as one of the cardinal principles of zoning, and to develop and implement a plan which will achieve maximum desegregation throughout the school system

The school board subsequently agreed to re-examine the public schools to eliminate racially homogeneous schools.

Los Angeles

Last spring, the Board of Education appointed a special committee to examine the extent of racially homogeneous schools and related educational problems, at the urging of the NAACP and other concerned groups.

The NAACP, in September, cancelled scheduled picketing of seven schools after the Board and the Superintendent of Schools made assurances that every effort would be made to find solutions to segregation problems. Subsequently, at a meeting of The Citizens Committee, the Association charged that racial considerations restricted the assignment of Negro teachers to Negro schools. Representatives of other groups, including Negro teachers and the Council of Mexican-American Affairs, reported it was "virtually impossible" for Negro teachers to receive transfers from segregated to white schools. Several groups called for a special study of teacher assignments. The Los Angeles American Civil Liberties Union urged the school board to assign Negro teachers to every school in the city.

Oakland

The NAACP, more than a year ago, urged the Board of Education to reconsider proposed zoning for a new high school (Skyline High School), charging that the zoning artificially excluded students on a racial, ethnic, and economic basis. The zone for the new school resulted in a virtually all-white attendance area that is ten miles long and two miles wide. Formerly, these students attended integrated high schools.

After months of continued efforts to persuade the Board to change The Skyline High School zoning, the Board of Education, in August 1962, simply refused to take any action or to study the problem. The Special Assistant for Education and the Oakland NAACP, after an intensive investigation of city-wide zoning practices, charged that arbitrary zoning on a racial and ethnic basis had resulted in extensive segregation-in-fact, unequal educational standards, and gross discrimination in the assignment of Negro teachers to Negro schools. The NAACP announced it would file a court suit challenging city-wide discriminatory practices affecting Negro students and teachers.

In December, the school board adopted a plan of open enrollment. The plan was severely criticized by the NAACP as "completely inadequate" and an evasion of meaningful efforts to achieve maximum desegregation or equalizing educational standards. The Association announced it would proceed to file court action.

Pasadena

Until 1954, the Board of Education maintained "neutral zones" in racially integrated residential areas thereby permitting white children to transfer from integrated schools to schools outside these zones. The NAACP charged that this policy intensified racial segregation and after the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, the neutral zones were abandoned.

In 1960, the school board transferred approximately 140 white junior high school students from the peripheral Linda Vista district in an adjacent community to schools in Pasadena. They were assigned as a group to the predominantly white McKinley School after parents opposed assignment to the accessible, predominantly Negro Washington School. The NAACP vigorously protested the assignment policy.

An advisory committee appointed by the school board accepted the controversial assignment policy after the Board of Education announced plans for revising zone lines between the predominantly white and Negro junior high schools gradually over a six-year period.

The NAACP denounced the school board's action as "gradualism," and instituted court action. Jackson vs. Pasadena City School District, et al, filed September 9, 1961 in the Superior Court of the State of California, County of Los Angeles, now before the District Court of Appeal of the State of California. (Counsel: Samuel C. Sheats, Loren Miller, and A. L. Wirin.)

Sacramento

The NAACP Branch is currently examining school attendance areas and zone lines.

San Francisco

In January, 1962, after the NAACP, CORE, and the Council for Civic Unity had urged the Board of Education to recognize the undesirability of racially homogeneous schools, the Board directed the Superintendent of Schools to study the problem. On June 19th, at a regular school board meeting, Superintendent of Schools reported that after studying the problem of de facto segregation, he had no "educationally sound program to eliminate the schools in which the children are predominantly of one race." Responding to strong objections of the three civil rights groups, the Board agreed to reconsider the city-wide problem at its regular meeting on September 18th and requested recommendations from community groups.

At the same time, the Superintendent announced the zoning of a new junior high school (Central Jr. H. S. ) utilizing an abandoned school building. White and Negro parents, vigorously supported by the NAACP and other civil rights groups, protested the creation of a "racially imbalanced" school in an integrated residential area and urged rezoning to prevent any possibility of segregation-in-fact. Sit-ins, picketing, threat of a parents boycott and litigation followed. In late August, at a school board meeting attended by 1,200 people, the Board adopted the Superintendent's recommendation that the proposed junior high school not be opened. Students were then assigned to existing junior high schools.

At the regular meeting of the school board on September 18th, the NAACP, CORE, and the Council for Civic Unity urged the Board to adopt and implement a policy committed to the elimination of segregation.

The NAACP reported that its examination of the school system revealed 17 predominantly Negro elementary schools and one junior high school and charged discriminatory assignment of Negro teachers largely to the predominantly Negro schools.

The NAACP made six specific recommendations:

Recommendations

"In light of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and the policy of the California State Board of Education, the NAACP recommends the following in order to achieve student desegregation and faculty integration in the San Francisco public schools:

"1. That the Board of Education adopt a positive policy recognizing the educational undesirability of racially homogeneous schools segregated in fact;

"2. That the Board of Education establish the objective of racial integration as one of the cardinal principles in assignment of pupils to schools;

"3. That the Board of Education formulate and put into operation a plan to achieve maximum desegregation throughout the school system no later than September, 1963;

"4. That a permanent central division within the school system be established and directed to examine changing school population trends as related to zoning practices in order to maintain maximum desegregation;

"5. That the Board of Education re-examine, in consultation with appropriate state agencies, policies and practices affecting the employment and assignment of Negro teachers and administrators throughout the school system;

"6. That an advisory committee composed of representative community leaders and school officials be appointed by the Board to study the complex area of educational standards and to formulate appropriate recommendations."

After hearing forty speakers for six hours, the Board of Education deferred any action and recommended additional study. The Board appointed three of its members to study the problem and report back to the Board at the April, 1963 meeting. The NAACP, CORE, and the Council for Civic Unity criticized the Board for failing to adopt a general policy or directing that the study include recommendations.

A few days later, the NAACP announced that after seven months of intense community effort and fruitless negotiations with the school board, the NAACP could not accept another seven month delay without a clear cut statement of policy. The NAACP filed suit on October 2, 1962 in the U. S. District Court for the Northern District of California, Southern Division on behalf of 159 Negro and white children. (This is the second bi-racial school suit filed by the NAACP. The first was Rochester, N.Y.) Brock et. al. vs. Board of Education of the San Francisco Unified School District, et. al. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Terry A. Francois and Garfield Steward of San Francisco, and Loren Miller of Los Angeles.)

The NAACP suit asks for a preliminary and permanent injunction restraining the Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools from operating and providing racially segregated schools and for an order requiring a city-wide desegregation plan.

The NAACP also asks that the proposed Central Junior High School be rezoned in order to achieve maximum desegregation and reopened by February, 1963.

## COLORADO

### Denver

The NAACP and other concerned groups urged the Board of Education to consider the elimination of segregation-in-fact in drawing school zone lines and site locations for new schools. After several hearings, the Board, in November, announced the appointment of a thirty-two member Citizens Committee to study the problems of racially imbalanced schools and formulate recommendations. A preliminary report of the Committee is due before June 1, 1963.

## CONNECTICUT

### Norwalk

The Board of Education on October 27, 1962 announced a policy recognizing the detrimental educational impact of racially homogeneous public schools. The policy is intended to prevent the development of schools segregated in fact. The Board stated:

> "...the Negro population tends to be concentrated in several districts and as a result, the schools serving these districts have large Negro enrollments. Although the Board of Education is not responsible for this situation, it feels a need to formulate policies for dealing with it...If any schools presently or in the future should be populated largely by...[a] minority, we shall try to find ways that are educationally sound and economically feasible to obtain better racial distribution... In planning new school districts, we shall seek to avoid or reduce racial concentration as much as possible..."

### Stamford

The NAACP, in the spring of 1961, vigorously opposed zoning plans for the existing Stamford High School and the new Rippowam High School on the grounds that the proposed zoning would result in a high proportion of Negro, Puerto Rican, and low-income students at the Stamford School and a predominantly white and higher income student body at the new school. The NAACP also charged that the old school would become a "terminal" school while the Rippowam School would become an academic high school.

Early in 1962, the Citizens Advisory Committee appointed by the school board to consider the proposed zoning, recommended that the zones be redrawn to achieve a broad racial, ethnic, nationality, and income distribution of students at both schools. In May, the Board adopted the Princeton Plan: the assignment of two grades to each senior high school. Thus, all students in grades 9 and 10 will attend one school, and all grade 11 and 12 students will attend the other school. Implementation was delayed for one year for further study and consideration.

## ILLINOIS

### Centerville

Deliberate segregation of elementary school students existed prior to 1957, including the assignment of white students to classes one part of the day and Negro students attending the same school to classes the other part of the day. Subsequently, zone lines were drawn on a racial basis resulting in the segregated Chenot Elementary School.

The NAACP instituted liti ation after unsuccessful attempts to change school board policy. McNeese et al. vs. Board of Education for Community Unit School District No. 187, et al., Cahokia, Illinois, filed September 12, 1961 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Illinois. Appeal filed January 30, 1962, in the United States Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit. (Counsel: Clayton R. Williams of Alton, Illinois and Rogers, Rogers, Stayhorn, and Harth, of Chicago.)

Chicago

In the late fall of 1961, the Chicago NAACP and Negro parents protested the discriminatory policy reassigning students from the over-crowded, predominantly Negro Burnside Elementary School to an under-utilized but segregated school. The NAACP charged that the reassignment by-passed a nearby under-utilized white school.

The NAACP and the Burnside School parents held "school sit-ins", classes taught in the school halls. The children affected by the transfer policy then withdrew from the school and were taught at home. The parents and the Executive Secretary of Chicago NAACP were arrested and charged with trespassing on public property and disorderly conduct. Charges were later dismissed on a preliminary hearing before Judge Joseph Butler, Municipal Court of Chicago.

The NAACP suit filed on January 19, 1962 to prevent discriminatory assignment policies was subsequently dismissed. Another NAACP suit, defending Negro parents charged with trespassing and disorderly conduct after investigating available classroom space at white schools, is on appeal. (Filed 1962 by William R. Ming of Chicago.) An independent parents' suit challenging school segregation is on appeal.

The Chicago NAACP, the Urban League, and other groups continued to attack discriminatory zoning, substandard educational standards, and the failure to relieve overcrowding, and to protest the use of mobile units at all-Negro schools. Superintendent of Schools Willis was charged with using these portable fixtures, dubbed "Willis Wagons," to maintain segregation instead of assigned pupils to nearby, under-utilized white schools.

In November, 1962, the school board initiated a severely restricted program of open enrollment which affected only thirty-four Negro pupils in the entire city.

Fairmont Park

The Joliet NAACP Branch and the Illinois State Conference of NAACP Branches during 1962 continued to meet with school officials urging (1) the elimination of a discriminatory administrative policy enabling white pupils to transfer from predominantly Negro school zones, and (2) a non-discriminatory policy in the employment and assignment of Negro teachers. As a result of these efforts, several Negro teachers have been employed.

Joliet

During 1961 and 1962 the Joliet NAACP Branch and the Illinois State Conference of NAACP Branches met with high school officials urging non-discriminatory policies affecting the employment of Negro teachers and the placement of Negro students in the distributive education program. As a result, Negro teachers have been employed and Negro students have been placed in the distributive education program.

The NAACP has also urged rezoning to achieve greater desegregation.

Haywood

As a result of efforts by the Haywood NAACP Branch, local school officials have agreed to employ additional Negro teachers and to assign them throughout the school system.

Mt. Vernon

The Board of Education announced early in 1962 that effective September, 1962 students attending the segregated Washington Elementary School would be assigned to the schools in their zone. Teachers will also be reassigned to existing schools.

Until several years ago, all Negro pupils attended the segregated elementary school regardless of where they lived. This policy subsequently was changed permitting Negro students to attend the school in their zone if they so desired. The segregated elementary school continued to exist although the enrollment decreased.

After the NAACP urged school officials to end elementary school segregation, the school board appointed a special school study committee to recommend a desegregation plan and subsequently adopted the committee's recommendations to close the segregated school.

Peoria

The NAACP vigorously protested discriminatory policies and practices affecting the employment of Negro teachers in the secondary schools and the assignment of Negro teachers in the elementary schools. After several meetings with school officials the NAACP initiated a weekly picket line in front of the administrative offices of the Board of Education "to dramatize the issues to the entire community."

Negro teachers were first employed in the Peoria school system in 1954 after continued urging by the NAACP. Seventeen Negro teachers, of a total of more than 750, are now assigned to the four elementary schools with the largest number of Negro children. No Negro teachers are employed in the secondary schools and the NAACP has charged that school officials reject Negro teachers by claiming no vacancies exist.

Robbins

The zone lines between the Horace Mann Elementary School in Robbins, an all-Negro community, and the integrated Nathan Hale School in a zone adjacent to Robbins were redrawn in September, 1960. As a result, Negro pupils were transferred from an integrated school to the all-Negro school in Robbins.

After continued protests by Negro parents and the Illinois State Conference of NAACP Branches, the school board changed the zones to the original lines and effective September, 1961 Negro students were transferred back to the integrated Nathan Hale School.

In addition, the school board assigned some Negro students from the Horace Mann School in Robbins to the predominantly white school in the adjacent zone of Blue Island. The school board also established a citizens committee to explore ways of extending integration of students and additional changes were made in 1962 to achieve maximum integration.

## INDIANA

### Gary

The Board of Education in April, 1962 rescinded plans to locate a new high school in the heart of a segregated residential area after the NAACP and parent groups vigorously protested that the proposed site would create a new segregated school. At the same time, however, the board withdrew plans to transfer Negro pupils from severely overcrowded schools to under-utilized white schools when white parents protested the transfers. The NAACP stated "We hope the Board....will firmly adopt its original plan ....and thereby demonstrate to the entire community that their policies are not determined by racial bigotry. But if the school board capitulates to the few dissident voices, we will seek appropriate steps, including court action."

A few weeks later, the NAACP successfully opposed a 28 classroom addition to an already segregated high school and continued to reject a proposed site for a new elementary school.

An investigation of school policies and practices by the Special Assistant for Education early in May, 1962 revealed a rigidly segregated and severely over-crowded school system. Thirty-two elementary schools, of a total of thirty-four, are either virtually all-white or all-Negro. Ten secondary schools, of a total of eleven, are segregated in fact, white or Negro.

The NAACP charged that existing segregation resulted from zone lines drawn to contain Negro students within the segregated Central District, optional areas and permissive transfers for white students, gerrymandering, a discriminatory feeder pattern of elementary to secondary schools, and the failure to utilize existing classroom space. The school building program, it was found, extended the containment of white and Negro students in separate schools.

When the school board failed to act on any of these problems, an NAACP sponsored suit was filed on behalf of 110 Negro pupils. Bell et al. vs. School Board of Trustees, City of Gary, et al, filed June 14, 1962 in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Indiana. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Barbara A. Morris, both of New York; F. Lawrence Anderson, Jr., Hilbert L. Bradley, and Richard G. Hatcher, of Gary; and Charles Wills, of South Bend.)

The NAACP suit which seeks to restrain the Gary Board of Education from maintaining and operating the school system on a racially segregated basis was argued the week of September 10, 1962 in the U.S. District Court. Findings of a study on practices of racial containment and recommendations for changes were presented to the court by Dr. Max Wolff, an independent consultant on urban problems engaged by the NAACP to study the Gary school system.

## IOWA

### Waterloo

The NAACP is examining the zone lines of a predominantly Negro elementary school and a proposed elementary school, and teacher assignment practices.

## KANSAS

### State-Wide

The Kansas State Conference of NAACP Branches completed an examination of discriminatory teacher employment and assignment policies as the basis of a report to the Attorney General of Kansas.

### Coffeyville

The NAACP is currently meeting with the Board of Education to eliminate segregation of the Cleveland Elementary School pupils and teachers.

Although the school board in 1962 officially rescinded a permissive transfer policy permitting white children in the Cleveland School zone to attend other schools, these transfers continued to be allowed. The Cleveland School remained a segregated school with an all-Negro faculty.

After continued protests by the NAACP, the Superintendent of Schools announced early in June, 1962 that all kindergarten pupils would be required to attend the school in their zone. The NAACP immediately rejected the proposal as inadequate and announced that unless the board completely eliminated segregation of pupils and students, appropriate action, including litigation, would be taken.

### Kansas City

The NAACP in 1960-61 charged that after the Board of Education eliminated racial restrictions in compliance with the May 17, 1954 decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, school officials had deliberately moved zone lines in order to create an all-Negro elementary school.

Subsequently, the NAACP filed a suit challenging all discriminatory administrative policies resulting in segregated elementary and secondary schools. Downs et al. vs. the Board of Education of the City of Kansas City, et al. filed in the United States District Court for the District of Kansas. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, of New York, James P. Davis and Benjamin E. Franklin, both of Kansas City, Kansas, and Samuel C. Jackson, of Topeka.)

The school suit was argued on September 18, 1962. The NAACP called for reorganization of the Kansas City public school system to eliminate the "containment" of Negro pupils in predominantly and all-Negro schools. The Court was asked "to order the school board to prepare and submit to this Court a realistic plan of desegregation for the entire Kansas City school district, pursuant to which, insofar as orderly administration will permit, all vestiges of segregation in the public school system will be eliminated."

### Wichita

The NAACP urged the Board of Education to re-examine school zone lines to achieve greater desegregation.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Detroit NAACP expanded efforts to eliminate deliberate segregation and minimize segregation existing in fact, and to raise educational standards of predominantly Negro schools. A city-wide NAACP Advisory Committee on School Desegregation began an evaluation of recommendations proposed by the Citizens Advisory Committee and urged that "every step be taken, within the scope of school board authority, to effect the highest measure of racial school desegregation possible."

The Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity appointed by the Detroit Board of Education completed a two-year analysis early in March, 1962 of segregated schools, including school boundary lines, apprenticeship and cooperative work programs, educational standards, curriculum and guidance opportunities, and personnel practices.

Highlights of the report by the Citizens Advisory Committee:

School Boundaries and Open Enrollment - "...it is a fact that in the past, school boundaries in Detroit have been used to further racial and social class segregation. Although some progress has been made, it has not been adequate...(The Committee) urges further review of all school boundaries and recommends that in the establishment of boundaries the ethnic composition of the school district be given equal importance with other factors...in addition, (to enable school desegregation) the opportunity of open transfer shall be available in any school that has the space."

Bus Transportation - "The Committee recommends that busing be done in such a way that segregation shall not be continued or augmented."

Apprenticeship and Cooperative Work Programs - "...The Committee found evidence of grave discrimination in training and employment opportunities. The Committee strongly recommends that immediate steps be taken to remedy this situation..."

Personnel Practices - "...The Committee found a clear-cut pattern of racial discrimination in the assignment of teachers and principals to schools throughout the city...We urge that immediate action be taken to remedy the situation."

The Committee also recommended additional personnel, resources, and smaller class size to raise educational standards.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

The NAACP together with several other organizations urged the Board of Education to consider the problems of racially homogeneous schools in its long range school building proposals.

St. Paul

The NAACP Branch is currently examining school attendance areas in relationship to residential patterns.

NEW JERSEY

State-Wide

The NAACP, on March 5, 1962, urged the State of New Jersey to eliminate existing public school segregation. In a petition filed before the New Jersey Commissioner of Education, the NAACP urged the Commissioner "to formulate and implement a state-wide policy requiring all local Boards of Education to take immediate steps...to eliminate racial segregation in the public school districts under their supervision and control." (Fisher et al. vs The Board of Education of the City of Orange, New Jersey.)

Officials of the NAACP National Office and the New Jersey State Conference of Branches met with Governor Richard J. Hughes several times during 1962 urging the Governor to formulate a state-wide policy on racially segregated public schools throughout the state.

Governor Hughes, on June 18, 1962 advised all New Jersey school officials that the traditional neighborhood school concept must be sufficiently flexible to prevent racial segregation and warned that failure to follow this directive would result in judicial action at the state and federal level. The Governor stated:

"/de facto segregation/ is equally harmful as though it were intended. While 'de facto segregation' may be no one's fault, its attempted correction must be everyone's business, if the American and New Jersey pledge of equality of educational opportunity is to be fulfilled.

"...While the preservation of this policy /neighborhood schools/ is essential, where it collides with the concept of equality in educational opportunity, its adaptation to circumstances to prevent 'de facto segregation' is not only necessary, but normally feasible. Lacking such adaptive quality, it could reach such a stage of inevitability in the fostering of 'de facto segregation' as to be struck down by a court forced to choose between it and the constitutional guarantee of equality in educational opportunity. I am unconvinced that the neighborhood school policy is so static, unyielding and inadaptive as to reach this result..."

Bridgeton

The NAACP early in 1962 opposed the proposed site for a new elementary school in an all-Negro residential area and strongly urged the Board of Education to select a new location that would be accessible to white and Negro pupils. The board was also urged to redraw elementary school zone lines to eliminate existing segregation. Three elementary schools are virtually all-Negro and six are predominantly or all-white.

When it became clear that local school officials would not reconsider the proposed site, the NAACP on August 15, 1962 filed a petition of appeal with the State Commissioner of Education calling for elimination of existing school segregation in Bridgeton. Byers et. al. vs. The Board of Education of the City of Bridgeton, New Jersey. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Barbara A. Morris, of New York; and Robert Johnson of Camden.)

The NAACP petition protests the extension of the present pattern of school segregation by the construction of an addition to the all-Negro Buckshutem Elementary School. It further protests the construction of a new elementary school in the segregated school area. The Commissioner is urged to order that school zone lines and building plans be changed to prevent the continuation and extension of a segregated school system.

Englewood

In 1954, as the result of a complaint brought by the Bergen county NAACP before the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination, the New Jersey Commissioner of Education ordered that the segregated junior high school housed at the Lincoln School be closed and pupils assigned to the Englewood Junior High School. He also required the correction of gerrymandered zone lines excluding Negro students from the predominantly white Liberty School zone in which they lived and assigning them instead to the predominantly Negro Lincoln School outside their zone.

The Lincoln School remained virtually all-Negro while the Liberty School, formerly predominantly white, became predominantly Negro. Three elementary schools remained predominantly or all-white.

In June, 1961, the Bergen County NAACP Branch urged the Board of Education to end existing segregation at the Lincoln and Liberty Elementary Schools. The NAACP met with the Board of Education early in September, 1961, and again urged the school board to formulate a desegregation plan.

The board revealed that a study was being made of projected school enrollment needs for a ten year period, assisted by two consultants, Dr. Robert Wood of M.I.T. and Dr. Robert Gutman of Rutgers University. The school board agreed, as part of the study already under way, to determine the extent of segregation and formulate a desegregation plan and, at the recommendation of the NAACP, subsequently engaged as special consultant, Dr. Dan Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University.

It was understood that if the desegregation plan was unsatisfactory or if the Board of Education failed to adopt a satisfactory plan, the NAACP would file court action.

During November and December, 1961, the NAACP with other community groups held four public conferences on the schools and related problems to mobilize community support for action by the Board of Education.

In January, several parents privately engaged counsel and filed suit. Well publicized protests followed.

The desegregation study, undertaken at the urging of the NAACP, was submitted to the school board early in March, 1962. The study proposed six possible short and long range plans of desegregation.

The Englewood Board of Education on May 14, 1962, in effect rejected all of the proposed desegregation plans and instead adopted plans for "an experimental, demonstration elementary school" on a voluntary basis for white and Negro pupils. The National and local NAACP and Negro parents, publicly rejected the proposed plan as "completely unacceptable."

Governor, Richard J. Hughes, on September 7, 1962 called on the Englewood Board of Education to settle "without delay" the issue of racial imbalance in the Englewood public school system. He said that if the problem were not solved by local school officials, court action would undoubtedly result. The Governor stated, "I am sure that the courts would eventually rule that the present racial imbalance in Englewood schools was depriving Negro youngsters there of equality of education. There cannot be a perfect mathematical division between the two races but reasonable desegregation can be achieved." The Governor has repeatedly stressed that the state policy of neighborhood schools must be flexible enough to prevent, whenever possible, de facto school segregation.

The Governor's statement was prompted by a parent-student three-day boycott of the Lincoln Elementary School called by the NAACP and the Englewood Movement, protesting the failure of school and city authorities to end existing segregation. A one-day "sympathy" boycott was staged by white and Negro parents at the adjacent Liberty Elementary School!

On September 9, Englewood Mayor A. N. Volk stated publicly any change in the present school system probably would have to be instituted by the New Jersey Commissioner of Education. The Mayor made this statement after revealing the results of a city-wide mail poll. The poll - 3,577 out of a possible 7,800 replies were returned - indicated "a general feeling" that: segregation is not an issue in Englewood; strong support for neighborhood schools; and opposition to the school board's proposal for a central intermediate school for grades 5 and 6. (This proposal was, in effect, rejected when the School Committee of the Board of Estimate failed to appropriate necessary funds.)

On the same day, September 9, the National Office of the NAACP announced that a formal complaint would be filed with the State Commissioner of Education. (An independent parents' suit filed in the Spring of 1962 had been dismissed on grounds of failing to exhaust administrative remedies by first appealing to the Commissioner of Education.)

On September 10, the General Counsel of the National NAACP, Robert L. Carter, filed a complaint before the New Jersey Commissioner of Education. Deborah Spruill V. The Board of Education of the City of Englewood, New Jersey, Petition of Appeal before the Commissioner of Education of New Jersey. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Marie L. Marcus of New York City, and Herbert H. Tate of Newark, New Jersey.)

The NAACP complaint challenges "the maintenance of racially segregated schools" in Englewood and "the refusal of [school officials] to put into operation plans, rules, regulations, practices and procedures which would eliminate the presently existing and entrenched patterns of racial segregation in the public schools and the denial of equal educational opportunities ...even though plans were proposed, based upon a study made pursuant to the direction of the Board, which would eliminate segregation and the denial of equal educational opportunities..."

Contending that "segregated education is unequal education under the Constitution of the United States, and it is unequal whether de facto or de jure," the NAACP urged:

"(a) That a prompt and early hearing be set to dispose of this appeal. In view of the fact that a study of the school system has been made by responsible educators, employed by the School Board, appellant relies upon the findings, conclusions and recommendations resulting from this study to support her claims. The turbulence caused by the segregation involved further reason not to delay.

"(b) That after such hearing, study, evaluation of the law and data, that the Commissioner order the Board to take immediate steps to eliminate all aspects of segregation in the Englewood public school system."

Jersey City

After receiving an NAACP report on the extent of segregation existing in fact, the Board of Education, on March 8, 1962, designated segregated public schools "improper" and directed a committee of school officials to meet with representatives of the Jersey City NAACP.

The school board subsequently agreed to extend open enrollment in September, 1962, and engaged a consultant to formulate additional plans in order to achieve greater desegregation.

Montclair

The NAACP, in the summer of 1961, urged the school board to close the small, educationally inadequate, segregated Glenfield Junior High School. The NAACP and Glenfield parents picketed the junior high school and Board of Education office for five days when schools opened in September, 1961, protesting segregation. The Board of Education subsequently agreed to close the segregated junior high school and appointed a citizens committee to formulate a permanent reorganizational plan for the junior high schools.

Early in March, 1962, the Board of Education announced plans for assigning students at Glenfield Junior High School to two of the three junior high schools. The NAACP vigorously protested the plan on the basis that it would establish schools with a large proportion of Negro pupils while by-passing the assignment of Negro pupils to a virtually all-white junior high school. The NAACP also attacked the school board's plan as "premature" since the Citizens Committee's report had not yet been received. The Board of Education subsequently withdrew its plan.

The Citizens Committee a few weeks later recommended a plan reorganizing the junior high schools which would provide for complete desegregation at each junior high school.

The school board, however, adopted their own plan assigning Glenfield Junior High School students to each existing junior high school, including the all-white school, effective September, 1962.

Morristown

After repeated urging by the Morristown NAACP and other community groups, the Board of Education in the spring of 1961 agreed to examine the segregated Lafayette Elementary School and possible solutions. Asked for a report on the legal impli-

cations of the existing segregated school, the attorney for the Board of Education found that "no serious debate can challenge the self-evident conclusion that the Lafayette School is racially segregated within the prohibition of the law." The Board of Education, working with community groups, considered six possible desegregation plans and adopted the school reorganization plan.

In February, 1962, the Board of Education announced that effective September, 1962, the segregated elementary school would be reorganized as a junior high school for the entire school system, assigning Negro elementary school pupils and teachers to each of the three existing elementary schools.

New Brunswick

After meeting with the NAACP, the Urban League, the Puerto Rican Association, and civic and parent groups, the Board of Education directed the Superintendent of Schools to determine the extent of de facto segregation in the grade schools. The Board announced that if the findings revealed a serious racial imbalance, experts would be consulted to make recommendations to achieve greater integration. At the same time, the Board announced that efforts had been made through the redrawing of zone lines to prevent the development of de facto segregated schools.

On October 2nd, the Superintendent of Schools reported that of eight elementary schools, Negro pupils constituted less than 25% of the total enrollment at four schools, between 55-60% at three schools, and 69% at one school. The Board stated that the study would continue on the quality of teaching and class size at each school and other educational factors.

Newark

After many months of unsuccessful efforts by the Newark NAACP to end discriminatory pupil assignment policies, the NAACP filed court action, Beal et al. vs. The Board of Education of the City of Newark, County of Essex and State of New Jersey and Edward F. Kennelly, Superintendent of Schools, City of Newark, filed in the United States District Court, District of New Jersey on October 2, 1961. (Counsel: George D. Jeter and Abe Silverstein, both of Newark, and Paul Zuber of New York.)

Suit was dismissed in March, 1962 after the school board agreed to institute a limited open enrollment policy.

Orange

Racially gerrymandered zone lines of the segregated Oakwood Elementary School were corrected in 1948 after an investigation by the New Jersey Division Against Discrimination.

The problem now concerns deliberate and de facto segregation at the Oakwood and Central Elementary Schools. Oakwood School contains grades 1-4, with some fifth grade classes. Negro students then attend Central School, grades 5-8, in an adjacent zone which also has an integrated school (Park, grades 1-8).

The Oranges-Maplewood NAACP Branch met with the Board of Education in the late fall of 1961. The NAACP, with representatives of white and Negro organizations, urged the school board to adopt any of the four proposed desegregation plans submitted by the NAACP or any other plan which would accomplish desegregation. The NAACP urged the school board to announce their plan by February 15th, to be implemented in September, 1962.

On February 13, the school board announced a desegregation plan which was rejected by the NAACP on the basis that it did not provide for desegregation of the Oakwood School. On February 16, the NAACP Branch announced that suit would be filed on behalf of Negro parents and students.

The following NAACP actions were taken simultaneously on March 5, 1962.

Allen et al. vs. The Board of Education of Orange, New Jersey, et al. filed in the United States District Court for the District of New Jersey. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Maria L. Marcus, both of New York; Herbert H. Tate and William Wright, Jr., both of Newark, New Jersey.) Suit was subsequently dismissed on grounds that administrative procedure of appeal to State Commissioner of Education must first be exhausted.

Fisher et al. vs. The Board of Education of the City of Orange, New Jersey filed with the Commissioner of Education of the State of New Jersey. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Maria L. Marcus, both of New York; Herbert H. Tate and William Wright, Jr., both of Newark, New Jersey.)

The petition of appeal before the State Commissioner of Education was argued the week of November 19, 1962. Two consultants, engaged by the NAACP to study the Orange school system testified - Dr. Kenneth B. Clark and Dr. Dan Dodson.

Patterson

The NAACP Branch is currently examining school policies and practices which affect Negro students.

Plainfield

The NAACP in June, 1961, urged the Board of Education to eliminate existing segregation at the Washington Elementary School and to change the pattern resulting in other predominantly Negro schools. The NAACP stated that "unless affirmative action is taken, Plainfield would have three and possibly four segregated elementary schools within a few years." The NAACP asked for a change effective, September, 1962.

The Board of Education subsequently created a Lay Citizens Advisory Committee and engaged Dr. Max Wolff as consultant to examine existing segregation and formulate recommendations by the end of June, 1962.

On June 25, the school board received two alternative desegregation plans submitted by the special consultant to the Citizens Advisory Committee, and a Majority and Minority Report of the Citizens Advisory Committee.

The study recommended adoption of the Princeton Plan or "sister schools" whereby students are assigned by grade to two schools combined in a single attendance area. Three pairs of schools and some rezoning were proposed. (All pupils from kindergarten through grade 3 would attend one of the paired schools, and all pupils in grades 4-6 would attend the other sister school.) The alternate desegregation plan provides for complete rezoning of the elementary schools.

The Majority Report recommended that the Washington Elementary School be rezoned. A strong Minority Report urged the school board to implement the Princeton Plan or sister schools, as recommended by the study.

In July, the Board of Education rejected the two alternate desegregation plans of (1) rezoning and (2) The Princeton Plan

proposed by the school-sponsored study and rejected the recommendations of the Majority and Minority Reports of the Lay Advisory Committee to the Board of Education. Instead, the Board proposed a plan of open-enrollment. This plan had been specifically rejected by the study which found that "under this plan the goals of good racial balance throughout the school system and of ending segregation...could not be met."

The NAACP's Special Assistant for Education charged that the school board had chosen "to substitute the least effective desegregation plan...one which is no more than a carefully hedged, minimal transfer plan." - The NAACP announced that unless a meaningful desegregation plan was adopted, the NAACP would appeal to the Commissioner of Education.

National NAACP policy calls for rezoning, adoption of the Princeton Plan, changing the feeder pattern of elementary to secondary schools, and other administrative plans to achieve greater desegregation. Open-enrollment is urged only when more effective desegregation plans cannot be used effectively due to extensive segregated housing.

On September 4, 1962 the NAACP filed a formal complaint with the New Jersey State Commissioner of Education rejecting open-enrollment as a plan of desegregation.

The complaint states that "under the plan proposed by the Board, the present segregation and denial of equal educational opportunities will become more and more an entrenched pattern of the school system." The petition, filed on behalf of 54 Negro children, charges that the Board of Education has "insisted on perpetuating a system of school segregation which ....exists in violation of the legal and constitutional rights guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States." The NAACP urged that immediate steps be taken to eliminate all aspects of segregation in the Plainfield public schools. Booker et. al. v. The Board of Education of the City of Plainfield, New Jersey, Petition of Appeal, filed September 4, 1962 before the Commissioner of Education of New Jersey. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Barbara A. Morris, of New York; Herbert H. Tate, of Newark, and William Wright, Jr. of Plainfield.)

## NEW YORK

### State-Wide

Representatives of the New York State Conference of NAACP Branches met with the New York State Commissioner of Education on November 13, 1956 urging the adoption and implementation of a state-wide policy on existing segregation in the public schools. The State Conference on December 6, 1956 submitted a memorandum to the Commissioner of Education reviewing existing problems and again urging that an official state policy be formulated. A second NAACP memorandum was later submitted to the Commissioner.

Early in 1957, The New York State Board of Regents established within the State Department of Education a Division of Intercultural Relations directed to the problems raised in the NAACP memorandum.

The Board of Regents of the University of New York, on January 28, 1960, adopted a state-wide policy declaring the psychological and educational undesirability of public schools segregated in fact and appointed a special Advisory Committee to formulate recommendations for action. Thus, New York became the first state to recognize the problems inherent in public schools segregated-in-fact.

The New York State Commissioner of Education on October 1, 1962 announced a similiar policy. The Commissioner stated:

> "A number of communities...have, in fact, some schools which are indeed segregated...This condition must be of great concern to all school administrators because of the growing body of evidence which points out that segregated schools are detrimental, psychologically and educationally, to the students in attendance ...Within the Department we will initiate a careful review of all policies and regulations which can have an effect in the elimination of de facto segregation and unequal educational opportunity. Where new policies or procedures are called for we will adopt them, when revisions of present ways are necessary we will change."

At the same time, the Commissioner announced that a state-wide racial census of Negro, Puerto Rican, and white elementary school pupils would be made, based on observation, to determine the extent of segregation-in-fact so that efforts "may be concentrated."

Findings of the racial census, which was carried out by local Superintendents of Schools, were released on July 31, 1962. The Census revealed that 103 elementary schools outside New York City had enrollments in which Negro pupils constitute 31% or more of the total. The census also revealed that 57 elementary schools of 36 state school districts were predominantly Negro, 25 having at least 90% Negro enrollment. All-white schools totalled 281 or 33% of those investigated.

The New York State Conference of NAACP Branches, meeting in New York City on October 5-6, 1962 strongly urged the Commissioner of Education and the Governor of New York to take immediate and concrete steps to assure that the policies and practices of local school officials and Boards of Education conform to the policy of the State of New York."

The resolution was adopted unanimously after NAACP Special Assistant for Education charged that although the State Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education are committed to the elimination of all forms of school segregation, local school officials have failed to acknowledge the State's policy or take any steps toward desegregation. She called on the State Department of Education to direct local school boards to take immediate steps to eliminate existing segregation as revealed by the Department's state-wide racial census.

## Amityville

In 1954, the Board of Education announced the site selection for two new elementary schools, each located in adjacent, segregated residential areas. The Central Long Island NAACP Branch urged the school board to build a single elementary school serving both residential areas rather than creat two schools segregated in fact. The school board claimed that there was no site available large enough for a single elementary school although six years later a site in the same area was found for a central junior high school.

The New York State Commissioner of Education, acting on an NAACP appeal, kept the two original sites but changed the grades assigned to each school. Thus, the virtually all-Negro Northeast School houses grades 1-3, Students in grades 4 and 5 then attend the Northwest School, housing grades 1-5 in the adjacent white zone. The lower grades are segregated in fact while grades 4 and 5 are integrated.

The NAACP early in 1962 proposed redrawing zone lines or adopting the "Princeton Plan" whereby students in both zones attend each school on the basis of grade assignment. Either plan would result in full school utilization and complete school desegregation despite rigid residential segregation.

After school officials continued to contend that no problem existed, the NAACP instituted court action. Black et al. vs. The Board of Education of Amityville, New York, et al. filed March 21, 1962 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Maria L. Marcus, and Jawn A. Sandifer, all of New York; and Herman A. Austin, of Amityville.)

Buffalo

On October 24, 1962 at a regular school board meeting, the Board of Education was urged by the Buffalo Branch and National NAACP "to fulfill its educational and legal responsibilities by re-examining the entire school system in order to provide maximum desegregation in the elementary and secondary schools by September, 1963."

The NAACP Special Assistant for Education charged "extensive and rigid racial segregation in the elementary schools in direct violation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court and the official policy of the State of New York," and stated that "the Buffalo Board of Education maintained the largest number of segregated schools in any New York school system except New York City."

Referring to the findings of the State's racial census of elementary schools that Buffalo maintained 17 segregated schools, the NAACP stated "The extent of existing school segregation in Buffalo, however, is even more sharply focused after an examination of the racial composition of all the elementary schools..."

The NAACP reported these findings:

Schools

- Out of a total of 80 elementary schools, 64 schools or 80% are totally or virtually Negro or white; 17 schools or 21.3% are totally or virtually Negro and 47 or 58.7% are totally or virtually white.

- Only 16 elementary schools or 20% are racially integrated.

Pupils

- 82% of the total elementary school enrollment, or 28,158 Negro and white pupils, attend racially separate schools. Only 6,252 Negro and white pupils, or 18% of the total enrollment, attend integrated grade schools.

- 10,426 or 88% of a city-wide total of 11,869 Negro pupils attend totally or predominantly Negro schools. 210, or 2%, Negro pupils attend predominantly white schools. Only 1,233 Negro pupils or 10% attend integrated schools.

- 17,092 or 76% of a city-wide total of 22,541 white pupils attend totally or predominantly white schools. 430 white pupils or 2% attend predominantly Negro schools. Only 5,019 white pupils or 22% attend integrated schools.

In a comprehensive written report to the Board, the NAACP specifically urged the Board:

"(1) to adopt officially a policy which recognizes the educational undesirability of de facto segregated schools and is committed to eliminating segregation to the fullest extent possible;

"(2) to formulate and implement a plan to achieve maximum desegregation throughout the school system no later than September, 1963; and

"(3) to ensure that zoning and feeder patterns of the new junior high schools will provide maximum desegregation."

In its statement, the NAACP expressed support for the special educational programs initiated by school officials to raise educational standards of predominantly Negro schools but stated "these programs are not substitutes for eliminating segregation." Various desegregation plans were suggested to the Board, all but one adhering to the neighborhood school concept. The open enrollment plan, the NAACP stated, is the least effective where other alternatives are possible. The Special Assistant for Education stated, "we do not propose that every school in Buffalo include a fixed percentage of Negro and white pupils. But we do insist that discriminatory zone lines based on color and administrative misuses of segregated housing be ended."

Glen Cove

The NAACP in the spring of 1962 urged the Glen Cove Board of Education to eliminate racial gerrymandering of school zone lines in two instances resulting in the predominantly Negro South Elementary School. The NAACP charged that white and some Negro children gerrymandered out of the South School zone must travel a greater distance and cross ground level railroad crossings to attend the predominantly white Coles School. The NAACP also stated that the long-range reorganization of the Glen Cove school district, approved by the Board of Education, desegregated grades 5 and 6 by providing a central, intermediate school but would leave grades kindergarten through four still segregated.

After the school board refused to take any action, the NAACP filed a complaint with the New York State Commissioner of Education calling for the elimination of discriminatory gerrymandering. Davis et. al. v. The Board of Education of Glen Cove, filed September 5, 1962 before the Commissioner of Education on behalf of 37 Negro students. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Jawn A. Sandifer of New York City.)

The NAACP complaint also calls for the dismissal of the Superintendent of Schools as being "unfit to carry out his duties". The NAACP charged that at a meeting of the NAACP with the Board of Education in July, he expressed a committment to a policy of segregated schools by asking for assistance in establishing a 100% Negro school and by explicitly expressing his disregard for the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court.

Arguments before the Commissioner of Education were held on November 7, 1962.

Hempstead

Prior to 1951, the zone lines of the all-Negro Prospect Elementary School were gerrymandered to exclude white pupils. The Hempstead NAACP Branch in 1951 charged deliberate segregation and subsequently filed a complaint with the New York State Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner ordered the school board to redraw school zone lines eliminating racial gerrymandering.

The following pattern now exists: one predominantly Negro school (Prospect); three schools becoming segregated schools (Franklin, Marshall, and Jackson); two virtually all-white schools (Ludlum and Fulton); and one integrated school (Washington).

There are three related problems:

1. The pattern of segregated elementary schools;

2. The proposed building program calling for additions to the predominantly Negro Jackson and Franklin-Marshall Schools which would firmly entrench the segregated pattern;

3. Proposed double sessions (in September, 1962) affecting some classes at the segregated schools although most, if not all, of these students could be absorbed at the two virtually all-white schools.

Repeated attempts were made by the Hempstead NAACP Branch and other community groups urging school officials to reconsider proposed building program. Subsequently, the following NAACP action was taken on behalf of 63 Negro students.

Barnett et al. vs. Board of Education of the Village of Hempstead, School District No. 1, et. al. Filed February 13, 1962 with the Commissioner of Education of the State of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Maria L. Marcus and Jawn A. Sandifer, of New York.) Complaint was subsequently dismissed.

Branche et al. vs. The Board of Education of the Village of Hempstead, School District No. 1, Dr. William A. Kincaid, Superintendent of Schools, et al. Filed February 19, 1962 in the United States District Court for the Eastern-District of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Maria L. Marcus and Jawn A. Sandifer, of New York.) Dr. Max Wolff was subsequently engaged by the NAACP to study the Hempstead school system.

(After the above actions were instituted, the Board of Education cancelled the proposed million dollar bond issue on school building program originally scheduled for March 13, 1962.)

On April 9, 1962, Judge John F. Dooling of the United States District Court, Eastern District of New York, in refusing to grant summary judgement dismissing the school suit, considered the responsibility of local school officials to eliminate segregation-in-fact.

Excerpts from Judge Dooling's opinion:

"The facts brought forward by the defendants do not authorize summary judgement in their favor. Defendants show facts compatible with an absence of responsibility on their part for the racial segregation that exists in the schools but these facts do not demonstrate that there has not been segregation because of race. Segregated education is inadequate and when that inadequacy is attributable to state action it is a deprivation of constitutional right.

"The central constitutional fact is the inadequacy of segregated education. That it is not coerced by direct action of an arm of the state cannot, alone, be decisive of the issue of deprivation of constitutional right...The educational system that is thus compulsory and publicly afforded must deal with the inadequacy arising from adventitious segregation, it cannot accept and indurate segregation on the grounds that it is not coerced or planned but accepted.

"Failure to deal with a condition as really inflicts it as does any grosser imposition of it...

"So here, it is not enough to show that residence accounts for the fact of segregation and to contend that therefore the segregation is ineluctable. The effort to mitigate the consequent educational inadequacy has not been made and to forego that effort to deal with the inadequacy is to impose it in the absence of a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation. What is involved here is not convenience but constitutional interests..."

Malverne

Until 1959, two elementary schools were all-white while the third elementary school was predominantly Negro as a result of residential patterns and zoning. After the NAACP and Negro parents successfully defeated a bond issue in December, 1959 for a new school on the grounds that the proposed site would create a segregated school, the school board assigned 40 Negro pupils to one of the formerly all-white schools (Lindner Place School).

A year later, in 1960, the board rezoned elementary school attendance areas assigning an integrated residential area of the Woodfield Road School to the second formerly all-white school (Davison Avenue School) after the NAACP again successfully defeated a second bond issue to build a new elementary school.

As a result of these efforts, some Negro children were assigned to the two formerly all-white schools while the Woodfield Road School remained predominantly Negro.

The NAACP in May, 1962 urged the Board of Education to rezone or to adopt the Princeton Plan to desegregate the Woodfield Road School. The NAACP also opposed plans to house grade six classes in a central building now under construction as separate units from their original school.

After continued inaction by the Board of Education, the NAACP filed a petition of appeal with the New York State Commissioner of Education on September 5, 1962. Mitchell et. al. v. The Board of Education of the Union Free School District 12, Malverne - Lakeview, Town of Hempstead. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, and Jawn A. Sandifer of New York City.)

The NAACP charged the Malverne Board of Education with maintaining de facto segregated and educationally unequal elementary schools, and arbitrarily refusing to change existing zone lines. The complaint acknowledges that limited rezoning to relieve overcrowding resulted in the assignment of some Negro children to the two, formerly all-white grade schools but states the zoning which results in the predominantly Negro Woodfield Road Elementary School has remained unchanged.

The NAACP complaint was argued before the Commissioner of Education on November 7, 1962.

Manhasset

There is one virtually all-Negro elementary school, Valley School, and two all-white elementary schools. The segregated school zone is very small while the zones of the two white schools are sufficiently large to require bus transportation for children in all grades.

The Great Neck NAACP met with school officials in early October, 1961 urging the Board of Education to end segregated public schools. In January, 1962, at a meeting with the school board, the NAACP proposed that the school board "abolish the policy, custom and usage whereby Negro children are segregated at the Manhasset Valley School and effectively excluded from ...other...schools, (and) institute a policy of non-segregation ..." The NAACP also suggested that the school board establish a committee to formulate desegregation plans.

The school board early in March, 1962 announced that a citizens committee would be appointed "to discuss the matters... raised" with the NAACP. The NAACP subsequently indicated dissatisfaction with the failure of the Board first to adopt a non-segregation policy on which specific desegregation plans could be based.

The NAACP suit, Blocker et al. vs. The Board of Education of Manhasset, New York, et al. was filed March 21, 1962 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Maria L. Marcus, and Jawn A. Sandifer, all of New York.)

New York City

NAACP Branches in New York City continued to press for greater desegregation (through rezoning, changes in the feeder pattern of elementary, junior, and senior high schools, and site selection), raising the educational standards of Negro schools, and, generally, for more effective implementation of the school board's desegregation program.

The New York City Board of Education was the first school board in the country to recognize the educational disadvantage of public schools segregated-in-fact and to implement an official policy. The Board, in December, 1954 declared:

> "We...interpret the May 17th decision...as a legal and moral reaffirmation of our fundamental educational principles. We recognize it as a decision which applies not only to those cases in litigation, but also as a challenge to Boards of Education throughout the nation, in northern as well as southern communities, to re-examine the racial composition of the schools within their respective systems in order to determine whether they conform to the standards stated clearly by that Court...Public education in a racially homogeneous setting is socially unrealistic and blocks the attainment of the goals of democratic education whether this segregation occurs

by law or by fact...the Board...is determined to accept the challenge implicit in the language and spirit of the [May 17th] decision...It is now the ...policy and program of the Board...to devise and put into operation a plan which will prevent the further development of [racially homogeneous] schools and would integrate the existing one as quickly as practicable."

The Board subsequently adopted recommendations of the Commission on Integration on zoning, educational standards, guidance, and teacher assignments. The Commission specifically recommended that greater desegregation be achieved through rezoning, the Princeton Plan, reorganizing the elementary-secondary feeder pattern, open enrollment, and site selection for new schools. The Commission also recommended specific proposals for improving the quality of education of those schools which could not be desegregated by virtue of extensive segregated housing.

Nyack

After urging the Board of Education to implement a non-discriminatory policy in the employment of Negro teachers, the Nyack NAACP in the spring of 1962, petitioned the New York State Commissioner of Education to investigate the problem.

The Commissioner of Education was requested (1) to order the Nyack Board of Education to cease the practice of racial discrimination positions, and (2) to investigate educational standards, curriculum, guidance and educational stimulation affecting Negro students in the Nyack public school system.

Rochester

In the first bi-racial attack on northern school segregation, the NAACP filed suit after negotiations with the Board of Education failed to change existing zones, permissive transfers, and discriminatory feeder patterns. The complaint charges the Board and school officials with "providing, affording, operating and maintaining" racially segregated public schools. The complaint further alleges that the plaintiffs, white and Negro children "have been and are now being greatly harmed, damaged, and injured" by segregation.

Aikens et al. vs. The Board of Education et al, filed May 25, 1962, in the United States District Court for the Western District of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Barbara A. Morris, and Jawn A. Sandifer, all of New York.)

On May 26, the day after the suit was filed, the school board employed the first Negro school principal in Rochester.

Syracuse

After five months of fruitless negotiations by the NAACP, CORE, and community-parent groups, the NAACP in the fall of 1962 publicly charged the Board with refusing to take any steps to eliminate existing segregation in the public school system.

At a public meeting in Syracuse on October 14, the Special Assistant for Education stated that the Board of Education had "consistently rejected the simple proposal that it establish a committee to study the problem and find solutions." She charged that unless the Board immediately adopted a policy committed to the elimination of existing segregation, in accord with the policy of the State, further action would be taken by the NAACP in the nature of a formal complaint to the State Commissioner of Education.

According to the State's racial census of elementary schools, the Board maintains three predominantly Negro schools.

Westbury

Prior to 1961, all students attended the school in their zone. During 1960-61, two public referendums calling for a school building and reorganization were passed and, as a result, the predominantly Negro New Cassel Elementary School was converted to a K-3 school. Students in grades 4 and 5 attend schools outside their zone.

The NAACP and Negro parents early in 1962 urged school officials to change the proposed zoning necessitated by the opening of a new grade school, charging that the new zoning would leave New Cassel a completely segregated school. The NAACP also charged that the assignment of New Cassel pupils in grades 4 and 5 to other schools by-passed the nearest school after white parents objected to the transfers.

When the Board refused to change the proposed zoning or the assignment policy, the Superintendent of Schools stated,

> "The Negro child cannot be educated better in an integrated school...If a numerically Negro superiority in other schools is created, whites will move. There would be open rebellion in Westbury. The voters would not accept this... The Board has to be practical." (Westbury Times, March 22, 1962.)

The NAACP suit Bailey et. al. vs. The Board of Education of School District No. 1, Westbury, New York, et al., filed April 2, 1962 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York. (Counsel: Robert L. Carter, NAACP General Counsel, Maria L. Marcus, and Jawn A. Sandifer, all of New York.)

## OHIO

### Cleveland

The Cleveland NAACP Branch is completing an examination of the extent of existing segregation, educational standards of predominantly Negro schools, and discriminatory practices affecting the assignment of Negro teachers. The findings and recommendations of the NAACP study will be submitted to the Cleveland Board of Education.

### Columbus

The Columbus NAACP is examining the public schools to determine the extent of existing segregation.

### Portsmouth

After an examination of the public schools in May, 1961, the NAACP urged the Board of Education to eliminate deliberate segregation of pupils and teachers at the Washington Elementary School. The NAACP and Negro parents urged desegregation of pupils and faculty integration effective September, 1962, stating that if the board failed to act, the NAACP would seek court action.

In August, the school board announced that zone lines would be redrawn and all students would attend the school in their zone. Subsequently, white parents vigorously objected and the school board rescinded its rezoning plan. The NAACP called for a student boycott for the first week of school. Negro parents and the NAACP picketed and successfully boycotted the all-Negro segregated school. Their children applied to and were enrolled at other elementary schools.

At the end of the week, the Board adopted their original plan, effective September, 1962, to rezone the segregated school, requiring all children, Negro and white, to attend the school in their zone. The Board also announced that the entire system would be rezoned to achieve maximum desegregation, effective September, 1963.

### Xenia

At the urging of the NAACP, the Board of Education, acknowledged that the all-Negro East Elementary School was segregated and took first steps to end segregation. The Board announced Negro parents would be permitted to enroll their children in other schools in the city, and the entire elementary school system would be examined and rezoned to eliminate existing segregation.

The school board's decision, effective September, 1962, which may set a precedent for other school districts throughout the Ohio Miami Valley, followed an opinion of the Board's legal advisors.

## OREGON

### Portland

On September 22, 1962 the Portland NAACP urged the Board of Education to take steps to achieve maximum desegregation affecting four predominantly Negro elementary schools. The Board indicated it would not examine or study the problem of de facto

segregation but would continue efforts to raise educational standards. The National NAACP had stated previously that special educational programs would not be accepted as a substitute for the elimination of segrogation-in-fact.

The NAACP General Counsel and Special Assistant for Education met with school officials in Portland last April as part of a West Coast trip to examine discriminatory school practices.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Ardmore

The NAACP Branch is currently examining school attendance areas, residential patterns, and related problems. Recommendations for changes affecting the virtually all-Negro Ardmore Elementary School will be presented to the Board of Education when the study is completed.

### Chester

The Chester NAACP Branch in late 1961 urged the Board of Education to transfer students from the severely over-crowded, all-Negro Douglas Junior High School to the under-utilized, integrated Pulaski Junior High School in an adjacent zone. The Principal of the Douglas Junior High School also publicly urged the school board to relieve over-crowding by reassigning pupils.

To date, school officials have refused to take any action, or to make available certain factual data. The NAACP has announced appropriate steps would be taken after completion of a city-wide examination of school attendance areas.

### Coatesville

The Board of Education early in January, 1962, announced that the all-Negro Adams Elementary School would be desegregated, effective September, 1962. The NAACP earlier had urged the school board to desegregate and submitted four alternative desegregation plans for consideration.

On April 26, the board unanimously approved the Princeton Plan whereby two adjacent school zones are combined in a single zone and all students within the new zone are assigned to each school on the basis of grade. Thus, all students in grades one to three will attend the formerly segregated Adams School while all students in the fourth to sixth grades will attend the formerly predominantly white Terry School.

White and Negro teachers at each school will also be reassigned to achieve faculty integration.

The attorney for the school board reported, "the law is very clear as set down by the Supreme Court and the Brown decision...It is the duty of every board of school directors to proceed to integrate with all deliberate speed...A school system with segregated schools is in violation of the laws."

Philadelphia

The Philadelphia NAACP over a period of many months in 1960-1961 urged the Board of Education to discontinue certain discriminatory racial practices: assignment of students to schools on the basis of race through the use of changing boundary lines, controlling students transfers, changing the number of grades within certain schools, and the assignment of Negro teachers to predominantly Negro schools.

An NAACP suit was instituted: Chisholm et al. vs. The Board of Public Education, et al., filed June 7, 1961 in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. (Counsel: William L. Akers, James K. Baker, Oscar N. Gaskins, A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., and Charles Moore, all of Philadelphia.)

WASHINGTON

Seattle and Tacoma

NAACP Branches in these two cities are making an examination of the public schools to determine the extent of segregation and other discriminatory educational practices affecting Negro students and teachers.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y. • BRyant 9-1400

January, 1963

MEMORANDUM

RE: PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN THE NORTH AND WEST

FROM: June Shagaloff
Special Assistant
for Education

The Association's attack on public schools segregated-in-fact in the North and West has been extended in the past year to more that sixty-nine cities in fifteen states. From California to Connecticut, the NAACP has examined school policies and practices and, based on the findings, has alerted communities to the existence of northern style segregation and its damaging educational effects. Increased demands for desegregation and mobilization of parent-community support have followed, together with demonstrations against discriminatory practices.

Twelve northern and western public school systems, at the beginning of the 1962-63 school year, desegregated completely or took steps to achieve greater desegregation as the direct result of NAACP activity. Vigorous community-action programs are underway in other communities to eliminate or reduce racial segregation in the schools and to raise educational standards. Continued evasion and inaction by school officials in some instances has resulted in litigation. Eighteen, of a total of twenty-one legal actions challenging existing public school segregation have been filed by the NAACP under the direction of its General Counsel, Robert L. Carter. In Rochester, New York and San Francisco, bi-racial school desegregation suits have been brought for the first time on behalf of white and Negro parents by the NAACP.

The accelerated attack of the NAACP, announced early in 1962, is in compliance with directives of the Annual Convention calling for intensified efforts "to insure the end of all segregated public education in fact or by law by all means available..."

Attached is a state-by-state report on the scope of NAACP activity and the status of public school desegregation in the North and West.

From

FEB 28 1963

M. Farmer

Report L-23B, Revised
February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

# DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION*

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of the 17 southern and border states and the District of Columbia which we know to be desegregated. This report updates L-Reports 23 and 23A which appeared in January 1961 and September 1961 respectively. In the past two years there has been an increase of approximately 30 percent in the number of desegregated colleges and universities throughout the areas covered in this report (see appendix), and today all southern states have at least one desegregated institution of higher learning. In the past two years, 89 colleges and universities have desegregated, most of them with neither fuss nor fanfare. A few still restrict Negro enrollment to the graduate and professional schools. At some of the schools no Negro students are enrolled, but either statements of their governing boards indicate an official policy of admission without regard to race, or they are under court order.

| ALABAMA | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| University of Alabama, University (under court order to desegregate since 1956; no Negro students) | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Spring Hill College, Mobile | Roman Catholic |

| ARKANSAS | |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| Arkansas A. & M. College, College Heights | State |
| Arkansas Polytechnic College, Russellville | State |
| Arkansas State College, State College | State |
| Arkansas State Teachers College, Conway | State |
| Henderson State Teachers College, Arkadelphia | State |
| Southern State College, Magnolia | State |
| University of Arkansas, Fayetteville | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Arkansas College, Batesville | Presbyterian |
| College of the Ozarks, Clarksville | United Presbyterian |

*This list is based on information in our files, and may not be complete. Periodic reports in Southern School News have been a principal source.

| DELAWARE | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| University of Delaware, Newark | State |
| **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA** | |
| **Public** | |
| District of Columbia Teachers College | Municipal |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| American University | Methodist |
| Catholic University of America | Roman Catholic |
| Dunbarton College of Holy Cross | Roman Catholic |
| George Washington University | Private |
| Georgetown University | Roman Catholic |
| Georgetown Visitation Junior College | Roman Catholic |
| Immaculata Junior College | Roman Catholic |
| Trinity College | Roman Catholic |
| **FLORIDA** | |
| **Public** | |
| Dade County Junior College, Miami | County |
| Daytona Beach Junior College, Daytona Beach | County |
| Florida State University, Tallahassee | State |
| Manatee Junior College, Bradenton | County |
| Palm Beach Junior College, Lake Worth | County |
| St. Petersburg Junior College, St. Petersburg | County |
| University of Florida, Gainesville | State |
| University of South Florida, Tampa | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Barry College, Miami | Roman Catholic |
| Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg | Presbyterian |
| Stetson University, DeLand | Southern Baptist |
| University of Miami, Coral Gables | Private |
| **GEORGIA** | |
| **Public** | |
| Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta | State |
| Georgia State College, Atlanta | State |
| University of Georgia, Athens | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Agnes Scott College, Decatur | Private |
| Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur | Presbyterian |
| Emory University, Atlanta | Methodist |
| Oglethorpe University, Atlanta | Private |

| KENTUCKY | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| Eastern Kentucky State College, Richmond | State |
| Morehead State College, Morehead | State |
| Murray State College, Murray | State |
| Paducah Junior College, Paducah | Municipal |
| University of Kentucky, Lexington | State |
| University of Louisville, Louisville | Municipal |
| Western Kentucky State College, Bowling Green | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Asbury College, Wilmore | Private |
| Ashland Junior College, Ashland | Private |
| Bellarmine College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Berea College, Berea | Private |
| Bethel College, Hopkinsville | Southern Baptist |
| Bowling Green College of Commerce, Bowling Green | Private |
| Brescia College, Owensboro | Roman Catholic |
| Campbellsville College, Campbellsville | Southern Baptist |
| Centre College of Kentucky, Danville | Private |
| The College of the Bible, Lexington | Disciples of Christ |
| Georgetown College, Georgetown | Southern Baptist |
| Kentucky Wesleyan College, Owensboro | Methodist |
| Lees Junior College, Jackson | Presbyterian |
| Lindsey Wilson College, Columbia | Methodist |
| Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary | Presbyterian |
| Nazareth College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Pikeville Junior College, Pikeville | Presbyterian |
| Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville | Southern Baptist |
| Transylvania College, Lexington | Private |
| Union College, Barbourville | Methodist |
| Ursuline College, Louisville | Roman Catholic |
| Villa Madonna College, Covington | Roman Catholic |

| LOUISIANA | |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge | State |
| Louisiana State University at New Orleans | State |
| McNeese State College, Lake Charles | State |
| Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond | State |
| University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette | Roman Catholic |
| Loyola University, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary | Southern Baptist |
| Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans | Roman Catholic |
| Tulane University, New Orleans | Private |

| MARYLAND | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| **Public** | |
| Allegany Community Junior College, Cumberland | County |
| Anne Arundel Junior College, Anne Arundel | County |
| Baltimore Junior College, Baltimore | Municipal |
| Catonsville Community College, Catonsville | County |
| Charles County Junior College, La Plata | County |
| Essex Community College, Essex | County |
| Frederick Community College, Frederick | County |
| Hagerstown Junior College, Hagerstown | County |
| Harford Junior College, Bel Air | County |
| Montgomery Junior College, Takoma Park | County |
| Prince George's Community College, Suitland | County |
| St. Mary's Seminary Junior College, St. Mary's City | State |
| State Teachers College, Frostburg | State |
| State Teachers College, Salisbury | State |
| State Teachers College, Towson | State |
| United States Naval Academy, Annapolis | National |
| University of Maryland, College Park and Baltimore | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Baltimore College of Commerce, Baltimore | YMCA |
| College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| Goucher College, Towson | Private |
| Hood College, Frederick | Private |
| Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore | Private |
| Loyola College, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| The Maryland Institute, Baltimore | Private |
| Mount St. Agnes College, Baltimore | Roman Catholic |
| Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg | Roman Catholic |
| Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore, Baltimore | Private |
| St. John's College, Annapolis | Private |
| St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg | Roman Catholic |
| Washington College, Chestertown | Private |
| Western Maryland College, Westminster | Methodist |
| **MISSISSIPPI** | |
| **Public** | |
| University of Mississippi, Oxford | State |
| **MISSOURI** | |
| **Public** | |
| Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg | State |
| Harris Teachers College, St. Louis | Municipal |
| Joplin Junior College, Joplin | District |
| Junior College of Flat River, Flat River | Municipal |
| Junior College of Kansas City, Kansas City | District |
| Moberly Junior College, Moberly | Municipal |
| Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, Kirksville | State |

| MISSOURI - continued | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| Northwest Missouri State College, Maryville | State |
| St. Joseph Junior College, St. Joseph | Municipal |
| Southeast Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau | State |
| Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield | State |
| Trenton Junior College, Trenton | Municipal |
| University of Missouri, Columbia and Rolla Divisions | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Culver-Stockton College, Canton | Disciples of Christ |
| Park College, Parkville | Presbyterian |
| St. Louis University, St. Louis | Roman Catholic |
| University of Kansas City, Kansas City | Private |
| Washington University, St. Louis | Private |
| Webster College, Webster Groves | Roman Catholic |
| Westminster College, Fulton | Presbyterian |
| **NORTH CAROLINA** | |
| **Public** | |
| Appalachian State Teachers College, Boone | State |
| Asheville-Biltmore College, Asheville | Municipal-County |
| Charlotte College, Charlotte | Municipal |
| East Carolina College, Greenville | State |
| North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, Raleigh | State |
| Pembroke State College, Pembroke | State |
| University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill | State |
| Western Carolina College, Cullowhee | State |
| Wilmington College, Wilmington | State and County |
| Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, Greensboro | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Belmont Abbey College, Belmont | Roman Catholic |
| Black Mountain College, Black Mountain | Private |
| Catawba College, Salisbury | Evangelical Reform |
| College of the Albermarle, Elizabeth City | Private |
| Davidson College, Davidson | Presbyterian |
| Duke University, Durham | Private |
| Gardner-Webb Junior College, Inc., Boiling Springs | Southern Baptist |
| Guilford College, Guilford | Society of Friends |
| Mars Hill College, Mars Hill | Southern Baptist |
| Meredith College, Raleigh | Southern Baptist |
| Pfeiffer College, Misenheimer | Methodist |
| Sacred Heart Junior College, Belmont | Roman Catholic |
| Saint Andrews College, Laurinburg | Presbyterian |
| Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest | Southern Baptist |
| Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem | Baptist |

| NORTH CAROLINA - continued | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| Warren Wilson Junior College, Swannanoa | Presbyterian |
| **OKLAHOMA** | |
| *Public* | |
| Altus Junior College, Altus | District |
| Cameron State Agricultural College, Lawton | State |
| Central State College, Edmond | State |
| Connors State Agricultural College, Warner | State |
| East Central State College, Ada | State |
| Eastern Oklahoma A. & M. College, Wilburton | State |
| El Reno Junior College, El Reno | District |
| Murray State Agricultural College,Tishomingo | State |
| Muskogee Junior College, Muskogee | Municipal |
| Northeastern Oklahoma A. & M., Miami | State |
| Northeastern State College, Tahlequah | State |
| Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Tonkawa | State |
| Northwestern State College, Alva | State |
| Oklahoma College for Women, Chickasha | State |
| Oklahoma Military Academy, Claremore | State |
| Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science, Stillwater | State |
| Panhandle A. & M. College, Goodwell | State |
| Poteau Community College, Poteau | Municipal |
| Sayre Junior College, Sayre | District |
| Seminole Junior College, Seminole | District |
| Southeastern State College, Durant | State |
| Southwestern State College, Weatherford | State |
| University of Oklahoma, Norman | State |
| *Nonpublic* | |
| Benedictine Heights College, Tulsa | Roman Catholic |
| Oklahoma Baptist University, Shawnee | Southern Baptist |
| Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City | Private |
| Oklahoma City University, Oklahoma City | Methodist |
| Phillips University, Enid | Disciples of Christ |
| St. Gregory's College, Shawnee | Roman Catholic |
| University of Tulsa, Tulsa | Private |
| **SOUTH CAROLINA** | |
| *Public* | |
| Clemson Agricultural College, Clemson | State |
| *Nonpublic* | |
| Our Lady of Mercy Junior College, Charleston | Roman Catholic |
| **TENNESSEE** | |
| *Public* | |
| Austin Peay State College, Clarksville | State |
| East Tennessee State College, Johnson City | State |

| TENNESSEE - Continued | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| Memphis State University, Memphis | State |
| Middle Tennessee State College, Murfreesboro | State |
| Tennessee Polytechnic Institute, Cookeville | State |
| University of Tennessee, Knoxville | State |
| University of Tennessee, Nashville, Memphis and Martin Branches | State |
| Nonpublic | |
| Bethel College, McKenzie | Presbyterian |
| Christian Brothers College, Memphis | Roman Catholic |
| Maryville College, Maryville | Presbyterian |
| Peabody College, Nashville | Private |
| Scarritt College for Christian Workers, Nashville | Methodist |
| Tusculum College, Greenville | Private |
| University of the South, Sewanee | Protestant Episcopal |
| Vanderbilt University, Nashville | Private |
| TEXAS | |
| Public | |
| Amarillo College, Amarillo | Municipal |
| Arlington State College, Arlington (branch of Texas A. & M.) | State |
| Brownsville Junior College, Brownsville | Municipal |
| Cisco Junior College, Cisco | District |
| Clarendon Junior College, Clarendon | District |
| Cooke County Junior College, Gainesville | Municipal |
| Del Mar College, Corpus Christi | Municipal |
| East Texas State College, East Texas Station | State |
| Frank Phillips Junior College, Borger | District |
| Hill Junior College, Hillsboro | District |
| Houston University, Houston | Municipal |
| Howard County Junior College, Big Spring | County |
| Kilgore College, Kilgore | District |
| Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont | District |
| Laredo Junior College, Laredo | Municipal |
| Lee College, Baytown | Municipal |
| Midwestern University, Wichita Falls | Municipal |
| Navarro Junior College, Corsicana | County |
| North Texas State University, Denton | State |
| Odessa College, Odessa | District |
| Pan American College, Edinburg | County |
| Paris Junior College, Paris | Municipal |
| San Angelo College, San Angelo | Municipal |
| San Antonio College, San Antonio | Municipal |
| San Jacinto College, Pasadena | District |
| South Plains College, Levelland | County |
| Southwest Texas Junior College, Uvalde | District |
| Temple Junior College, Temple | Municipal |
| Texarkana College, Texarkana | Municipal |

| TEXAS - continued | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| Texas College of Arts and Industry, Kingsville | State |
| Texas Southmost Junior College, Brownsville | Municipal |
| Texas Technological College, Lubbock | State |
| Texas Western College, El Paso (branch of University of Texas) | State |
| Texas Woman's University, Denton | State |
| University of Texas, Austin | State |
| Victoria College, Victoria | Municipal |
| Weatherford College, Weatherford | District |
| West Texas State College, Canyon | State |
| Wharton County Junior College, Wharton | County |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Abilene Christian College, Abilene | Private |
| Austin College, Sherman | Southern Presbyterian |
| Austin Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Austin | Presbyterian |
| Dallas Theological Seminary, Dallas | Private |
| De Mazenod Scholasticate, San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest, Austin | Protestant Episcopal |
| Hardin-Simmons University, Abilene | Southern Baptist |
| Incarnate Word College, San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Lutheran Concordia College, Austin | Lutheran |
| McMurray College, Abilene | Methodist |
| Our Lady of the Lake College, Abilene | Roman Catholic |
| St. Edward's University, Austin | Roman Catholic |
| St. Mary's University of San Antonio | Roman Catholic |
| Southern Methodist University, Dallas | Methodist |
| Southwestern Baptist Seminary, Fort Worth | Baptist |
| Texas Christian University, Fort Worth | Christian |
| Texas Lutheran College, Sequin | Lutheran |
| Trinity University, San Antonio | Presbyterian |
| University of Dallas, Dallas | Roman Catholic |
| Wayland Baptist College, Plainview | Southern Baptist |
| **VIRGINIA** | |
| **Public** | |
| Colleges of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Norfolk and Richmond Institute | State |
| Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia, Fredericksburg | State |
| Medical College of Virginia, Richmond | State |
| Patrick Henry College, Martinsville | State |
| University of Virginia, Charlottesville | State |
| Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg | State |
| **Nonpublic** | |
| Bridgewater College, Bridgewater | Brethren |
| Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg | Mennonite |

| VIRGINIA - continued | LEGAL CONTROL |
|---|---|
| Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond | Presbyterian |
| Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, Alexandria | Episcopal |
| Union Theological Seminary, Richmond | Presbyterian |
| **WEST VIRGINIA** | |
| Public | |
| Concord College, Athens | State |
| Fairmont State College, Fairmont | State |
| Glenville State College, Glenville | State |
| Marshall University, Huntington | State |
| Potomac State College of West Virginia University, Keyser | State |
| Shepherd College, Shepherdstown | State |
| West Liberty State College, West Liberty | State |
| West Virginia Institute of Technology, Montgomery | State |
| West Virginia State College, Institute | State |
| West Virginia University, Morgantown | State |
| Nonpublic | |
| Alderson-Broaddus College, Philippi | Baptist |
| Beckley College, Beckley | Private |
| Bethany College, Bethany | Private |
| Davis and Elkins College, Elkins | Presbyterian |
| Salem College, Salem | Seventh Day Baptist |
| West Virginia Wesleyan College, Buckhannon | Methodist |

# APPENDIX

| | JANUARY 1961 | | JANUARY 1963 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | PUBLIC | NONPUBLIC | PUBLIC | NONPUBLIC |
| ALABAMA | 1* | 1 | 1* | 1 |
| ARKANSAS | 7 | 2 | 7 | 2 |
| DELAWARE | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| D. C. | 1 | 8 | 1 | 8 |
| FLORIDA | 2 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| GEORGIA | 1 | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| KENTUCKY | 7 | 17 | 7 | 21 |
| LOUISIANA | 5 | 2 | 5 | 6 |
| MARYLAND | 8 | 14 | 17 | 14 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| MISSOURI | 10 | 5 | 13 | 7 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 3 | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| OKLAHOMA | 18 | 4 | 23 | 7 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| TENNESSEE | 6 | 7 | 7 | 8 |
| TEXAS | 24 | 18 | 39 | 20 |
| VIRGINIA | 5 | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 9 | 4 | 10 | 6 |
| | 108 | 94 | 161 | 130 |

*Court Order, 1956, but no Negro students have been admitted since Miss Autherine Lucy was expelled in February 1956.

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SCHOOL SEGREGATION

# THE NORTH AND WEST HAVE PROBLEMS, TOO

—*Arthur Leipzig.*

By G. W. FOSTER, JR., *Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin.*

BY THE beginning of 1963, the attack on public school segregation had become nationwide. In more than sixty communities of the North and West there were active and organized pressures for desegregation programs.

The drive in the North and West differs in many respects from the efforts which continue in the South. The problems are different. So are the tactics, the demands, and—inevitably—the legal issues raised when conflict ripens into court action.

In the years after the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases national attention focused largely upon the South. There the attack was against a whole legal structure which compelled segregation. Negroes, insisting that state officials must be colorblind, sought removal of racial classifications and demanded reorganization of schools without regard to race.

By the 1960s a drive developed against what is called "de facto" segregation in the public schools of the North and West. De facto segregation does not result from any formal, legal classifications based on race. Rather, it arises from the effect of residential segregation upon patterns of neighborhood school attendance districts.

The problems raised by de facto segregation are more sophisticated and more subtle, and they stem from complex causes. The Negro fortunate enough to find housing in predominantly white neighborhoods usually has little difficulty in obtaining access to schools that serve those areas. Most Negroes in the North and West, however, live in crowded urban slum areas that racially are almost or entirely homogeneous. Even those with resources adequate to acquire housing elsewhere encounter private discrimination that discourages and often prevents their escape from segregated neighborhoods. Still more Negroes, caught by discrimination in employment and having few developed skills, simply lack the resources to escape.

School officials, accused of being responsible for de facto segregation in the schools, usually counter by insisting that residential patterns and not racial bias on their part produced the result. An attorney representing Negroes who commenced judicial action against Philadelphia school officials gave his answer to that position:

> The position of the board is that it does not consider race at all in the operation of the school system, either in setting boundaries or in administrative practices. This is not enough. The board cannot be color-blind. It is the affirmative responsibility of the board to work toward integration. Every choice which may arise in making decisions about school matters must be made in such a way as to accomplish results leading to the integration goal.

This concept of color-consciousness marks a sharp break, tactically and legally, with the thrust of school desegregation efforts in the South. It poses for many educators troublesome questions in attempting to provide adequate education for academically and culturally handicapped children in slum schools. And finally, the demand for color-consciousness raises some serious legal questions of Constitutional proportion.

Assignment by race was of course the historic basis for the dual school systems of the South. Outside the South, school assignment is typically based on geography. The school system is divided into a single set of zones and each child is initially assigned to the school in his zone of residence. Frequently some provision exists for attending school outside the zone of residence, either by permitting transfer under specified conditions or by allowing a free choice of any uncrowded school in the system. A few communities do little or no zoning and simply permit a choice among all or some of the schools in the district.

The predominant pattern, however, involves geographic zoning with rather stringent restrictions against transfer or attendance outside the zone of residence. Often this is referred to as a "neighborhood" school pattern, although there is much variation in defining the characteristics of a neighborhood. The school in a particular "neighborhood" may be large or small and it may be located near the center, or close to the edge, of the area it serves.

The neighborhood school is particularly characteristic of the organization of elementary schools in urban areas. There, with younger children involved, concern is felt for having the schools close at hand and available along safe routes which avoid major traffic problems. In more sparsely populated areas the neighborhood concept tends to break down. Buses are then provided to bring children in from greater distances, and convenience in fixing bus routes may be a major factor in determining the attendance area of a school.

At the level of secondary schools the neighborhood concept tends to be somewhat less important. These schools are generally larger and serve more extensive geographic areas. Where a high school does not offer a comprehensive curriculum, but instead is specialized and offers either a vocational or college preparatory curriculum, it may serve quite a large area of the community. In communities with two or more high schools the student populations in each are derived from a group of "feeder" elementary schools and thus a high school acquires the population characteristics of the "feeder" schools.

A neighborhood school—however defined—reflects the economic, social, cultural, and racial characteristics of the area served. Since most Negroes in the North and West live in densely popu-

lated, racially homogeneous slum areas, the schools available to them are largely or entirely segregated. Negro discontent, then, grows largely out of the problems of these slum schools.

Slum schools have traditionally had their problems. Poverty, squalid and congested housing, and social and economic discrimination combine to produce higher rates of adult crime, juvenile delinquency, general disorder, and disease. Yet the successive waves of white immigrants who once filled the slums in time found ways to escape into the white mainstream of America. The fact that escape was possible supplied motivation for many who finally succeeded in getting away.

A great fraction of the slum dwellers in the 1960s, however, are not white and they face additional handicaps which stem from their race and the peculiar problems of their cultural isolation from the whites. Oriental minorities, principally on the West Coast, with more stable family organization, higher levels of motivation, and tighter self-discipline, are steadily finding it easier to become assimilated into the community at large. But the Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and the English-speaking American Negroes, burdened after centuries of slavery and peonage with far greater rates of family disorganization and illegitimacy, and lower levels of motivation and discipline, are still finding it difficult to escape.

Many Negroes in the North and West are recent immigrants from the South and they bring with them the inherited educational and social handicaps of their rural Southern background. Hoped-for employment does not always materialize and the combination of job discrimination and their own limited skills relegate them generally to the lowest-paying jobs or, worse yet, to chronic unemployment.

Other school problems grow out of housing. Population densities in areas occupied by Negroes in the cities of the North and West rise sharply above the levels in the same neighborhoods when earlier occupied by whites. Schools become overcrowded and in many instances operate on double shifts, providing each child with only a half-day of education. Elsewhere in the community, school populations drop in older white neighborhoods because the children have grown up and left. The result is that there are often empty classrooms and smaller classes in many white sections of a city and overcrowded and sometimes double-shift classes in others which are all or largely Negro.

Still other difficulties grow out of employment barriers faced by minority groups. Racial discrimination, particularly by many of the skilled craft unions, seriously affects vocational training programs. Pupils, seeing few prospects for employment after being specially trained for it, shun vocational programs. And job discrimination generally contributes to higher rates of dropping school altogether since there is little incentive to acquire an education when it cannot be gainfully used.

The problem of obtaining an adequate supply of interested and competent teachers for the overcrowded slum schools also haunts school administrators. A Baltimore school official admitted the use of some 1,100 uncertified elementary teachers, largely in the slum schools, during the 1961-62 school year. On Manhattan in the same year more than one-third of the teachers newly appointed to the schools rejected their assignments and looked for jobs elsewhere.

The hesitation of many teachers to serve in slum schools grows out of a variety of causes. Most teachers, middle-class in aspiration if not in fact, are under many pressures which direct them away from teaching in culturally disadvantaged schools. Schools of education generally train teachers on the assumption that "a child is a child"—and use the middle-class white child as the model to be taught. As a result many teachers are but little equipped to deal with the distinctive problems of communication barriers, economic deprivation, and social and cultural disadvantages of children in depressed-area schools. This, and factors of teacher aspiration to work in the "better" schools close to where the teacher lives, create attitudes which minimize the desire or willingness to teach in the slum schools.

Physical facilities in the slum school, too, are often inferior. Many buildings tend to be old and the pressures from excessive enrollments add further burdens on the physical plant and the educational program. Major programs to rehabilitate and enlarge facilities in crowded slum areas are to be found in most large cities today. Too often, however, it has remained true that the demands for additional classrooms have continued to outrun the rising supply.

The slum schools, then, are handicapped in many serious ways and protests on behalf of those forced to attend them can commonly be grounded on objections that they furnish inadequate educational opportunities. Since the troubles are often linked with segregation as well, many of the protests take the form of demands for increased integration.

The demands for school integration in the North and West have taken a

## The President's Desegregation Plan

". . . PROGRESS TOWARD PRIMARY and secondary school desegregation has still been too slow, often painfully so. Those children who are being denied their Constitutional rights are suffering a loss which can never be regained, and which will leave scars which can never be fully healed. I have in the past expressed my belief that the full authority of the federal government should be placed behind the achievement of school desegregation, in accordance with the command of the Constitution. One obvious area of federal action is to help facilitate the transition to desegregation in those areas which are conforming or wish to conform their practices to the law.

"Many of these communities lack the resources necessary to eliminate segregation in their public schools while at the same time assuring that educational standards will be maintained and improved. The problem has been compounded by the fact that the climate of mistrust in many communities has left many school officials with no qualified source to turn to for information and advice.

"There is a need for technical assistance by the Office of Education to assist local communities in preparing and carrying out desegregation plans, including the supplying of information on means which have been employed to desegregate other schools successfully. There is also need for financial assistance to employ specialized personnel to cope with problems occasioned by desegregation and to train school personnel to facilitate the transition to desegregation. While some facilities for providing this kind of assistance are presently available in the Office of Education, they are not adequate to the task.

*"I recommend, therefore, a program of federal technical and financial assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Constitution."*

*—President Kennedy in his special message to Congress on civil rights, February 28, 1963.*

variety of forms depending upon the particular situation on which attention focused. Understandably, some of the demands have been inconsistent with one another. At New Rochelle, for example, Negroes won a court order permitting free transfer from a largely Negro elementary school to predominantly white schools elsewhere in the city. A year later, groups at Philadelphia were opposing a free transfer policy on the ground that it permitted too many whites to run away from schools in which Negroes were enrolled.

Protests against segregation in schools around the periphery of Negro neighborhoods generally suggested one or more of three alternatives:

1) *Rezoning of attendance areas.* In some instances, it has been possible to show that school officials have apparently zoned schools to "contain" Negroes once they moved into a particular neighborhood. In other instances, zone lines remained unchanged from the days that whites occupied the entire area. In both these situations it is occasionally possible to show that existing zone lines may reasonably be changed to promote integration. Thus, it has been insisted that school authorities have a duty to rezone whether the resulting segregation has been the product of intentional board policy or merely a refusal to deal with the changing character of the neighborhoods involved.

2) *The Princeton Plan.* Another suggestion, taken from a plan installed at Princeton, New Jersey, in 1948, calls for reclassification of schools to handle fewer grades and thus serve larger geographic areas. This is accomplished by pairing two adjacent schools both of which cover grades from, say, kindergarten through the sixth. On reclassification, one of the "sister" schools handles all pupils in both attendance areas from kindergarten through third grade and the other school serves both areas for grades four through six. By doubling the geographic area of each school it is occasionally possible to promote integration around the edges of segregated neighborhoods.

3) *Location of new school facilities.* The location of new facilities, either to replace over-age buildings or to handle the needs of increased enrollments, has frequently provoked much controversy. Obviously, the location of facilities can have substantial short-run effects upon the racial composition of a school.

These suggestions for promoting integration along boundaries between segregated neighborhoods often have only temporary effect. Boundaries between racial groups tend to be unstable, holding only where freeways, rivers, or railroad tracks block expansion. Elsewhere the segregated areas expand, sometimes abetted by "blockbusting" techniques of unscrupulous realtors who panic whites into moving out as Negroes begin to move in. Integrated schools in these areas frequently become segregated again in relatively brief periods of time.

For schools deeper within segregated neighborhoods, other plans are suggested. Rezoning or reclassification of schools in these cases produces no change because of the homogeneous neighborhood patterns. In such situations the proposals involve moving some of the children out to uncrowded, predominantly white schools elsewhere in the city. Occasionally, protests have led to complete abandonment of a school, with resulting reassignment of all pupils to less segregated schools in other areas. The demands for transfers out of segregated areas are frequently coupled with insistence that bus service be provided without charge.

These open enrollment and free transfer policies merely scratch the surface. They provide means of escape for relatively small numbers of minority-group children who are strongly enough motivated to seek transfer. Most children, however, are left behind in congested, segregated schools.

To alleviate congestion, the urban school systems are busy with vast programs of new construction. Because of the high costs of acquiring additional land, much of this is going on at the sites of existing schools. Some systems —Chicago and Philadelphia are examples—are also using so-called mobile-unit classrooms, carried to a site on a trailer. These units are attractive and air-conditioned, but in Chicago particularly many Negroes regard them as symbols of a settled intent on the part of school officials to preserve segregation. And indeed, new school construction in segregated areas is increasingly coming under fire everywhere because of its failure to mitigate the effects of residential segregation.

There is broad agreement among educators that a policy of providing integrated experience for all children is a desirable objective if equality of educational opportunity is to be achieved. From this point on, however, there is real dispute among them over how much weight integration should be given in shaping school organization and educational practices.

Even in desegregated schools there are wide differences in classroom organization and teaching methods. These grow primarily out of the problem of dealing with differences in motivation, ability, and achievement among children at the same grade level. Most school systems make some efforts to group children according to one or more of these characteristics. In some instances, achievement grouping oc-

—*Photos from Wide World.*

**Should the schools be required to mitigate the effects of residential discrimination?**

curs within the classroom, with the teacher devoting attention to each group in turn. In other instances, achievement groups are isolated in separate classrooms. Less frequently, no achievement grouping is attempted and the entire class is considered as a heterogeneous unit.

The cultural deficiencies and poorer educational backgrounds among minority-group children tend to separate them at one end of the grouping scale. This means that many wind up in the "slow" group within the classroom or off in a separate classroom by themselves. There is much disagreement over the extent of damage which this kind of isolation does to social adjustment and ability to learn.

Some, placing greatest weight on the damage done by isolation, argue that properly trained teachers can handle heterogeneous classes without grouping. Others disagree, laying stress on the need to expand the horizons of the gifted child and to protect slow learners from situations in which the goals are beyond their reach.

The same sorts of differences grow out of discussing what to do about children in segregated schools. Those who strongly support policies of open enrollment and free transfer stress the value of an integrated education. They are met, however, by others who argue on behalf of strengthening the neighborhood school. The case for the neighborhood school is supported by a wide range of arguments.

Experimental programs in a number of school systems have produced striking results in upgrading the performance levels of disadvantaged children. A feature common to many of these is a concern for the child not only during the school day but in his neighborhood and his home. Social workers, school psychologists, and teachers deal with families and others with whom the child associates. Special efforts are made to enlist those around the child to encourage and support him in seeking an education. The child himself is placed in situations designed to expand his horizons and motivate him to set his own sights higher. The Banneker Group program at St. Louis and the Higher Horizons project in New York are notable examples of such endeavors. The "Great Cities" project sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education has also launched experimental programs in a number of cities designed to improve educational opportunities for deprived children.

An interesting program at Hunter College in New York attacks the problems of segregated and culturally deprived schools on another front, that of training teachers for the job. This, a voluntary program open to education majors while still at the undergraduate level, places them in slum schools for their practice teaching.

Attacks are being made on still other fronts, among them on the kind of teaching materials furnished children in depressed-area schools. Beginning with the "Look, look, look. See, see, see" elementary readers, the conventional teaching materials describe a white, middle-class world which is as foreign to that of the slum child as the back of the moon. He never sees himself in that world except incidentally as a servant or some other distantly viewed figure. He does not understand that world and cannot see himself becoming part of it. In a few places, Detroit and New York among them, efforts are being made to create teaching materials that give the disadvantaged child a chance to identify himself and see a way to goals beyond anything he or his family ever experienced.

THE disagreements among educators suggest that there is much to be learned before any specific program can be imposed with much more than a hunch that it would be better than some competing alternative. Whether or not open enrollment or free transfer programs are adopted, most children will remain in their neighborhood schools. And the neighborhood schools in depressed areas will require much more understanding and attention before many of the children in them can acquire the skills, confidence, and motivation that will be needed to move into middle-class status.

"THE FIRST OBLIGATION of state authorities is to eradicate any remaining public school segregation created by sanction of state law or practice. . . . But executive responsibility does not end with the elimination of government-imposed segregation in public education. Executive officials aware of their Constitutional responsibilities must also be concerned with *de facto* public school segregation resulting from past discriminatory practices or prevailing restrictions in the availability of housing for minorities. They should likewise move affirmatively to eradicate educational disadvantages for minorities which flow from segregation in private educational institutions that derive benefits from the state." —*The Potomac Institute, "State Executive Authority to Promote Civil Rights."*

Indeed, programs to increase integration by siphoning off some small fraction of these children through open enrollment and free transfer mechanisms create other problems. Placing the child in a school far removed from his home environment makes it virtually impossible for the school to work closely with his family and neighborhood problems. Again, as happened in New Rochelle during the 1961-62 school year, if the child is too far out of step with the motivation and achievement of the other children in the school to which he transfers, the result can be a humiliating failure for the disadvantaged youngster and a hardening of attitudes against him among those who make the grade and see him fail.

There are questions, too, about the effects of open enrollment on the children who remain behind in the neighborhood schools. The children who transfer are likely to be the more strongly motivated, better achievers. Their absence only makes it more difficult to create good neighborhood schools with a wide range of goals to spur everyone along more rapidly.

The concept that public officials should become conscious of race—provided they do so benignly—represents a substantial departure from the position long asserted by and on behalf of Negroes in their fight against racial restrictions. They have fought for, and won in a number of states, legislation that prohibits keeping public records by race. They have insisted that colleges and universities not require photographs as a condition to admission and that job application forms contain no reference to race.

Indeed, the principal argument advanced in the Supreme Court in the cases which led to the school segregation decision of 1954 was that classifications based on race have no place in public education. "That the Constitution is color-blind is our dedicated belief," read a key sentence in the brief submitted to the court on behalf of the Negro plaintiffs in the school segregation cases.

Yet the basic issue before the Supreme Court in 1954 was quite different from the question whether state officials could take racial considerations benignly into account. The question at that time was whether states could require separation of public schools by race in view of the obligation under the Fourteenth Amendment to provide all persons "equal protection of the laws." The court's answer was that public school segregation could not be required. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," the court held. Neither then nor later did the court

speak specifically to the question whether the Constitution required public officials to be color-blind, although the concept of color blindness was implied in a series of cryptic decisions which the court handed down thereafter that invalidated laws requiring segregation of parks, buses, restaurants, and the like.

Many questions remain to be decided in determining how far and in what manner state authority may—or perhaps must—constitutionally take race into account in shaping public policy.

It was abundantly clear by the beginning of 1963 that the process of doing away with the dual school systems in the South has endlessly taken racial considerations into account. Everyone involved in the process has done so—the community at large, school officials, even the courts. The patterns and practices of school operation have to be understood before solutions can be worked out. In this respect the actions of public authority are not color-blind.

It is also reasonably clear that, while racial considerations can be taken into account, they cannot be used invidiously against any racial group. Thus, school zone lines cannot be gerrymandered to contain Negroes. And even with racial considerations not in the picture, substantial questions of equal protection are raised by claims of serious overcrowding or that schools are badly deficient in physical plant, quality of teaching, or curricular offerings. Where any such questions develop, the Constitution probably affords a basis for judicial relief.

Other questions, however, are more difficult. As long as private discrimination produces residential segregation, it will affect the racial composition of the schools themselves. The state, whether it likes it or not, must take the community as it finds it. Since segregation cannot under the circumstances be erased, racial considerations must be taken into account. What is needed, it seems, is some flexibility of choice among reasonable educational alternatives to avoid placing any group at a disadvantage because of its race.

Where it can be shown that the practices of school authorities operate purposely to place Negroes at a racial disadvantage, judicial relief can be expected. There are, however, difficult and delicate problems in fixing the Constitutional line that measures the extent to which judicial relief may be forthcoming. Several illustrations suffice to make the point. San Francisco closed down a junior high school after protests that its student population would be 60 per cent Negro. Was this a "separate"—or "segregated"— and hence "unequal" school in the sense that the Constitution would require judicial action to put it out of business or to require alteration of its racial composition? Or was the action merely one which the political processes of the community are free to take—or not take? Again, it has been suggested that Negroes may be entitled to compensatory educational benefits because of damage done by past practices of racial segregation. It hardly seems constitutionally possible that the state can establish a compensatory program exclusively for Negroes and bar similarly handicapped whites who attend the same school.

YET the controversy over de facto segregation in the schools of the North and West is reaching the federal courts under a wide range of claimed Constitutional deprivations. The most celebrated case thus far came out of New Rochelle, New York, where the court found that school board practices more than a decade earlier caused the development of a segregated elementary school. This produced a court order permitting pupils in that school to transfer to any uncrowded school in the district. Cases like this one, which produce findings of intentional segregation practices, manifestly demonstrate a need for some corrective action. The far harder question is that of determining what kind of relief is appropriate; a number of Negro children in New Rochelle suffered serious setbacks when they transferred to classes maintaining higher academic standards.

For wholly understandable reasons, Negroes continue to insist that school authorities have the duty to mitigate the effects of residential segregation. The farthest reach of judicial language on this point came from the case in Hempstead, Long Island, in April 1962. The school board moved to dismiss the case before trial on the ground that residential patterns, not school board practices, produced the school segregation. The court denied the motion to dismiss, indicating the board had an obligation to mitigate the effects of segregation, whatever its cause. The board's obligation, the court said, could be discharged either by doing something to relieve segregation or by "a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation." Thus, where the Hempstead case departed from earlier cases was in the court's insistence that the state, in operating its schools, has a Constitutional obligation to mitigate the effects of private discrimination.

So far as the drive against school segregation in the North and West insists that school authorities become benignly color-conscious, it raises many questions still to be resolved. In a great many situations public authority is not, and cannot be, color-blind. The earlier insistence by Negroes that the Constitution required the state to be color-blind seems clearly inconsistent with the minimum need of the state at least to be sufficiently color-conscious to make sure that invidious racial discrimination is not being practiced in its name.

The courts, too, in passing on claims of racial discrimination, have to take race into account. That the Fourteenth Amendment requires judicial relief against intentional segregation of public schools has been settled. Whether the courts are required by the Constitution to insist upon maximum integration where segregation is attributable to private discrimination is another question. Particularly is it another question in light of the deep differences among educators about methods for overcoming social, cultural, and educational disadvantages suffered by those isolated from the mainstream of American life.

Merely that judicial action may not be available to compel maximum integration, however, does not suggest that the state cannot experiment with such educational programs. Nor does it suggest any impropriety in having Negroes and others make political demands for these things. It does suggest that there are certain questions which must be addressed to the political processes of the community and state rather than to the courts. And where state legislation requires affirmative integration programs, courts could be looked to for enforcement of the statutes; but judicial action in such cases would flow from legislation rather than from the federal Constitution.

Manifestly, public education has a great burden to discharge in helping disadvantaged children develop their abilities to the fullest extent possible. But public education seems hardly equipped to carry the whole load of mitigating and ending all the disadvantages minority groups suffer from private discrimination. Other efforts, both public and private, must continue on many fronts if America is to make good on its Constitutional commitment to equality for all its people. Fortunately, more and more Americans are aware of this. And while much more effort is still required, significant changes are taking place in lessening job discrimination, in breaking up patterns of housing discrimination, and in generally providing more and more reasons for hope among the nation's minority groups that they can share our democratic ideals on equal terms.

# SOUTHERN SCHOOLS

## TOKEN DESEGREGATION AND BEYOND

BY J. KENNETH MORLAND

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# Speed, Not Deliberation

It is now more than nine years since this court held in the first Brown decision . . . that racial segregation in state public schools violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. . . .

. . . we cannot ignore the passage of a substantial period of time since the original declaration of the manifest unconstitutionality of racial practices . . . the repeated and numerous decisions giving notice of such illegality, and the many intervening opportunities heretofore available to attain the equality of treatment which the 14th Amendment commands the states to achieve. . . . Given the extended time which has elapsed, it is far from clear that the mandate of the second Brown decision requiring that desegregation proceed with "all deliberate speed" would today be fully satisfied by types of plans and programs for desegregation of public educational facilities, which eight years ago might have been deemed sufficient. Brown never contemplated that the concept of "deliberate speed" would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions.

—Mr. Justice Goldberg, speaking for the Supreme Court in the case of *Watson v. Memphis,* decided May 27, 1963. The decision, which was unanimous, ruled that, public parks in Memphis, Tennessee, must be desegregated at once, not with "deliberate speed."

# Introduction

A NEW TERM—"token integration"—has emerged in the struggle for racial equality in public schools in the South. Although employed in more than one way, the term is generally used to describe deliberate efforts to keep racial integration at a minimum. It differs from "massive resistance," aimed at preventing any integration, for it allows for some breakdown of racial segregation. But token integration has essentially the same goal as massive resistance: it seeks to preserve, in effect, the established pattern of segregation. Thus it differs from gradual desegregation which urges a slow pace in the process of changing the segregated pattern, but which at the same time envisions the elimination of segregation eventually.

Authors and advocates of plans providing for token integration have made clear their hope that such plans can prevent sizable change. For example, consider the arguments used in support of North Carolina's Pupil Placement Act of 1955, which, including local option and transfer provisions, constitutes a plan for token integration. The report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee on Education, urging adoption of the plan, began describing the problem confronted by public schools in the state:[1] "The educational system of North Carolina has been built on the foundation stone of separation of the races in the schools. . . . The decisions of the Supreme Court have destroyed our foundation on segregation required by law. . . ." The report pointed out that defiance of the Supreme Court would be "foolhardy" because it would alienate those who might be won to the segregationist's way of thinking and it could mean "the closing of the public schools very quickly." To avoid such alienation and the closing of schools, it suggested that a child not be barred from a particular school solely because of color since this had become unconstitutional. Nevertheless, racially separate schools could be maintained, the framers of the report believed, through a form of natural and voluntary separation in the following way: ". . . an administrative body may well find . . . that under local conditions it may not be feasible or best for a particular child to go to a particular school with children of another race. *A color bar by law is one thing. A factual local condition bar, even if color is one of the causes of the condition, is a different thing.* . . . We believe that members of each race prefer to associate with other members of their race *and that they will do so naturally unless they are prodded and inflamed and controlled by outside pressure.*" The writers of the report concluded by saying that they were ". . . proposing the building of a new school system on a new foundation—a foundation of no racial segregation by law, but assignment according to natural racial preference and the administrative determination of what is best for the child."

In sum, token integration plans are designed to meet the demands of the

[1] The full text of the report is found in *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 581-586.

Supreme Court by allowing some integration while still keeping the number of Negroes in school with whites at such a low level as to maintain *de facto* segregation. Token integration, then, is an end in itself—an end in which the established patterns of segregation prevail.

What are the various plans of token integration, and how well have they fared in the courts? What have they accomplished, and at what price, financial and human? What is the rationale behind token integration, and how soundly based is such rationale? These are among the questions with which this report will deal.

# Methods of Keeping School Integration at Token Levels[2]

*Pupil Placement Plans*

A basic method for keeping desegregation in public schools at token levels has been through the adoption of public placement laws. The eleven former Confederate states[3] have passed such laws, which, in essence, authorize either a state or local board to assign pupils individually to different schools. The criteria for assignment range from a few broadly stated principles, such as "orderly and efficient administration of the school," to as many as 20 or more detailed considerations. Included in the latter may be the availability of teachers and transportation, the pupil's preparation and ability, the moral and health condition of the pupil, and the anticipated effect of the admission on other pupils and on the community itself. None of the plans mention race itself as a criterion of assignment; instead, they allow the operation of racially separate schools to shift to other grounds. Hartwell B. Lutz pointed this out in commenting on the Alabama Pupil Placement Law when he said that it was:

> . . . of common knowledge that the bill was passed with the intention of preventing, or, at least, delaying racial integration. The manner in which the bill might accomplish this is obvious; when a Negro child applies for admission to a white school, the Board of Education can simply assign him to a school that has only colored pupils on any one of approximately 20 grounds.[4]

In actual operation pupil placement laws have been used with the assumption that initial assignments could be by race. Negroes have been assigned to all-Negro schools and whites to all-white schools, even though ostensibly on criteria other than race. The limited amount of integration that has taken place has come through application for transfer from the school of initial assignment through provisions of the placement laws. If an individual wishes to contest his assignment, he is allowed to do so, but he must carry his request through an involved and cumbersome administrative route. Just how elaborate this procedure may be is illustrated by Section 4 of the North Carolina School Placement Law:

> Any person aggrieved by the final order of the county or city board of education may at any time within ten (10) days from the date of such order appeal therefrom to the superior court of the county. . . . Upon such appeal,

[2] Among the sources relied on in this section are the following: *Race Relations Law Reporter* (published by the Vanderbilt School of Law); U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1962); G. W. Foster, Jr., "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?" *Saturday Review*, December 17, 1960, pp. 52-54; G. W. Foster, Jr., "Token Desegregation and the Law," a working paper.

[3] Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, (see U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, p. 4, footnote 12 for reference to where these plans might be found).

[4] Hartwell B. Lutz, "School Placement Bill—Its Practical and Legal Effect on Racial Segregation," *Alabama Law Review*, Fall, 1955, p. 229.

> the matter shall be heard *de novo* in the superior court before a jury. . . . The record on appeal to the superior court shall consist of a true copy of the application and decision of the board, duly certified by the secretary of such board. If the decision of the court be that the order of the county or city board of education shall be set aside, then the court shall enter its order so providing and adjudging that such child is entitled to attend the school as claimed by the appellant, or such other school as the court may find such child is entitled to attend, and in such case such child shall be admitted to such school by the county or city board of education concerned. From the judgment of the superior court an appeal may be taken by any interested party or by the board to the Supreme Court in the same manner as other appeals are taken from judgments of such court in civil actions.[5]

In practice, the children who have applied for transfers from schools to which members of their race have been assigned have almost always been Negroes. Thus, actual integration of schools has depended upon whether Negro parents and their children were willing to go through time-consuming, expensive steps to contest the initial assignment, as has been well pointed out by a law professor at the University of North Carolina: "A Negro parent seeking to assert his child's constitutional rights to attend a desegregated school in some sections of the South must have unlimited courage, resources, time, and energy to litigate with the massed power of the state. He must also be prepared to face economic, and, sometimes, physical sanctions."[6] The comparatively few Negro children who have successfully protested their assignment and who have been admitted to former all-white schools have constituted the "token" numbers of Negro pupils in school with whites. Because there have been so few, the pattern of racial segregation has, in fact, prevailed where placement laws are the only means for desegregation.

*School Closing, Tuition Grants*

A number of states with pupil placement laws have included "local option" provisions which allow communities to close schools ordered to desegregate. The arrangement has usually been to leave the decision of continuing or suspending the operation of schools up to the localities themselves, either through vote or through the action of the school board or board of supervisors. In order to make school closing legal, constitutional statutes requiring the state to maintain public schools have been amended. The North Carolina local option act gives the rationale for such a provision in the following way:

> It is . . . recognized that our public schools are so intimately related to the customs and feelings of the people of each community that their effective operation is impossible except in conformity with community attitudes. Our people in each community need to have a full and meaningful choice as to whether a public school, which may have some enforced mixing of the races, shall continue to be maintained and supported in that community. It

[5] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 240-241.
[6] Daniel H. Pollitt, "Equal Protection in Public Education: 1954-61," *American Association of University Professors Bulletin*, Vol. 47 (1961), p. 205.

> is the purpose of this Act to provide orderly procedures, consistent with law, for the effective expression of such choice.[7]

The act then spells out how a board of education may call for an election on the question of closing public schools. It was under a comparable Virginia provision that Prince Edward County closed its schools in 1959.

Another device for avoiding integrated schooling has been the offer of tuition grants to allow pupils to attend private, nonsectarian schools instead of public schools. Six states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia—have passed such legislation.

The Louisiana Act states:

> . . . it is the policy of this state to encourage the education of all of the children of Louisiana. In furtherance of this objective, and to afford each individual freedom in choosing public or private schooling, the Legislature finds that it is desirable and in the public interest that financial assistance should be provided from the public funds of the state for education of the children in private non-sectarian elementary or secondary schools in this state.

In order to allow children to withdraw entirely from public schools if they are integrated to any degree, several states have amended compulsory school attendance laws. The Virginia provision reads, in part: "Notwithstanding any other provision of law, no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled."[9]

*Restrictive Transfer Provisions*

Still another way of keeping integration at low levels has been the grade-a-year or stair-step plan. Nashville was the first city to utilize such a plan. It began desegregation with the first grade in the fall of 1957 and reached the sixth grade in the 1962-63 session. Initial assignment in most plans has been made on geographical proximity, the child being assigned to the school nearest him. But Nashville and most of the other cities adopting such a plan have allowed those children assigned to a school in which they were in a racial minority to transfer to the nearest school in which their race is in a majority. Such a transfer provision has been aptly termed "restrictive," for it applies to certain children and not to others.[10] Whites in predominantly Negro schools may transfer under this provision while Negroes in that school may not; Negroes in predominantly white schools may transfer while whites in that school may not.

The effect of this restrictive transfer arrangement has been to resegregate the previously all-Negro school. As a rule, white children assigned to all-Negro schools seek and are automatically granted a transfer to the nearest school in which whites are in a majority. Some Negro children assigned to all-white schools ask for a transfer, and those remaining constitute the comparatively few in integrated schools.

[7] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 934-935.
[8] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 921.
[9] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 1 (1956), p. 1096.
[10] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, p. 14.

# Extent of Integration in Public Schools

Just how effective have been these devices of pupil placement, school closing, tuition grants, stair-step plans and restrictive transfers in keeping integration at token levels? The figures on the number of desegregated school districts and the proportion of Negro pupils in schools with whites provide an answer to this question.

When the Supreme Court declared in 1954 that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional, 17 states and the District of Columbia required the separation of races in public education. Since the Supreme Court ruling, the District of Columbia and six of the states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—have moved more or less steadily toward compliance, and may therefore be called "compliant" states. The other eleven states—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia—have passed legislation to prevent or to slow down desegregation. They may be called "resistant" states. In order to gain even a rough impression of the effectiveness of the plans for token integration, it is necessary to separate the extent of school integration in the "compliant" states from that in the "resistant" states.

We may look first at the number of school districts that have desegregated since 1954. A school district is regarded as desegregated when a single Negro child enters a school formerly attended only by whites, or when a single white child enters a school attended up to that time only by Negroes. Such desegregation is possible only in bi-racial school districts, that is, districts in which there are both white and Negro children residing. Table 1 shows how many bi-racial school districts had been desegregated as of November 1962.

It can be seen that little more than one out of ten of the bi-racial districts

TABLE 1

DESEGREGATION OF BI-RACIAL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

| *States* | *Total Number of Districts* | *Number of Bi-Racial Districts* | *Number of Desegregated Districts* | *Per Cent of Bi-Racial Districts Desegregated* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Resistant** | 3,043 | 2,283 | 270 | 11.8 |
| Compliant*** | 3,186 | 775 | 702 | 90.6 |
| Total | 6,229 | 3,058 | 972 | 31.8 |

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3. For later data on a state-by-state basis, see Appendix.

** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

in the eleven resistant states have been desegregated, while slightly more than nine out of ten have been desegregated in the compliant states. Moreover, it should be noted, of the 270 desegregated districts in the resistant states last fall, 176 were in Texas alone.

Because a district is desegregated, it does not follow that all Negroes and whites in the district go to school together, for, as previously noted, a single child in school with children of a different race makes an entire district desegregated. Table 2 summarizes the extent of actual integration in the desegregated districts, pointing out how many Negroes were in schools with white in those districts. *It can be seen that in the resistant states only 2% of all the Negro children in the desegregated school districts were actually attending school with whites.*[11] *Or, stated another way, 98% of the Negroes in desegregated districts in the resistant states went to segregated, all-Negro schools.*

TABLE 2

NEGRO PUPILS IN DESEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

| | *Negro Pupils in Desegregated School Districts* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *States* | *Total Number* | *Number in School with Whites* | *Per Cent in School with Whites* |
| Resistant** | 624,825 | 12,217 | 2.0 |
| Compliant*** | 443,853 | 243,150 | 54.8 |
| Total | 1,068,678 | 255,367 | 23.9 |

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3. See also Appendix.
** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.
*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

A final set of figures indicating the extent of integration in southern public schools shows how many Negroes in all districts, racial and bi-racial, segregated and desegregated, attend school with whites. Table 3 presents those figures for the fall of 1962.

This clearly illustrates how exceedingly limited the actual amount of racial integration is in the eleven resistant states. And the caption on the lead article of the December 1962 issue of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS—"7.8 per cent of Negro Pupils in Classes with Whites"—is, therefore, exciting until one reads further to see that 95.2% of those Negroes in school with whites are from the compliant states (*i.e.*, 243,150 of the total of 255,367 Negroes in school with whites).

[11] It is of interest to note that in one school district, Nashville, of the 810 Negroes reported as being in schools with whites, 540 of them were in a school with two non-Negroes, a white and a Chinese-American child. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights USA: Public Schools, Southern States, 1962*, pp. 112, 115.

Thus racial integration in public schools is by any standard at token levels in resistant states, where 98% of the Negro pupils in desegregated districts and 99.6% of the Negroes in all school districts are in segregated schools. And thus the segregated pattern continues to prevail in the eleven resistant states.

TABLE 3

NEGRO PUPILS IN ALL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN SCHOOL WITH WHITES IN SOUTHERN AND BORDER STATES, NOVEMBER, 1962*

| *States* | *Total Number* | *Number in School with Whites* | *Per Cent in School with Whites* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Resistant** | 2,803,882 | 12,217 | 0.4 |
| Compliant*** | 475,549 | 243,150 | 51.1 |
| Total | 3,279,431 | 255,367 | 7.8 |

* Source: *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 3.
** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.
*** Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

# Some Court Rulings on Token Integration Plans

How have the numerous plans to keep racial integration at token levels fared in federal courts?"[12] Court rulings on such plans will largely determine how long they may continue as effective instruments for maintaining *de facto* segregation. But it should be pointed out that there have been many and, at times, diverse court rulings, and that new rulings continue to be made. For this reason, only those cases which appear to be of major importance to this subject are selected. The reader should keep in mind that the situation is far more complex than the cases and rulings cited would indicate.

*Pupil Placement Plans*

When first adopted, the pupil placement plans proved to be generally acceptable to the courts as plans for desegregation. In a North Carolina case in November 1956, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit stated: "It is argued that the Pupil Enrollment Act is unconstitutional; but we cannot hold that that statute is unconstitutional upon its face and the question as to whether it has been unconstitutionally applied is not before us, as the administrative remedy which it provides has not been invoked."[13]

Later, in May 1958, a three-judge U. S. District Court ruled that the Alabama placement law was not unconstitutional on its face.[14] The district court ruling was affirmed the same year by the U. S. Supreme Court. But again, as in the North Carolina case, the plaintiffs had not sought transfers under the law, and therefore there was no evidence that it was being used in a discriminatory manner.

Lately, however, the federal courts have become increasingly critical of pupil placement laws. This criticism has been directed at the laws in two ways: on their application and on their acceptability as plans for desegregation.

In regard to their application, federal courts have ruled that pupil placement laws are being used in an unconstitutional manner when Negro children are subjected to hurdles not encountered by whites. For example, the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals condemned the application of the assignment plan in Roanoke County, Virginia, in the following ruling:

> A Negro pupil who wishes to free himself from the segregated school in which he has been routinely assigned under the dual racial zoning system must apply for a transfer. Regardless of the applicant's place of residence, the county school officials habitually refer his application to the state board with the recommendation that he be assigned to the Negro school. By the

[12] Many references will be made in this section to federal courts. Since frequent mention is made of circuit courts by number, it might be helpful to know in which circuits the "resistant" states are located: in the 4th are Virginia, North and South Carolina; in the 5th are Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; in the 6th is Tennessee; and in the 8th is Arkansas.

[13] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 2 (1957), p. 20 (*Carson* v. *Warlick*).

[14] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 3 (1958), pp. 425-434, 867. (*Shuttlesworth* v. *Birmingham Board of Education.*)

established practice of the state board, a Negro, in order to be admitted to a white school, must not only live closer to that school than to the Negro school, but he must in addition, meet a requirement that is not imposed upon white students seeking transfers, namely, in aptitude and scholastic achievement he is required to be substantially above the median of the class in the white school. . . . The obvious function of these transfer criteria, which find application in respect to Negro children only, is to place next-to-impossible hurdles in their way so as to perpetuate segregation.[15]

In this same decision, the 4th Circuit Court also undermined the effectiveness of pupil placement plans which require Negro plaintiffs to present their case individually. For this court held that not only the plaintiffs but also "those similarly situated in Roanoke County are entitled to injunctive relief from a continuance of this unlawful discrimination."[16]

In a comparable ruling in North Carolina, the 4th Circuit Court ordered the City Board of Education of Durham to stop subjecting pupils seeking transfers to "futile, burdensome or discriminatory administrative procedures."[17] It ruled further, in the same case, that: "So long as the school board allows its practice of racial assignments, the injunctive order should require that it freely and readily grant all requests for transfer or initial assignment to a school attended solely or largely by pupils of the other race."

On the same day (October 12, 1962), this same court ruled that the Caswell County School Board violated the spirit of the North Carolina Pupil Assignment Law by refusing to transfer Negro children to white schools and by using the Assignment Law "only when dealing with interracial transfer requests."[18]

The courts have raised questions too about the acceptability of pupil placement laws as plans for desegregation when schools under these laws continue to be segregated. Late in 1959, both the 5th and 8th Circuits of the U. S. Court of Appeals questioned the validity of these laws as desegregation plans. In a Dade County, Florida case, the 5th Circuit said: ". . . there is nothing either in the Pupil Assignment Law or the Implementing Resolution clearly inconsistent with a continuing policy of compulsory racial segregation."[19] The 8th Circuit Court stated in a Jefferson County, Arkansas case that the superintendents and officers of the defendant school district and its Board of Directors throughout the three school years in which the pupil placement plan was in effect had:

. . . carried into effect, enforced and maintained a rigid, racial segregation policy in all of its schools which, without exception, permitted no entry of any colored child into its white schools. . . . It is established, too, that the Board intends a continuation of that policy, without any change or modifications and that its professing of the Pupil Enrollment Act of 1956, having

[15] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 416. (*Marsh* v. *County School Board of Roanoke County.*)
[16] *Idem.*
[17] *Southern School News*, November 1962, p. 9 (*Wheeler* v. *Durham Board of Education; Spaulding* v. *Durham Board of Education.*)
[18] Idem. (*Jeffers* v. *Whitley*).
[19] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 4 (1959), p. 861. (*Gibson* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Dade County.*)

been applied and in operation during the years 1957, 1958, and 1959, is but a cover-up to conceal its anti-racial and pro-racial segregation attitude.[20]

The most direct challenge to pupil placement laws in meeting the legal requirements for school desegregation was made in Tennessee in March 1962. The 6th Circuit Court ruled in a Memphis case that "The Pupil Assignment Law might serve some purpose in the administration of a school system, but it will not serve as a plan to convert a bi-racial system into a non-racial one."[21] The Court went on to say that the burden for bringing about desegregation was on the shoulders of Negro children and their parents who requested transfers, and that something more was needed to establish non-racial schools.

In August 1962 the 5th Circuit Court in a New Orleans* case emphatically denounced the Louisiana Pupil Placement Law as a plan for desegregation:

> This Court, like the district court, condemns the Pupil Placement Act, when, with a fanfare of trumpets, it is hailed as the instrument for carrying out a desegregation plan while all the time the entire public knows that in fact it is being used to maintain segregation by allowing a little token desegregation. . . . The Act is not an adequate transitory substitute in keeping with the grandualism implicit in the 'deliberate speed' concept. It is not a plan for desegregation at all.[22]

*School Closing, Tuition Grants*

The legality of closing public schools in order to avoid desegregation has involved the question of whether or not a state is practicing equal treatment of its citizens if state money is provided for public schooling in some districts but not in others. Prince Edward County, Virginia, is the only school district that has closed its public schools; since the fall of 1959 white children have attended private schools in the county while Negro children have been without formal education. In July 1962 the U. S. District Court declared that such closing was contrary to law:

> The Court holds that the public schools of Prince Edward County may not be closed to avoid the effect of the law of the land as interpreted by the Supreme Court, while the Commonwealth of Virginia permits other public schools to remain open at the expense of the taxpayers. . . . The School Board of Prince Edward County is herewith directed to complete plans for the admission of pupils in the elementary and high schools of the county without regard to race or color and to receive and consider applications to this end at the earliest practical date.[23]

This ruling has been appealed to the 4th Circuit Court.

In a U. S. District Court ruling on January 3, 1963, Powhatan County,

* Single, nonracial attendance zones for the first and second grades of the Orleans Parish public schools were approved by a 3-1 vote of the Orleans Parish School Board this spring and will become effective for the next school year.

[20] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 5 (1960), p. 54. (*Dove* v. *Parham.*)

[21] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 43. (*Northcross* v. *Board of Education of Memphis.*)

[22] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 700. (*Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.*)

[23] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 409 (*Allen* v. *County School Board of Prince Edward County.*)

Virginia, not far from Prince Edward County, was ordered to take no action, "directly or indirectly," to close its public schools while other public schools were open in Virginia.[24] School officials were directed to refrain from closing schools either by withholding funds or by failing to appropriate funds.

These two decisions clearly indicate that federal courts will not permit a state to allocate funds to some public schools while others remain closed to avoid desegregation.

The legality of tuition grants, not explicitly tied to desegregation, has not yet been passed on by federal courts. In Virginia the original tuition grant laws provided for the availability of grants only in those areas where schools were desegregated. In 1959 "State and Local Scholarships," as they are officially called, were made available to any student to attend an accredited nonsectarian private school. But in August 1961 a U. S. District Court held that such scholarships could not be granted in Prince Edward County as long as public schools remained closed. In this ruling the judge stated that in granting scholarship stipends the state had contemplated a freedom of choice between public and private schooling. He cited the regulation of the State Board of Education to support the state's intention: " 'Scholarships will be available for pupils of legal school age who are eligible to attend the public schools in the county, city or town in which the parent, guardian or such other person standing in loco parentis is a bona fida resident.' . . . This rule is plain and unequivocal. State scholarships are not available to persons residing in counties that have abandoned public schools."[25]

*Grade-a-Year Plans*

Federal courts have usually accepted grade-a-year plans as valid desegregation procedures. However, several considerations have entered into their acceptance. The plan, for example, must be more than just a promise to desegregate. Thus, a proposal in December 1960 by the Chattanooga School Board to desegregate the first three grades of selected schools beginning in 1962-63, with desegregation also to be considered in special programs, was rejected by the U. S.. District Court as being too indefinite and not an adequate start.[26]

Another consideration involves the degree of desegregation in neighboring school systems. In some cases, the courts have required that desegregation levels in contiguous areas be made equal. This approach was evident in a case involving Davidson County, Tennessee, where the city of Nashville is located. The County Board of Education submitted a grade-a-year plan four years after the Nashville grade-a-year plan had gone into effect. The U. S. District Court accepted the plan but required that it be speeded up to include

[24] Associated Press report in the Lynchburg *News*, January 4, 1963. (*Bell* v. *Powhatan County School Board.*)
[25] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 6 (1961), p. 754. (*Allen* v. *County School Board of Prince Edward County.*)
[26] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 6, (1961), pp. 107-113. (*Mapp* v. *Board of Education of the City of Chattanooga.*)

the first four grades immediately in order to bring desegregation in line with that already in effect in Nashville.[27]

Still another factor conditioning the acceptance of grade-a-year plans has been evidence of the willingness of the school board to move with "good faith," toward compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. This factor can be seen in a decision of the 6th Circuit Court regarding a grade-a-year plan proposed by the Knoxville, Tennessee School Board. The Board had chosen to operate under Tennessee segregation statutes until compelled to do otherwise, and the Court criticized this position in these words:

> The position of the board that it would continue to operate under these unenforceable laws [*i.e.*, Tennessee statutes prohibiting the mixture of races in schools] until compelled by law to do otherwise, does not commend itself to the Court for the acceptance of a plan that provides for a minimum degree of desegregation. . . . We . . . believe . . . that more grades than contemplated by the board's plan should now be desegregated. In the light of the board's experience with the present plan, it should be enabled to submit an amended plan that will accelerate desegregation and more nearly comply with the mandate of the Supreme Court for 'good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date.'[28]

The courts have given different rulings on whether or not the grade-a-year plans may be used simultaneously with the transfer provisions made available under pupil placement laws. The 6th Circuit Court refused transfer requests by pupils in grades other than the ones desegregated by the grade-a-year procedure in both the Davidson County and Knoxville cases cited above.[29] The Court's reasoning was:

> . . . we think the Supreme Court contemplated that there would have to be plans for the transition and that some individual rights would have to be subordinated for the good of the many. The smooth working of a plan could be thwarted by a multiplicity of suits by individuals seeking admission to grades not yet reached in the desegregation plan.[30]

On the other hand, the 5th Circuit Court in the Pensacola, Florida, case added a grade-a-year plan to an existing plan permitting transfer of Negro pupils into formerly all-white schools. Both the grade-a-year plan and the transfer provisions were allowed to operate at the same time.[31] And in Virginia grade-a-year plans have been added to existing transfer arrangements under the pupil placement act with approval by the federal courts.[32]

### *Restrictive Transfer Provision*

Since grade-a-year plans involve a rezoning of school districts without

[27] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 34-36. *(Maxwell* v. *the County Board of Education of Davidson County.)*

[28] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 38-39 *(Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)*

[29] See Footnotes 27 and 28 above.

[30] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 39. *(Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)* In response to this decision, Knoxville desegregated one additional grade.

[31] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 669-674. *(Augustus* v. *Board of Public Instruction of Escambia County, Florida.)*

[32] See, for example, *Jackson* v. *School Board of the City of Lynchburg, Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), pp. 728-729.

regard to race, some white children are often included in the attendance zones of former Negro schools, and are therefore assigned to these schools. As was pointed out earlier, plans for grade-a-year desegregation usually include a provision granting the right to those children assigned to a school in which their race is in a minority to transfer to schools in which their race is in a majority.

The restrictive transfer provision in the Nashville grade-a-year plan was approved by the 6th Circuit Court in 1959,[33] and it was later approved by the same court in the Knoxville and Davidson County grade-a-year plans in these words:

> We do not think the transfer provision is in and of itself illegal or unconstitutional. It is the use and application of it that may become a violation of constitutional right. . . . We adhere to our former ruling with the admonition to the Board that it cannot use this as a means to perpetuate segregation.[34]

However, the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals took a different position on the constitutionality of restrictive transfer provisions in the Dallas County, Texas case in December 1960. It did so in the following way:

> . . . with deference to the views of the 6th Circuit it seems to us that classification according to race for purposes of transfer is hardly less unconstitutional than such classification for purposes of original assignment to a public school.[35]

In a later ruling (August 1962) the 5th Circuit Court made it possible for Negro children to transfer freely from schools in which their race is a majority if the transfer of white students leaves it an all-Negro school. The order stated:

> Negro children who attended formerly all-white schools in 1960-61 and 1961-62, and Negro children who have registered for attendance at formerly all-white schools in 1962-63 and subsequent years may not be transferred or assigned to an all-Negro school against their wishes. If the transfer of white students from schools would result in resegregation, the Negro children shall be afforded an opportunity to attend a nearby formerly all-white school without being subjected to tests for transfer under the Pupil Placement Act.[36]

Thus, this ruling removed, in effect, the restrictive aspect of the transfer provision.

A direct challenge to the constitutionality of the restrictive transfer provision came in September 1962, in a ruling by the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in a Charlottesville, Virginia case. In declaring the assignment and transfer provisions of the Charlottesville plan invalid, the Court said:

> It is of no significance that all children, regardless of race are first assigned to the schools in their residential zone and all are permitted to transfer if the assignment requires the child to attend the school where his race is in the minority, if the purpose and effect of the arrangement is

[33] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 4 (1959), pp. 584-603. *(Kelley* v. *Board of Education of the City of Nashville.)*
[34] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 36; also p. 39), *(Maxwell* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville; Goss* v. *Board of Education of the City of Knoxville.)*
[35] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 5 (1960), p. 1052. *(Boson* v. *Rippy).*
[36] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 702. *(Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.)*

> to retard integration and retain the segregation of the races. That this purpose and this effect are inherent in the plan can hardly be denied. The School Board is well aware that most of the Negro pupils in Charlottesville reside in the Jefferson zone and that under the operation of the plan white children resident therein will be transferred as a matter of course to the schools in the other zones while the colored children in the Jefferson zone will be denied this privilege. The seeming equality of the language is delusive, the actual effect of the rule is unequal and discriminatory. It may well be as the evidence in this case indicates that some Negroes as well as whites prefer the schools in which their race predominates; but the wishes of both races can be given effect as far as is practicable not by restricting the right of transfer but by a system which eliminates restrictions on the right. . .[37]

It is now quite clear that restrictive transfer arrangements will have to be abandoned as a means of delaying and evading school desegregation; on June 3, 1963, the Supreme Court held unanimously that two pupil transfer plans—one in Knoxville and the other in Davidson County, the suburban area around Nashville—are unconstitutional.

Moreover, in a unanimous decision made just a week earlier in which the Court refused to allow the city of Memphis to desegregate public recreational facilities on a gradual basis, Mr. Justice Goldberg expressed the Court's growing impatience with the South's slow rate of school desegregation. He pointed out that when the Court allowed "all deliberate speed" for integrating schools, it did not mean "indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers."

*Summary*

It is clear from the foregoing rulings that token integration plans are under strong attack in the federal courts. Pupil placement plans, initially accepted as constitutional on their face, are being declared unconstitutional as practiced in some school systems and are being rejected as valid plans for desegregation. School closing is being challenged if other public schools in the state remain open, and tuition grants have been stopped in the one county where public schools are closed. Grade-a-year plans are being speeded up, and restrictive transfer provisions that result in resegregation are being rejected. One by one the devices for keeping integration at token levels are being blunted and eliminated by the courts.

Throughout the complex of court rulings runs a clear and consistent thread, namely that school boards must proceed in *good faith* to develop a single school system, without regard to race, and that they must do this with all deliberate speed. These rulings, therefore, strike at the heart of token integration, which as noted, seeks to maintain a dual system of schools in which the races are, in effect, segregated. Ostensibly the plans for keeping integration at token levels have been devised to try to satisfy the courts. It is quite

[37] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 719. *(Dillard v. School Board of the City of Charlottesville.)*

obvious now that they are not doing so, and that the courts are becoming less and less patient with the bad faith implicit in them.

The courts have, however, largely deferred the question of teacher and staff desegregation, in order to permit pupil desegregation to reach a fairly advanced stage of development. For example, the 5th Circuit Court held in the Pensacola case (see p. 11) that "the district court may well decide to postpone the consideration and determination of [the teacher desegregation] question until the desegregation of the pupils has either been accomplished or has made substantial progress."

Desegregation as a reality still lies in the future, for it is to be remembered that 99% of the Negro children in the eleven former Confederate states continue to be in all-Negro schools. Just how soon desegregated, non-racial school systems will develop throughout the South depends on several factors. These include the determination of Negro plaintiffs to press for equal treatment, the vigor of the federal government in demanding the elimination of discrimination, and the willingness of school boards and communities to act in good faith in compliance with the Supreme Court decision. It is with this last-mentioned factor that we shall next deal, looking first at some of the costs that resistance to equal treatment has brought and can continue to bring.

# Cost of Keeping Integration at Token Levels

If school boards and communities in the eleven resistant states continue to try to maintain *de facto* racial segregation in their public schools, they can be assured of two things. It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly. The preceding section has shown that federal courts are not going to permit the continuation of racial schools, and states may well be faced with either closing all of their public schools or extending integration beyond token levels.[38] Of course the closing of all schools in a state would be the ultimate in costs and one that no state has yet shown the willingness to pay. But to continue resistance to its dead end will also be costly—in money, in time, in effort, and in disruption of schools and communities. Apparently, some segregationists are willing for their states and communities to pay any price to try to keep a bi-racial school system. And some politicians and school officials believe that it is necessary to offer every possible resistance so that segregationists will be more willing to accept integration when it does come. Regardless of these feelings about resistance, however, it is well for all concerned to realize the enormous price that is exacted for such resistance.

While no precise cataloging of the costs of maintaining token integration can be made, illustrative costs can be cited. For one of these, we may look at estimates of the expenditures on litigation contesting desegregation. The Southern Educational Reporting Service has stated that a total of 293 court cases on school segregation, desegregation, and related issues had been filed in state and federal courts by November 1962.[39] If we take the estimate of Gordon M. Tiffany, first staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, that such cases average in cost about $15,000 each, we reach the figure of $4,395,000 as a total cost. Such litigation has virtually ceased in the compliant states and the District of Columbia, which have had 70 of the cases. The eleven resistant states have had the remaining 223 cases, with the states of Arkansas, Texas, and Virginia accounting for over one half of them. States like Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina have had comparatively few cases of litigation, but they are fast approaching the time when they will have many if they try to maintain *de facto* segregated school systems.[40]

Another cost is that involved in the drawing up and passing of legislation designed to avoid full compliance with the Supreme Court rulings. Legisla-

[38] It will be recalled that "massive resistance" in Virginia finally reached a point where to have followed it further would have resulted in the closing of schools throughout the state. (See Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Bloomington, Ind.: University of Indiana Press, 1961.] Most of the states have abandoned massive resistance and substituted token integration. It appears as though time is now running out on token integration.

[39] *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States* (Nashville: Southern Education Reporting Service, November 1962), p. 4.

[40] It is of interest to note that the Attorney General of Alabama has asked a legislative finance committee for money "to fight desegregation suits and other federal actions." (Reported in the Birmingham *Post-Herald*, January 30, 1963, p. 1.) Evidently, Alabama is anticipating heavy expense in court cases.

tures of the 16 states have passed a total of 379 new laws designed to prevent, restrict, or control school desegregation, according to a November 1962 report of the Southern Educational Reporting Service.[41] The drafting, debating, and passing of such legislation, much of which has been declared unconstitutional by federal courts, have taken an enormous amount of time, effort, talent, and money. While few of these costs can be measured directly, it can be noted, by way of illustration, that the state of Louisiana held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.[42] In order to see just what sort of legislation was passed at these sessions and what the result was, we may refer to comments on the extra sessions by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit. After observing that the Orleans School Board itself had attempted to act in good faith in complying with court orders to desegregating the schools, the Court had the following to say about the state legislature:

> The Louisiana legislature did not remain idle. The Governor of the state called five consecutive extra sessions of the legislature (unprecedented in Louisiana) for the purpose of preventing the Board from proceeding with the desegregation program. Among other actions, the legislature seized the funds of the Orleans Parish School Board, forbade banks to lend money to the Board, removed as fiscal agent for the state the Bank which had honored payroll checks issued by the School Board, ordered a school holiday on November 14, addressed out of office four of the five members of the Board, then on two occasions created a new School Board for Orleans Parish, still later addressed out of office the Superintendent of Schools in Orleans Parish, and dismissed the Board's attorney. The federal courts declared these and a large bundle of related acts unconstitutional.[43]

Another cost in the maintenance of token integration has been the awarding of tuition grants. Virginia has given more of these grants than any other state. During five years of operation, an estimated 38,000 grants have been made, totaling over seven and three quarter million dollars.[44] A newspaper survey has shown that, ironically, only a minority of students receiving grants have used them to avoid integrated schools.[45] Most of the grants have gone to children who were actually in segregated schools and who wished to attend private schools, or to children who were already in private schools.

Virginia's experience with tuition grants was repeated in Georgia, where the State School Board found that 1,457 of the 1,756 applicants for grants were already in private schools. According to Dr. Claude Purcell, Georgia Superintendent of Education, the total paid in 1962-63 for tuition grants amounted to $215,987. As a result of these disclosures, the Georgia legislature amended the tuition grant law during its 1963 session. Under terms of

[41] See Footnote 39 above.
[42] From tabulations by William C. Havard, Chairman of the Department of Government, of Louisiana State University.
[43] *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vol. 7 (1962), p. 696. *(Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board.)*
[44] Computed from reports in *Southern School News*, November 1960, p. 7 and February 1962, p. 14; Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, September 2, 1962, p. 1.
[45] Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, September 2, 1962, p. 1.

the amendments, most recipients of tuition grants apparently will cease to receive them after this year.

Louisiana has also adopted a tuition grant law. Again, the cost to the state for such grants has been high: state officials reported in January 1963 that $850,216 was spent on grants-in aid to private school pupils during the first four months of the 1962-63 school year. School grants were expected to go to the parents of some 7,000 pupils in 42 private, nonsectarian schools after mid-year registrations.

Still other costs, less tangible but perhaps more significant, have to do with the handicapping of school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools. With so much time, energy, and money spent in keeping certain children out of certain schools, less time, effort, and money have been available for strengthening the educational program itself. Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of the Washington, D. C. public schools, has pointed out how much more effectively the approach to the education of children as children (*not* as white and Negro children in separate schools) can be made when the issue of desegregation is settled. Hansen says:

> The design for instruction in American education deserves close examination. In the District of Columbia much has been done to overcome mistaken notions about methods of instruction and the relationship of curriculum to the learner. What has been done should not be directly related to desegregation, though . . . it seems clearer now than it did five years ago that desegregation prepared the ground for a total attack upon the improvement of instruction. In the changing design of organization for instruction here, the issues are drawn, not on who should be taught where, but on philosophical principles of education, methods, techniques, and choice of content.[46]

The resources spent by the resistant states in a vain attempt to keep segregation might have been used to improve the standards of their schools. For example, a number of their high schools remain unaccredited. Table 4 gives a comparison of the accreditation status of high schools in 1959 in six of the eleven resistant states, and it reveals that these states have a long way to go to bring all of their schools up to accredited status. The table also shows the great discrepancy existing between white and Negro high schools. When it is remembered that almost all the Negro pupils in the resistant states continue to attend all-Negro schools, it is clear that Negroes in the South are receiving inferior schooling opportunities.[47] Such a low quality of schooling means that the South is paying a great price in not developing its human resources to as full a degree as it might.

Another cost of token integration is the keeping of the race issue alive,

[46] Carl F. Hansen, *Addendum: A Five-Year Report on Desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1960), pp. 30-32.

[47] Other indications of unequal schooling are found in the report of the North Carolina advisory committee on civil rights that the investment per pupil in school facilities in the state showed that the average per white student was $60.36 above the all-student average, while that for the Negro student was $143.36 below the all-student average. (From the *Southern School News*, August 1960, p. 9) The Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities reported that in the school year of 1958-59, the current expenditures per pupil in the state of Georgia were $228 for a white child and $191 for a Negro child. From *Georgia's Divided Education* (Atlanta: Ga. Conference on Educational Opportunities, 1960), p. 10.

## TABLE 4

### Negro and White High Schools Accredited by the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges in Five "Resistant" States in 1962 - 1963*

| State | *Per Cent of High Schools Accredited* | | *Proportion of White to Negro High Schools Accredited* |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *White* | *Negro* | |
| Alabama | 35.9 | 21.0 | 1.7 : 1 |
| Georgia | 66.0 | 43.2 | 1.5 : 1 |
| Louisiana | 67.7 | 27.4 | 2.5 : 1 |
| Mississippi | 31.3 | 7.6 | 3.8 : 1 |
| South Carolina | 40.4 | 14.3 | 2.9 : 1 |

* Sources: The 1962-63 educational directories of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, and "Proceedings of the Sixty-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Southern Association of Schools and Colleges."

the catering to racial prejudice, the giving of false hope to segregationists who are led to believe that *de facto* segregation can be maintained. In moving from segregation to desegregation it has been demonstrated repeatedly that when state and local officials act in resolute firmness there has not been violence or serious opposition in carrying out the mandate of the courts—as in Atlanta, Nashville, Memphis, and Lynchburg, Virginia. But when state and local officials have repeatedly warned that there will be trouble and that people will not permit the change, there has been trouble—as in Little Rock and New Orleans.[48] This latter approach results in what sociologists term "self-fulfilling prophecies," for such an approach encourages extreme segregationists to cause trouble, thus making the prediction come true. There is no attempt here to minimize the difficulty of change in the area of race relations where so many people have been conditioned to accept segregation as the proper way of life. Movement toward the elimination of segregation in public education is difficult. The point is that it is made far more difficult and disruptive when officials try to avoid compliance with court orders, either by outright resistance or by more subtle token integration.

Closely related to this last point is the cost that comes from the damage done to the concept of justice in American Democracy. It was almost nine years ago that the highest court in the land concluded that ". . . in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." Yet, after this long a time segregation in public schools in the resistant states holds for 99.6% of the Negro children. And a large factor in keeping schools segregated has been the determination of white leaders, first through massive resistance and now through token integration, to thwart the ruling of the Supreme Court. Just what the

[48] The sharp contrast between the acceptance of the first Negro at Clemson College in South Carolina and the resistance accorded James Meredith at the University of Mississippi highlights the part that attitudes of state and school officials play in whether or not violence or peaceful transition takes place.

effect of this blocking of justice has on Negroes seeking to assert their constitutional rights can be easily imagined. Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, has expressed the frustrations felt by many Americans. Rowan writes:

> When one considers the heart of the court's argument in outlawing segregated schools and then considers how little really has been done to eradicate the fundamental injustice, it becomes obvious that these token integration schemes are affronts to our concept of justice.
>
> Anyone who has lived in the South, as I have, or has even visited there for a reasonable time, has seen the great mass of Negro youngsters who are handicapped because their parents have been ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-educated, and ill-treated. It is obvious that without the great liberating force of education, these youngsters will be also-rans in the great American game called the Pursuit of Happiness. . . .
>
> After almost nine years it seems to me that Americans should ask themselves whether we intend to retain a judicial system of undoubted integrity, or whether we are prepared to accept change only as it comes under the pressure of sit-ins and protest demonstrations — only as it flows out of violence and near anarchy. . . .
>
> But we will get no genuine movement until the leaders of our 'token integration' communities realize the price they shall have to pay, in self-esteem and civic development, for their perpetuation of an injustice and sham.[49]

[49] Carl T. Rowan, "The Travesty of Integration: Halfhearted Compliance Frustrates the Law of the Land," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 19, 1963, pp. 6, 8.

# Fears Associated with School Integration

Objections to school integration are fundamentally based on emotion, conditioned in large measure by living in racially segregated communities. Yet, these emotions are, from time to time, backed by "reasons" founded on beliefs of what will happen if schools desegregate. While one does not change an emotion by questioning the accuracy of the beliefs asserted in support of it, factual data can weaken the arguments or can, at least, make them shift to other grounds. And, it is to be noted, that the constitutional rights of Americans do not depend on what people think may happen if situations denying those rights are changed. The courts have not allowed unconstitutional practices to continue, no matter how long they have been followed or how much people fear changing them. At the same time it might be helpful to point out fallacies in the assumptions of those who fear the desegregation of schools. We shall look at fallacies in two of those assumptions.

*Academic Standards*

One has to do with the effect on academic standards and on the performance of white students in integrated schools. Dire consequences have been predicted for the quality of education under desegregation. However, there is no factual support for this prediction. One source of direct challenge comes from superintendents of school systems in which desegregation has taken place. These superintendents have consistently testified that academic standards have not suffered following desegregation, and some have said that they have actually improved. For example, in March 1959, the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held a conference on education in Nashville, Tennessee. Of the twelve administrators who dealt with the question of the effect of desegregation on academic standards in their school systems not one said that the standards had been lowered or the progress of students harmed.[50] Let us look at the testimony from this conference both from a superintendent whose system had had very little integration and from one where extensive integration had taken place. Mr. W. H. Oliver, Superintendent of the Nashville schools, which at that time had desegregated only its first two grades, stated, ". . . I haven't noticed any effect one way or another on the educational success of the children, either white or colored, where they are together."[51] Dr. John H. Fischer, Superintendent of the Baltimore, Maryland public schools in which 57% of the pupils were attending integrated schools at the time, testified:

> We are frequently asked what effect integration has had upon academic standards. The answer is that academic standards are not changed in any school merely by the presence of a second race. The requirements for an honor's diploma or for a passing grade on an examination are not altered by integration. The tests of successful performance in courses in the skilled

[50] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1959). [Summarized in *Desegregation and Academic Achievement*, Report No. L-17, March 14, 1960, Southern Regional Council.]

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

> trades are the same whether the trade is being learned by a white boy or a colored boy. A child's standing on a nationally standardized reading test is determined not by his race but by his ability and background. . . . There is no doubt at all that Negro children are receiving better educational opportunities in Baltimore now than they did under segregation. The opportunities of white children have been in no way diminished. Indeed, they have been increased, not as a result of desegregation, but by our general effort to improve our offerings for all children over the past 5 years.[52]

Besides testimony of those best in a position to observe the effect of racial integration on academic study, there are statistical reports on academic achievement under desegregation. Again, we find general consensus that integration has not lowered the academic achievement of either white or Negro students. As examples, let us see the reports on a system with little integration and ones with a high amount of integration. In the Austin (Texas) Independent School District, Negroes composed fewer than 7% of the pupils in the two ninth grades compared in Table 5. It can be seen that no significant changes occurred in the median scores on reading and arithmetic achievement tests following integration.

In Louisville achievement tests were given to pupils in the second, sixth, and eighth grades for the year prior to integration (1955-56), and the results of these tests were compared with those given in the same grades the year following integration (1957-58), when 78.2% of all pupils were in integrated schools. Even with such rapid integration, it was found that academic standards were not hurt; indeed, substantial gains were shown in scholastic achieve-

TABLE 5

ACHIEVEMENT TESTS MEDIANS AT NINTH GRADE LEVEL IN TWO SCHOOLS IN AUSTIN, TEXAS, BEFORE AND AFTER INTEGRATION

| *Type of School and Number of Negro Pupils in Each* | *Median Scores on California Reading and Arithmetic Achievement Tests* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Two Years Before Integration (1955-56)* | | *Second Year After Integration (1958-59)* | |
| | *Reading* | *Arithmetic* | *Reading* | *Arithmetic* |
| Generally low Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 20 Negroes among 300 Pupils, as an Average | 7.5 | 7.7 | 7.7 | 8.3 |
| Widely Diversified Socioeconomic Background of Pupils; 15 Negroes among 275 Pupils, as an Average | 9.5 | 9.5 | 9.6 | 9.7 |

Source: Office of the Superintendent, Austin Independent School District.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

ment, with Negroes making greater gains than whites. The following is a conclusion of the study:

> Perhaps the safest generalization that can be drawn from the study is that for the period of time considered, integration need not adversely affect the scholastic achievement of white pupils and it can favorably affect that of the Negro pupil. The study, therefore, offers re-assurance to those who fear that the immediate effect of integration must automatically lower the level of achievement.[53]

A follow-up study of achievement in the third year of integration in the Louisville schools (1959-60), when the percentage of children in integrated schools had risen to 85.6 per cent, reached the following conclusion:

> At the end of the three-year period following integration results were even more encouraging. Louisville pupils at the third, fourth and fifth grade levels were exactly on the national norms. At the 6th grade level they were 2 months ahead of the national norms. While the eighth grade pupils were still behind national norms the figures show that progress was being made."[54]

A comparison of median achievements in the Washington, D. C. schools made during the second year of integration (1955-56) with those made during the fifth year of integration (1958-59) shows that a gain was made in every subject tested at every grade level where the tests were given.[55] Furthermore, academic achievement rose at the same time as the proportion of Negro students rapidly increased in the nation's capital. Not only were the median scores increased, but the test scores of the honors group and college preparatory group were increased as well. The study comments: "This clarifies two points: Integration has not retarded the advancement of high ability students, Negro or white, and educational standards in the District public schools when examined in relation to students' preparation and ability for learning, are high."[56]

It is safe, therefore, to conclude that academic achievement levels need not be lowered when schools are integrated. Testimony of school superintendents and comparisons of test scores before and after desegregation reveal that integration has not had an adverse effect on the average achievement of white or Negro pupils, nor has it had an adverse effect on the achievement of the most gifted of either race.

### *Social Adjustment*

Another type of fear has to do with the social adjustment of pupils in integrated schools. Concern has been expressed that Negroes and whites will be unable to get along in the same school, that the strains of integrated schooling will be too great for many Negro and white children, and that moral standards will be lowered by interracial contact. Again, we find no evidence to support such fears.

[53] Frank H. Stallings, "Changes in Academic Achievement since Integration in the Louisville Public Schools," in *Second Annual Conference on Education, Gatlinburg, Tennessee*, March 1960, by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 149.
[54] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[55] Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[56] *Idem.*

That there have been problems of adjustment to integrated schooling by white and Negro pupils is not denied. The change in a segregated system practiced for such a long time, particularly when parental reactions are carried over into their children, cannot help but make for strain. But there is clear evidence that school children have been able to accommodate themselves to the new situation.

The conduct of extracurricular school activities within integrated schools has been reported on from time to time by school officials. These reports have revealed little basis for belief that integration necessarily disrupts these activities. While different schools have handled these activities differently, the following statement in 1959 by Dr. John H. Fischer, who was then the Superintendent of Baltimore public schools, shows how an adjustment by an interracial student body can be made in a city which has most of its children in integrated schools. Dr. Fischer has stated, in regard to school activities:

> In our senior high schools Negro students now participate in all sports. Although in the early years there was some apprehension about the advisability of interracial competition, particularly in contact sports, the problem no longer causes any concern. . . . All our traditional social activities have continued in the newly integrated schools just as they were carried on prior to 1954. The conduct of the boys and girls usually reflects the pattern of the community as a whole. Students dance with their own dates or with the members of the small parties in which they come to the dances. This means that boys and girls ordinarily associate socially with others of their own race.
>
> In school clubs and other similar activities racial differences create no problems. In voluntary activities outside the school, their is relatively little integration. Most children choose their personal friends from among members of their own race, as is true in the community generally, not many close friendships involving home visiting are formed across racial lines.[57]

In his five-year report on desegregation in the Washington, D. C. Schools, Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent, reveals an actual decrease in the juvenile delinquency rate for the District. He cites the District of Columbia Commissioners' 1959 report on the state of the nation's capital to the Congress of the United States which gives the following delinquency rates for children 5 to 17: "For non-white children a decline from 37.1 cases per thousand in 1954 to 21.2 cases in 1958. For white children, 15.3 cases per thousand in 1954, to 15.2 cases in 1958." The Superintendent adds, "The schools do not claim credit for this development. But one conclusion is clear: Desegregation has not resulted in an increase in the rate of juvenile delinquency."[58]

Problems of adjustment are involved when segregated schools become integrated, and one would be naive to think otherwise. However, we have illustrated that these problems can be met without undue disruption. The fears usually expressed by those opposed to integration have been found to be unwarranted.

[57] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959*, pp. 149-150.
[58] Hansen, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

# Racism: The Heart of the Problem

Underlying the fears of integration and the consequent attempt to keep it at token levels are attitudes and beliefs that can be designated as "racism." Racism revolves around the conviction that a person's race is a very important, if not the most important, thing about him. A person is, first of all, a member of a race, and only after this categorization is made clear does he become a separate and unique individual. Furthermore, this categorization by race becomes the basis for differential treatment, for a part of racism is the belief in the inferiority of some races and the superiority of others.[59] Racism is the cornerstone of compulsory racial segregation—its rationale and its justification. And racial segregation, in turn, nourishes and promotes racism, for it provides the conditions for unequal treatment and educates that racial differentiation is of paramount importance.

Those who are convinced of the fundamental importance of a person's race as a determinant of his character, intelligence, and behavior may well be sincere in their belief and consequent support of the pattern of forced segregation. But sincerity is not necessarily related to accuracy, and the beliefs that make up racism are not supported by scientific investigation of race.

Scientists agree that all members of mankind belong to the same species. There is less agreement, however, on many races or divisions the species is composed of, although many recognize three major ones. Granted that biological designations of race are possible, although difficult, the question follows as to whether the genes which determine racial characteristics (color of skin, form of hair, shape of nose, etc.) determine anything else about the person or are invariably found in combination with other genes that do. In the opinion of the great majority of scientists there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that behavior, character, or the capacity to learn have anything to do with race directly. Among the statements and conclusions by scientists on race differences, we shall cite only two.[60] One group of 14 internationally known geneticists and physical anthropologists from six nations has drafted a statement saying that their studies provide no basis for assuming that intellectual, emotional, and cultural differences among men are a function of race.[61] In part, their statement reads: "Available scientific knowledge provides no basis for believing that the groups of mankind differ in their innate capacity for intellectual and emotional development. . . . Vast social changes have occurred that have not been connected in any way with changes in racial type. Historical and sociological studies thus support the view that

[59] There are Negro racist groups in America, just as there are white. Of course these groups differ as to which race is considered inferior. For the white supremacists it is the Negro; for the black supremacists (e.g., the Black Muslims) it is the white.

[60] Other summaries and reference can be found in: "Intelligence of the American Negro," *Research Reports*, Vol. 3, November 1956 (published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith); R. M. Dreger and K. S. Miller, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States," *Psychological Bulletin*, 57 (1960), pp. 361-402; any reliable anthropological text, e.g., Ralph Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, Second Edition, (New York: Macmillan, 1959).

[61] *Unesco, Race and Science* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 502-506.

genetic differences are of little significance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of men."[62]

The Council of the American Anthropological Association, composed of 192 Fellows of the Association, unanimously adopted the following resolution in November 1961:

> The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization.[63]

The statements of the scientists cited above do not imply that races are "equal" in innate ability, for such a view would mean that race, *per se,* in some way determines the "equality" The implication is that race, as such, is not relevant to innate capacities of the individual for the development of character and intelligence. Likewise, these statements do not mean that those adhering to them are "environmentalists," as is sometimes charged. Anthropologists, genetists, and others who are students of race recognize, of course, the fundamental role of heredity in behavior. The point is that there is no basis for believing that race itself determines inheritance beyond those physical characteristics that themselves are used to categorize races.

Racists admit that wide range of difference appear among members of the same race and that members of both the Negro and white races fall into the highest and lowest percentiles in achievement and ability tests But the racists claim that a member of a race must be judged by the "average" of the race to which he has been assigned, again reflecting belief in the all-important place of race. Such a claim does not make sense to the person following the views of the scientists quoted above, namely that one's race does not determine innate capacities to learn and to act. Thus, one may deal with an individual in terms of his own abilities and character and not in terms of an abstract "average" of a category of mankind. There is no soundly supported basis for prejudging individuals, lumping them into categories, and artificially curtailing their opportunity. Americans can be treated as individuals rather than as members of races, and they can be given equal opportunity as individuals to develop their abilities, without fear of any consequences known to science.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 505-506.
[63] Reprinted in *Report L-29* of the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, December 4, 1961.

# Toward True Democracy in Public Schools

The democratic ideal of the worth of the individual cannot be realized while racism is nourished and enforced through compulsory segregation, in outright form or through token integration. Since racism is an emotionally conditioned set of attitudes and beliefs, it is difficult to challenge through scientific findings that question its logic. A necessary condition for overcoming it to any great extent is to eliminate the pattern of compulsory segregation itself.

The Supreme Court, in support of its 1954 ruling, stated that to separate Negro children in grade and high schools from others of similar age because of race alone ". . . generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." It might be added that such separation also affects white children by making it difficult for them to accept Negro children as persons like themselves. Token integration perpetuates separation of the great majority of white and Negro children so that they have difficulty in getting to know each other as persons. Yet, experience with genuine desegregation in public schools where children are treated as children (not as Negro or white children) shows that one need not be afraid of implementing the democratic ideal. Again, we refer to Dr. Fischer's report on the outcome of desegregation in the Baltimore public schools as an indication of what can happen:

> In general, our experience in Baltimore has demonstrated conclusively that children of both races can attend school together, can learn together, and can develop positive, friendly, effective relationships.
>
> We have found that children can be taught quite well by teachers who are not members of their own race. Teaching competence is not related to race, but to the teacher's personality, his own education and cultural background, and his ability to understand young people.
>
> We have learned that, after a period of adjustment to an unaccustomed situation, children, teachers, and parents have found that having representatives of both races in the student body and in the faculty in no way diminishes the effectiveness of the school.
>
> We believe that our experience supports the generalization that school integration can be successful if the policies and procedures by which it is carried forward are simple, firm, fair, flexible, clearly stated, consistently applied.
>
> After five years, it appears that no small part of the success of the effort in Baltimore was due to the determination of the school board to move promptly and to act, as the board once said, 'without fear and without subterfuge'.[64]

Token integration operates on the bases of fear and subterfuge, fear of integration itself and subterfuge in complying with the Supreme Court directive. While difficult problems can arise as communities change a bi-racial

[64] U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Conference on Education, Nashville, Tennessee, March 1959*, p. 150.

school system into a non-racial one, compliant states have demonstrated that this change can be made creatively and successfully. On the other hand, to act in fear and duplicity leads to clashes with the federal courts, disruption of schools, encouragement of prejudiced reactions, and the waste of energy, talent, and money. Communities can proceed to develop a single school system in which race is not a criterion of assignment with confidence that both education and democracy will be strengthened by such a move.

# APPENDIX

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation in Southern and Border School Districts

| *Total Number of Districts* | *Number of Bi-racial Districts* | *Number of Desegregated Districts* | *Negroes in Schools with Whites* | *Percentage of Bi-racial Districts Desegregated* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | ALABAMA | | |
| 114 | 114 | 0 | 0 | 00.0 |
| | | ARKANSAS | | |
| 417 | 228 | 12 | 247 | 5.3 |
| | | DELAWARE | | |
| 87 | 87* | 87 | 9,498 | 100.0 |
| | | DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA | | |
| | | (Constitutes a single desegregated school district) | | |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 87,749 | 100.0 |
| | | FLORIDA | | |
| 67 | 67 | 10 | 1,551 | 14.9 |
| | | GEORGIA | | |
| 198 | 182 | 1 | 44 | .54 |
| | | KENTUCKY | | |
| 206 | 167 | 150 | 24,346 | 89.8 |
| | | LOUISIANA | | |
| 67 | 67 | 1 | 107 | 1.5 |
| | | MARYLAND | | |
| 24 | 23* | 23 | 69,147 | 100.0 |
| | | MISSISSIPPI | | |
| 150 | 150 | 0 | 0 | 00.0 |
| | | MISSOURI | | |
| 1,633 | Est. 214 | Est. 203 | 35,000 | Est. 94.9 |
| | | NORTH CAROLINA | | |
| 173 | 173 | 18 | 879 | 10.4 |
| | | OKLAHOMA | | |
| 1,180 | 240 | 196 | 10,557 | 81.7 |
| | | SOUTH CAROLINA | | |
| 108 | 108 | 0 | 0 | 00.0 |
| | | TENNESSEE | | |
| 154 | 143 | 26 | 1,810 | 18.2 |
| | | TEXAS | | |
| 1,461 | 919 | 177 | 7,000 | 19.3 |
| | | VIRGINIA | | |
| 134 | 132 | 31 | 1,230 | 23.5 |
| | | WEST VIRGINIA | | |
| 55 | 43 | 43 | 15,500 | 100.0 |

Source: *Statistical Summary*
Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1962 and later information from *Southern School News.*

* In Delaware, only 33 school districts actually have Negroes attending classes with whites; the other 54 are desegregated in policy only. In Maryland, of 23 desegregated districts, three are desegregated in policy only.

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Appendix A - 4

## SPECIALIZED SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Mobilization for Youth

One of our major guidelines to action entails intervention to arrest self-defeating modes of adaptation. The program of specialized services to individuals and families has been designed to achieve that end. Our proposal calls for the provision of social casework services of the highest quality to people who are enmeshed in self-defeating adaptations. It is an attempt to extend and to expand the programs of personal service pioneered by local casework agencies and the settlements in the area.

There are a variety of reasons that a program to modify self-defeating adaptations among low-income people should be based upon social casework services. Principal among these is the fact that the field of social casework has, since its inception, directed attention to the relationship between people and their social environment. It has insisted that the origin of many social categories of human problems cannot simply be attributed to defects in the social environment or to defects in individual patterns of response to the social environment; many of these problems must be understood as the product of <u>both</u> sets of influences. Accordingly, social casework has constructed a helping strategy which takes account of these interacting influences. It has emphasized that the helping relationship must consist of two analytically distinct but otherwise inseparable elements: the controlled use of worker-client interaction as a way of understanding and dealing with the client's pattern of response, and the controlled use of concrete social services as a way of reorganizing the client's social circumstances. Indeed, the fundamental contribution of social casework has been to demonstrate that the helping relationship achieves maximal effectiveness when it combines <u>in a single process</u> devices to remedy defects in both the patterns of response and

the social circumstances of people. The uniqueness of social casework stems primarily from its success in generating a technology which blends these two elements.

The importance of approaching the problem of self-defeating adaptations among low-income people with such a strategy cannot be overemphasized. A breakdown in the relationship between people and their social environment may result from the absence of adequate environmental resources, from inadequate modes of responding to the environment, or, most commonly, from a combination of these factors. To remedy defects in the social environment by providing concrete social services may be enough in some instances to produce a more adequate level of functioning; to remedy defects in the way in which people respond to and make use of their environment may be enough in other instances to produce better functioning. In some cases, however, low-income people will require assistance of both kinds.

The remedies for self-defeating responses which can be offered through social casework services are as many and varied as the roots of those responses. Some of these may be noted as follows:

First, some people may engage in self-defeating adaptations simply because they do not possess <u>information</u> about the possibility of behaving in an alternate way. There are services in the community, for example, about which many people know nothing. Furthermore, certain administrative arrangements prevent the development of a sense of community integrity and also thwart residents' efforts to understand and gain access to these services. Thus city departments which perform many basic services define widely variant boundaries. For example, the Department of Welfare unit which includes the project area

also includes the rest of lower Manhattan; two school districts serve the project area and include other areas as well. A service that simply provides people with information on where help of various kinds can be found may thus open to them the possibility of making a different adjustment to life circumstances.

Second, self-defeating patterns often develop and persist because people lack the simple skills necessary for making an alternative adjustment. For example, in lower-income families a variety of financial problems arise which are related to inadequate skills in budgeting, purchasing, and the like. If these skills can be acquired through informal education services (e.g., home-economics programs), more satisfactory adjustments can be made.

Third, self-defeating modes of adjustment sometimes result because people do not have access to persons who possess the power to change circumstances that prevent them from behaving otherwise. What is needed is the help of persons who can intervene in their behalf with, for example, representatives of powerful and centralized bureaucratic systems (e.g., employers, schools, law-enforcement agencies, housing administrators, departments of public welfare, etc.).

Fourth, self-defeating adaptations often develop because people lack what we shall call enabling social resources. A mother cannot maintain contact with her child's school and interest in his progress if there is no money to pay for the care of smaller children while she visits the school. What may pass for a lack of interest in important out-of-home activities may thus be in part a consequence of overwhelming burdens and responsibilities in the home which leave parents with neither time nor energy to invest elsewhere.

A service program which is organized to provide strategic enabling social resources will go a long way toward arresting self-defeating adaptations.

Finally, self-defeating patterns frequently result from emotional or psychological disturbances. Indeed, considering the deprivations which many people in urban slums are forced to endure, it is remarkable that so many manage to maintain an adequate level of mental health. In work with the low-income person, therefore, it is especially important to realize the fact that efforts to reorganize the individual's personality system are useless if the environmental system of which he is a part continues to evoke from him the same debilitating psychological responses. In general, therefore, efforts to involve the individual in therapeutic processes must be preceded or accompanied by attempts to improve his social conditions.

Our proposed program, while based on traditional patterns of social casework service, will have two special emphases. These may be identified as follows:

In work with families from extremely deprived economic groups, concrete social services will be strongly emphasized. There are a number of reasons for this emphasis. Groups cannot be helped if they cannot be reached. It is generally conceded that lower-class persons are drawn to agencies which have concrete services to offer. Their social and economic problems are both concrete and overwhelming, and they are quite naturally in search of equally concrete ways of solving these problems. For another thing, they tend to define these problems as the consequence of external, arbitrary, capricious, and malevolent forces. One detects in these groups powerful if subtle emphases upon fate, upon the evil and immutable nature of man, upon man as the victim of superordinate natural and social forces. For these and other reasons,

members of these groups regard as alien and impractical the notion that a person in trouble can improve his circumstances through a better understanding of himself and the way in which he contributes to creating his own problems. Furthermore, the personality attributes and skills required to implement such a definition -- introspection, insight, verbal facility, and the conduct of formalized, professional relationships -- are, for the most part, not valued or possessed by lower-class groups; they are more likely to be associated with middle-class socialization. To reach these groups, then, concrete services are essential.

A further reason for our emphasis upon concrete services is our conviction that such services, if imaginatively employed in the context of a case-work relationship, can be a powerful force for change in human behavior. For one thing, services which relieve environmental pressures may thus release blocked energies for investment in areas of family and occupational activity which were previously neglected. Strains between parents and children, for example, can often be relieved by overcoming superficially unrelated problems in the areas of health, income-maintenance, and the like. Secondly, some persons who experience overwhelming environmental pressures may become capable of making use of specialized therapeutic relationships once the external pressures are reduced. Although we believe that many low-income persons cannot benefit greatly from traditional therapeutic services, some do possess the values and skills that are required for success in such relationships. For these persons, the relief of environmental pressures can be the crucial first step in making a therapeutic service inviting and effective.[1]

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1. Although extensive studies have been conducted by Community Research Associates, they report that "little is known about treatment goals and methods suitable to this (unsocial) family's particular problems...." It has been argued -- in our opinion, with some justification -- that traditional treatment agencies have not been willing to invest the time or resources necessary to provide intensive psychological help to low-income families. See Alice L. Voiland and Bradley Buell, "A Classification of Disordered Family Types," Social Work, Vol. 6, No. 4 (Oct. 1961), pp. 10-11.

Finally, and most significantly, we believe that much is yet to be learned about the way in which changes in human behavior can be forcefully induced by deliberately reordering the social environment of the individual. What we wish to stress is the reconstruction of the individual's social conditions through a casework process so that he then experiences new pressures which exert a direct influence on him for change in a preconceived direction. We assume that significant problem-solving and social and psychological growth take place as one becomes enmeshed in and is forced to grapple with changed social circumstances. Such an approach is particularly appropriate in dealing with large segments of the lower class, given their distinctive economic circumstances, cultural characteristics, and reluctance to become engaged in direct psychological activities. We suggest, in short, a strategy of social casework which employs social services and community resources generally as instruments of positive social and psychological change.

To refine and extend this traditional emphasis in social casework calls for professional activity of the highest quality. What is required is careful assessment of the client's difficulties and appraisal of the kinds of social structure in which he ought to participate if changes are to take place. The question we must answer is: What types of person can be expected to be influenced in what ways by what types of program? The task is to make a differential diagnosis of the client's difficulties, to classify the influences which will be exerted by one or another program, and to bring the two together in a meaningful fashion. Such an approach -- stressing the possibilities of altering behavior and personality through the imaginative reconstruction of social circumstances buttressed by appropriate supportive casework relationships will, we believe, yield greater rewards in work with many low-income people.

We have spoken thus far of the need for emphasis on concrete services in working with low-income clientele. We wish also to emphasize the need to structure the service system itself in such a way as to maximize its congeniality to the group whom it is intended to engage.

All that we have said thus far leads us to deplore the unfortunate but nevertheless widespread tendency to separate agencies which provide primarily social services from those which provide service primarily through professional relationships. This split is exemplified, for example, in the division between government agencies which disburse funds for income maintenance and private agencies which make professional relationships available. The failure to integrate these two components of the helping relationship and thus to make them mutually reinforcing may be a significant impediment to the provision of effective aid. Our proposals stress the integration of these services in the same system.

A plan of services for low-income people must also take into account the bewildering consequences which ensue if these services are mediated through huge, centralized agency systems. For reasons arising from differences in socialization and life experiences, lower-class people are less skilled in dealing with and using the services of such systems than are their middle-class counterparts. In particular, they are less able to manage bureaucratic inequities when they arise; since low-income people require the concrete services of these systems for sheer survival, the inability to redress grievances effectively can be an important source of frustration, a sense of impotence, and self-defeating behavior. To engage people effectively, we submit, services must be informally organized. This requirement arises in part from the person-oriented character of low-income socialization, as distinct from the task- or

function- or rule-orientations which are major components of socialization elsewhere in the social structure. Furthermore, we submit that services must be decentralized, for "the people who need you most need you near."[2] Although the costs of such a plan may superficially appear greater, the effectiveness of services will be disproportionately increased by such a strategy.

Thirdly, the increased use of sociocultural knowledge in approaches to these groups is important. Such knowledge is crucial whatever the clientele to be served, but it assumes particular importance in work with low-income groups. For one thing, the general life conditions of lower-class people tend to produce ways of life -- modes of family structure, sex-role differentiation, values, language forms, ways of relating to one another, etc. -- which differ significantly from the more familiar and widely diffused patterns of middle-class life. For another thing, the ethnic heterogeneity of our society is especially pronounced in the lower class. No program of services which fails to identify these variant sociocultural patterns of life and their psychological concomitants can hope to involve the people whom it seeks to help. To help them, by whatever method, we must construct a strategy of service which grows out of their patterned ways of understanding, perceiving, and grappling with reality. A not inconsiderable literature now exists which describes the life-styles of low-income groups of various ethnic, nationality, and racial origins. What is needed is systematic use of these materials in both the revision of diagnostic classifications and the modification of service strategies.

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2. Helen Hall, as quoted in Neighborhood Goals in a Rapidly Changing World, New York: National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, 1958, p. 13.

## Neighborhood Service Centers

The principal means of providing specialized services to individuals and families will be the establishment of four Service Centers, or "helping stations," throughout the project area. These Centers will be informally organized and will offer a wide range of services, both practical and technical.

### Objectives

The Neighborhood Service Centers will attempt to arrest self-defeating modes of adaptation by helping adults to deal with the complexities of, and acquire competence in, urban social life; encouraging the non-deviant adaptations of children and youth who have shown signs of incipient deviant behavior or have committed delinquent acts; and easing the dislocating aspects of migration into the community. The Centers will, furthermore, provide training for students of social work and other helping professions. To meet these objectives, the intermediate goals of the Centers will be:

1. To provide information about a wide range of community recources -- from the school system to the subway system.

2. To teach skills in such matters as budget management, purchasing, home management, and child care.

3. To act as intermediaries in dealings with bureaucratized services and inequities.

4. To establish closer connections between area, district, and city-wide resources; to ensure the coordination of Mobilization-sponsored and other institutional services which affect a particular child or family.

5. To offer such direct services as nurses, baby sitters, homemakers, and escorts, in order that the burdens of lower-income living may be eased

and educational, vocational, medical, and other community services may be used more fully.

6. To offer enabling social resources with professional sensitivity and psychological insight -- so that they may be most effectively used.

7. To offer immediate help in time of trouble or emotional distress -- i.e., "emergency psychological first aid."

8. To make available intensive diagnosis and treatment services to selected low-income persons.

Services

The Neighborhood Centers will provide an inquiry service, a liaison-resources service, "under-the-roof" services, social planning, referral, and reintegration services.

Inquiry service: This service is designed to provide immediate practical information in response to inquiries about housing, education, public welfare, legal problems, consumer problems, and the like. People who speak a foreign language and who are interested in service careers will be sought as case aides. A professional caseworker will train and supervise these aides. Staff will be acquainted with community resources and procedures for gaining access to them and will thus be prepared to answer questions. The service will have on hand city maps, guidebooks, application forms for public housing, and the like. Where available material is too complex, simplified booklets, particularly of a visual nature, or Spanish translations of existing literature will be prepared. Staff will make introductions (by telephone or letter) in behalf of the client and will accompany the client to clinic, court, or community center, as required (e.g., when he is particularly wary or, as in

the case of immigrants, unfamiliar with the city and the intricacies of its various bureaucratic structures).

Applicants, particularly youth and parents inquiring about youth, will not be required to give their names upon first contact.[3] It is assumed, of course, that the inquiry service will provide entry to the other services offered. For example, a person who is having "trouble" with his welfare investigator, who has waited "too long" for response to his public-housing application, or whose landlord will not heat his flat may be referred by the case aide to the liaison-resources service (see below). When there is confusion about a request, obvious anxiety on the part of the client, or dissatisfaction regarding the information or proposed solution, a caseworker will handle the contact and either resolve the problem or offer the client other services of the Center.

It is likely that persons needing emergency help with emotional problems will also use the information service. For example, a mother desiring that her youngster be "put away" may inquire about immediate commitment. In such instances, significant help will be provided by the high level of casework personnel available at the Center.

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3. A delinquency-prevention proposal quotes one human-relations expert as follows: "You have little idea what an attraction it would be -- as an introduction to sincerity on your part -- to offer to advise without asking name, address, mother's nationality, place of birth of grandfather, etc. The burden of making the inverview work, of getting the person to return again and of finally getting the data you need several interviews later should be on the shoulders of the worker... who interviews the person -- not on the shoulders of the person coming in.... An agency that was willing to make contact -- the first time -- by saying you need not give your name or particulars would be half way there before it ever began." A Proposal for a Community-Centered Demonstration and Research Project Aimed at the Control of Maladaptive Behavior among Juveniles: Research Center for Human Relations, New York University, Jan. 1957.

Liaison-resources service: A liaison-resources service will be established, composed of representatives of various municipal departments (Housing and Building, Welfare, Health, etc.) as well as employment services. In addition, explorations will be made with the Legal Aid Society for the provision of legal services, and caseworkers will be assigned on a full-time basis for liaison work with the courts. The liaison personnel will be of sufficient status in their respective agencies to function effectively as intermediaries, handling bottlenecks and red tape and carrying forward the resolution of problems brought to their attention. As intermediaries, they will explain the function of their agencies to complainants as well as redress justified grievances.

A team of liaison personnel will appear in each Neighborhood Center on a different day and will also be available to any Center in case of emergency. The rotation of the liaison team will permit attention to diverse needs and problems which overlap functional areas. The strain of dealing with many offices in connection with a single problem often results in frustration for those who need help. The integration of many services in one team can have the psychological effect of stimulating clients' efforts in their own behalf.

The administrator of the Neighborhood Services Center project will be responsible for working with liaison personnel. He will need a working knowledge of the various agencies and access to higher-echelon personnel in them. He will encourage staff to develop respect and understanding of ethnic minorities and newcomers and will interpret to them the way in which their agencies are perceived by disadvantaged persons. (It is hoped that this interaction in part will change the response of the welfare worker to the

client. This, in turn, ought to influence positively the client's perception of the welfare worker's role.)

It is anticipated that liaison-resources services may ultimately be expanded to include full agency units. For example, a Department of Welfare unit of five workers might be requested to assist specific families on Welfare whose children have shown educational difficulties which appear to be home-related. Particular attention might be provided to such matters as medical care, tutorial aides, nutritional needs, and liberalized youth allowances.

"Under-the-roof" services: Enabling social resources, we have noted, are often of central importance in relieving environmental pressures and making it possible for deprived and overburdened people to make a better social and psychological adjustment. "Under-the-roof" services will seek to organize and provide these resources.

A Social Caseworker will be responsible for making assignments, basing the selection upon the validity of the need itself, with no requirement for continuing casework relationship. Casework help will be necessary, however, to determine whether the service is most suitable for the family, to help parents and children make best use of the service, and to assist with problems emerging from the use of the service. In addition, the social caseworker will train and supervise personnel.

A Public Health Nurse will visit the homebound, make appropriate medical referrals, follow up on appointments, and confer with other Center staff on the health problems of clients. The location of a nurse in each Center will help her to collaborate effectively with caseworkers and will make possible

an immediate, uncumbersome referral system.

A Visiting Homemaker (see below) will offer assistance to new migrant families who need help in becoming adjusted to urban life. Homemakers will receive in-service training and then will be assigned to homes in their immediate area. Conceived of as an "amicus familiae," neither a professional homemaker nor a domestic but simply a more experienced, kindly neighbor, the homemaker will help with the daily chores of shopping, meal preparation, sewing, etc. In addition, she will share neighborhood "know how," give general advice, and encourage the use of community resources.

Escorts and Baby-sitters will be members of the Urban Youth Service Corps. In pre-service instruction, youngsters will be familiarized with community resources and taught how to assist a client in making an application or arriving at an appropriate office. With baby-sitters, child behavior and what to do in case of emergency will be discussed.

Social-planning service: This service will integrate the other services offered by the Centers. It will be offered initially for a limited number of clients on an exploratory basis. The social-planning service will be responsible for identifying and diagnosing problems of especially troubled families, developing a social plan, implementing and following through the plan, and deciding when to terminate services.

The service must determine to what degree "problem" behavior stems from emotional disturbance, socio-cultural factors, or situational frustration. In current practice, socio-cultural material is used essentially to amend psychological schema. For example, a hospitalized Jewish male who demands a great deal of attention from his nurses is less likely to be termed passive-dependent than a man of "old American" stock who reacts similarly, since such

behavior during illness is sanctioned by Jewish culture. Diagnosis must in addition give appropriate weight to the psychological and social determinants of problems. Is the person a victim of a bad reality situation? Or is he responsible for the problem although the reality situation itself is bad?[4] Diagnosis must also assess the amenability of the social situation to casework intervention, in addition to the client's accessibility to help. Perhaps the client is too often viewed as the exclusive target for change attempts. If a set of housing policies, for example, triggers aberrant behavior, the behavior often becomes the exclusive object of intervention efforts, rather than the policies themselves.

Treatment of problems which are primarily social in nature must provide social opportunities, just as psychological treatment offers a restorative relationship. Many lower-income clients must be convinced that the objective reality warrants their abandonment of self-defeating behavior. If, for example, ethnic or racial discrimination makes it impossible to improve the social situation, alienation must not be augmented by deprecating client dissatisfaction or encouraging concentration upon "inner" problems.

Wherever possible, intake and sustained service of the social-planning unit ought to be the responsibility of the same worker. Differential diagnoses will, of course, lead to a specific plan for each individual or family, to be developed with the family. Teacher, guidance counselor, settlement worker, public-health nurse, homemaker, welfare worker, psychiatrist will then be called upon as required. The caseworker, viewed here as a "general practitioner," will coordinate the effort.

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4. Lillian Ripple and Ernestina Alexander, "Motivation, Capacity, and Opportunity as Related to Casework Services," Social Service Review, Vol. 30, No. 1 (March 1956), pp. 38-54

One worker should be responsible for seeing that the plan is carried out. It has been reported that 50 percent of the clients who were referred to a second department within the same agency did not make the transfer.[5] Making a single worker accountable for implementing the social plan ensures that such persons will be worked with until transfer is effected or the plan changed.[6]

Referral service: The social-planning service will refer clients who require protracted diagnostic or treatment effort to appropriate local agencies -- for example, the mental-hygiene clinics of Henry Street and University Settlements. A service unit will be established in each clinic, which will have two major objectives: (1) to test classical casework treatment services with lower-class clients and (2) to experiment with newer casework methods, such as family-centered treatment. The Mobilization Chief of Individual Services will work closely with these contracted units in order to ensure their experimental nature, as well as their coordination with the Neighborhood Service Centers. Close coordination with other existent casework services within the community will, of course, also be necessary.

Social-reintegration service: To help newly released offenders to locate needed social resources and increase their capacity to exploit these resources, an experimental unit of trained parole officers will operate in the Service Centers. The reintegration experiment is described later in this

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5. Report, Individual Services Advisory Committee of Mobilization or Youth, Sept. 1961.
6. "A basic deficiency in community programs appears to be in responsibility and accountability. This lack is a central one and transcends the practices of individual agencies.... We have not yet established the principle that the child who is in trouble and who is 'found' must not be 'lost'." Alfred J. Kahn, For Children in Trouble, New York: Citizens' Committee for Children, 1957.

appendix.

Facilities and Staff

The Neighborhood Service Centers will be so situated that they will be readily accessible to the residents. They will be located either in frequently used buildings, such as settlement houses, or in tenement storefronts. If the latter, the quarters will be made highly visible as a "walk-in" service. An informal and cordial atmosphere will prevail. Newcomers will not be required to make initial appointments but will be seen on a "drop-in" basis.

The Neighborhood Services Center project will be directly administered by Mobilization's Assistant Chief of Individual Services, a caseworker with a community-organization and administration background. In addition to the requisite training and experience, he will need to be an innovating person, congenial to the testing of new methodology and organization of services. He will be responsible for the ideological and professional direction of the program, will work directly with the liaison-resources and reintegration services, and will, with others, represent the Center with public and private agencies. Three Caseworkers with sufficient experience to supervise social-work students and others will work with two Case Aides in each of the Centers. One of the caseworkers in each Center will be responsible for the field education of units of five or six students. In addition to the liaison and other personnel resources described above (homemaker, nurse, escort, etc.), a Psychiatrist and a Sociologist, each working half time, will provide primarily consultation services. A caseworker with supervisory experience and a second trained caseworker will form the experimental service unit in each of the mental-hygiene clinics.

The various services offered by the Centers will not be established as separate units within the agencies. In line with the "general practitioner" model of the caseworker's role, casework staff will perform all the functions required of the agency. The decentralization of the program, permitting each Center to be relatively small, will lessen the need for specialization within the offered services and will permit the informal give and take that mitigates overlapping effort and prevents confusion.

Intake

Working arrangements will be established with the local community institutions to encourage referrals to the Neighborhood Service Centers. It is anticipated that teachers doing home visiting will call upon the Centers, as will guidance personnel, attendance officers, and principals. Local police will be asked to refer youngsters in trouble before carrying through discretionary police action. Court, settlement, church, and housing personnel will also be encouraged to send families to the Center.

Center staff will visit especially troubled persons referred by reliable community sources. These visits will proceed on an exploratory basis to avoid being defined as "meddling" and to determine whether the service can indeed be offered in a way which is acceptable to the individuals and families reached even when they do not request help. For some alienated families, this "reaching out" may be a necessary means to the desired solution of a problem.

Most important, it is expected that the design and location of the Centers, plus informal word of mouth, will stimulate self-referral. The close relationship of the indigenous community organizers to the Centers will further facilitate their use by persons who might otherwise shun professionalized

services. It is, in fact, these very clients whom the Centers hope most to attract. Special emphasis will also be placed upon services to families with children, particularly those between 10 and 15 years of age.

Relationship to the Community

A major facet of the Neighborhood Service Center proposal is the plan to offer coordinated social and psychological services. In addition to gathering personnel of varying expertise, this plan makes it necessary to ensure the participation of a gamut of community agencies. Many of these agencies will, of course, be involved directly through their provision of services, such as those represented in the liaison-resources unit. Others will become involved as a result of cooperative efforts with other Lower East Side agencies. Participation in the Youth Services teams of LENA will materially aid this effort.

The Centers will be closely integrated with the other programs offered by Mobilization and by the local settlements, churches, and other institutions. For example, social workers participating in the School-Community Relations course, who assist teachers in home visiting and perform guidance functions at the schools, will maintain close connection with the casework staff of the Centers. Youngsters from the Urban Youth Service Corps will supply some of the manpower needs of Centers. Community organizers working with unaffiliated lower-class groups will maintain their offices at the Centers and will thus be able to provide a ready channel of communication between the casework staff and the disadvantaged members of those groups.

The administration of the Neighborhood Service Centers will be the responsibility of Mobilization for Youth in cooperation with the Interdepartmental

Committee of Commissioners. This plan is proposed in order to ensure the integration of social services which are ordinarily offered under public auspices with professional and psychological services more often provided in the private sector. Furthermore, public involvement will encourage continued city support when the Mobilization experiment has ended.

In addition, a Neighborhood Advisory Committee will be formed. Leaders who reside in the area will be recruited, in order to maximize use of the service and community identification with it. Some of these leaders might be drawn from the indigenous influentials who are to be identified and involved in the community program of Organizing the Unaffiliated (see Appendix A-3). The Advisory Committee will not differ markedly from the boards of those voluntary agencies which do not have fund-raising functions, as, for example, in the foster-care field. Although its composition will, of course, be different, it will serve primarily a community-relations role. The Committee will publicize and interpret Center services. It will inform staff of local community perceptions of the program and advise them about meeting the needs of lower-income persons. Most important, however, it is hoped that the involvement of local community leaders in the decision-making process will increase the feeling of neighborhood people that, to some degree, the Centers are "theirs."[7]

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7. In describing the wartime social services of the National Maritime Union, Bertha Reynolds states that consumers of services ideally should own them. She maintains that the sense of belonging lessens resistance to help. Bertha Reynolds, Social Work and Social Living, New York: Citadel Press, 1951, esp. Chaps. 2 and 3.

## Visiting Homemaker Service

In a previous era, the Visiting Nurse Service was instituted to meet the health needs of a low socioeconomic population. Today many families in congested areas similarly require the assistance of skilled personnel to negotiate the complexities of urban living.

It is anticipated that the Visiting Homemaker Service will facilitate the acculturation of newcomers to the project area and intervene in families in which self-defeating life-styles have been perpetuated for generations. It will provide a corps of practical home-service workers who will offer adults both training and direct assistance, as needed. The objectives of the service are:

1. To assist parents in achieving a more adequate home and family life by providing information about and demonstrating day-to-day routines basic to social living.

2. To relieve some of the burdens and tensions of harassed families and ease some of the dislocating aspects of immigration into the community.

3. To encourage participation in community programs, thus bringing individuals and families otherwise alienated from the community into constructive interaction with others.

The visiting homemaker will assume the role of the long-time resident who introduces the community to the newcomer. The homemaker will not be a domestic or visiting housekeeper with the sole purpose of lightening burdens temporarily, nor will she assume a superior or supervisory relation to the client because of her instructional function.

The visiting homemaker's frequent presence in the home will give her a unique picture of the family in its total interactions and its problems of child welfare, physical and mental health, etc. Because of her close, informal contact with the family in concrete, tangible matters, she will be able to elicit discussion and encourage the use of the resources and services of the Neighborhood Services Center and other community resources. Where parents and families are reluctant to take initial steps, she may gain their permission to make overtures for them. Her knowledge of the family can be of invaluable help to the caseworker.

The homemaker's services will encompass the following:

1. Protecting the health of family members by encouraging periodic medical and dental check-ups.

2. Improving the housewife's competence as a consumer; in marketing, shopping, installment buying, etc.

3. Teaching the housewife to manage her budget so as to derive maximal use of limited finances (getting value received for expenditures, learning where to obtain wanted items and what to avoid).

4. Giving assistance in organizing the home and household routines so as to provide the optimal environment in support of educational and vocational goals for youth.

5. Helping to arrange for escort services, baby sitters, etc., so that the housewife can keep health, education, welfare, and social agency appointments; attend parent-education and consumer-education meetings; and participate in community-improvement projects.

6. Giving information and encouragement to parents and youth participating in community organizations.

Problems common to all residents in the vicinity will emerge in the course of work with individual families and youth. Small groups should be formed for group-demonstration programs in home improvement. These groups might also be asked to discuss the value of visiting-homemaker services, to suggest changes, and to offer suggestions for additional services. Problems which center around such concerns as school, sanitation, street conditions, municipal departments, services, etc. will be linked closely to the community-organization aspects of the Mobilization for Youth and LENA programs.

Intake and Case Loads

Interest in the service will be stimulated by ministers, public-health nurses, home-visiting teachers, social-agency personnel, settlement-house workers, housing managers, etc. As the service establishes an image among the local population, self-referrals will increase through word-of-mouth.

Intake will be handled through the Neighborhood Service Centers. A staff member will assess the level of family living, the nature and depth of problems, and the type and extent of service required. Other needs revealed during the intake interview may call for other services or may be held for future activity. Eligibility for the Visiting Homemaker Service will not be contingent upon the acceptance of a casework plan or other stipulations. Case-work screening will distinguish between homes requiring the instruction-demon-stration type of program for improving family competences and those requiring homemaker services of a type offered by other agencies (i.e., to prevent family break-up, to place children away from home, for emergency and crisis situations in the home.)

It is assumed that one to four hours will be spent in each visit, with the frequency of visits varying from daily to monthly. As work progresses, the frequency and duration of visits to each family will diminish, permitting acceleration of the program and augmented coverage.

Recruitment and Training of Staff

Personnel will be recruited from a cultural, socioeconomic, and ethnic background similar to that of the resident population, with a high-school degree or equivalent education. To the extent possible, staff will be drawn from the Lower East Side, to permit better coverage and to draw on a greater knowledge of conditions in the area.

A one-year work-study plan will be instituted, with courses offered either in conjunction with the adult-education program at a high school or as extension courses by a college. The program of formal training will encompass the subjects of preventive family health; nutrition; family and community hygiene; organization of household tasks and routines; low-cost meal planning, preparation, and serving; fundamentals of parent-child relationships; adolescent behavior; budget management; care of appliances and household equipment; and knowledge of the resources of the community and the city.

Completion of the course will carry increases in salary. In the middle phase of the project, a municipal civil-service category might be established for such personnel. (Precedent for such a category exists for homemakers employed by the Department of Public Welfare.)

In-service training of visiting homemakers will be conducted by two professional casework supervisors. It will be designed to develop skills in offering services so that the self-esteem and competences of family members

are elevated; to increase alertness to family problems, child-welfare needs, parent-child relationships, etc., for referral to the Neighborhood Service Centers; to deepen and extend knowledge of community resources which can be useful to family members; to develop alertness to common needs and interests for which special group programs may be helpful and community action required.

Phases of Operation

This program should be instituted in the Lillian Wald and Jacob Riis Housing Projects, where housing conditions, room space, and assistance from the managerial staff in a structured setting can support experimentation. In addition to upgrading household maintenance in the housing project, it is anticipated that the presence of homemakers will aid in integrating project residents with the broader community. As experience is gained with administrative and organizational aspects of the program, the community bordering on the projects can be the next target. (This is a desirable next step, since this area is scheduled as a Neighborhood Conservation Area.) Ultimately, the program will be extended through the Mobilization area.

## The Social Reintegration of Released Juvenile Offenders

Despite the corrective experience of institutionalization, the rate of recidivism for released offenders is discouragingly high. Considering various omissions and inaccuracies, some authorities estimate recidivism in such low-income areas as the Lower East Side as 70 to 80 percent. Approximately 100 released young offenders re-enter the Mobilization area during a one-year period.

The high rate of recidivism for released offenders is often cited to discredit a rehabilitative approach in correctional institutions and to justify a reversion to purely punitive practices. We assert, to the contrary, that the poor record of success suggests a need for expansion of rehabilitative services to delinquents who have been institutionalized.

Current treatment both during and after incarceration largely ignores the role of social conditions in the post-institutional period. For the most part, aftercare has been a matter of surveillance to determine whether the ex-inmate is complying with the stipulations of his release. The approach both during and after imprisonment is based on the assumption that if an inmate is properly motivated he will succeed. The situation contains a bitter paradox, however: to the extent that the correctional institution is able to induce an inmate to strive for success, it may increase the likelihood that he will recidivate, for few legitimate resources are open to the released offender. There is no question that appropriate motivation and psychological capacity are essential to conformity. Nor is it fair to assert that current institutions fail to instill motivation. In fact, our evidence on adolescent inmates suggests that most of them want to "make good" when they are released.

The social deprivations of a released offender are the result of a negative social and, in turn, self-image. His handicaps are intensifications of the invidious definitions attached to all lower-status slum youth. The ceremonial degradations which accompany institutionalization stigmatize the young inmate. His public identity becomes that of delinquent or social incompetent. Positive institutional response and early release do not mitigate this reputation. The pejorative public image accompanies him into conventional society

and serves as a formidable barrier to conformity. The stigma attached to ex-inmates sometimes causes persons who control access to social resources (employment, education) to look upon him with suspicion and mistrust. These persons in effect may bar his efforts to adjust by withholding the social, educational, and vocational opportunities requisite for positive adjustment.

The ceremonial degradation and public censure affect the attitudes of the offender's parents or legal guardians, who fear that he will repeat his violations and once again expose them to shame. In order to protect themselves from further humiliation, they may resort to rather extreme defenses. They may proscribe him or "let him go his own way"; they may become overly restrictive and demanding, thereby denying him any role in stabilizing himself. In either case, they communicate to the youngster their lack of confidence in him.

Parents of peers may also complicate his readjustment. They may exert pressure on their offspring, particularly daughters, to avoid him. He is prohibited from dating "nice girls" and from going to parties with the "good kids." He is thus prevented from establishing meaningful relationships with those contemporaries who could buttress his motivation for conformity.

The reaction of employers to ex-inmates, whether adult or juvenile, is well documented. Most of them consider the group an inordinate risk, undependable and unreliable. As a consequence, the released offender may be refused employment or peremptorily dismissed, regardless of performance, once his institutional record is discovered. Even when he does get work, he often experiences handicaps not imposed on other workers, for surveillance is more exacting and chances for advancement are less likely.

The impact of the bad reputation is also bitterly experienced in school. In low-income areas, where schools face a control problem anyway, personnel may be particularly wary of taking on released offenders. They recognize that ex-inmates may be unmanageable and spark disturbances.

The destructive impact of the invidious definition derives not only from others' responses but from the offender's own response to degradation as well. Although he hopes not to be stigmatized, he nonetheless anticipates that "some people will look down on you because you've been up here." He is unable to specify just who those people are, but he knows that they exist. Consequently he tends to be suspicious of others' reactions to him. An employer's normal criticism for defective work or a school teacher's rebuke for noisy behavior in class is interpreted as proof of rejection. Thus society's definition of the ex-inmate often contributes to his self-defeating behavior and his inability to exploit the few opportunities that do turn up.

## The Program

Our program for the reintegration of offenders will have a three-dimensional approach in contrast to the primarily motivational emphasis of many current programs. We shall include:

1. Personalized guidance to buttress institutionally acquired motivation for conformity.

2. Direct intervention in the client's social situation to provide access to resources essential for conventional adjustment.

3. Individualized training and guidance to impart specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes requisite for optimal use of these resources.

Although limited advantages and self-defeating behavior are, to a certain extent, problems of many lower-class youth, they are exacerbated by confinement and require intensive individualized attention in rehabilitative programs. Educational and vocational opportunities, which are the principal routes to conforming statuses for all youngsters, will, of course, be the major resources offered to released offenders. Estrangement from parents and peers as a result of public degradation will also be a target of reintegrative services.

A small unit of specially trained probation officers will conduct an experimental program for released adolescent offenders on the Lower East Side. The State Department of Welfare, as well as the private correctional institutions, will be requested to relinquish authority for aftercare of released offenders to Mobilization Neighborhood Service Centers. The majority of youth will be from public institutions since these serve the largest number of offenders and the most difficult youth.

The unit will consist of three officers at the outset. In addition to the guidance skills required of all staff performing advanced probation and parole duties, these officers will need to acquire, through pre-service training, the knowledge and techniques for affecting changes in the post-institutional situations of offenders and for enabling them to exploit expanded opportunities. The officers' ready access to the Neighborhoood Service Centers, to other Mobilization resources such as the Youth Jobs Center, and to personnel in the Mobilization-area schools will facilitate their task. Because of the considerably broadened role of probationary services in this unit, the caseload will be significantly smaller than the staff-client ratio in current programs. Since the service is experimental, the number of youth to be served by each officer will be determined by trial and error.

Through communication with the juvenile courts as well as with the other relevant agencies, the unit will keep informed of all young offenders who reside in and expect to return to the area as soon as a formal decision for commitment has been made. The caseload will consist of youngsters undergoing initial institutionalization and will include a number of those defined by the unit as "difficult." Criteria for intake will have to be developed by the officers themselves.

The program will consist of two continuous, interrelated phases. The Confinement Phase will start at the earliest feasible date after institutional commitment. The Aftercare Phase will begin at the time of release and will continue until the client's readjustment is assured or his failure has been definitely established. Casework in this experimental probationary setting will consist mainly of four functions: planning, social intervention, training, and community interpretation.

Planning: Once a client is assigned, his officer will compile a comprehensive case record giving special attention to school, work, and leisure-time patterns as well as to family relationships. As soon as institutional officials declare the youngster adapted to incarceration, the officer will begin to develop a plan for his reintegration, aided by a committee consisting of appropriate institutional and neighborhood personnel. The inmate and his parents or guardians will be consistently consulted and involved in this process. The committee will deal with the desirability of work or school release, the type of educational and employment training required by the youth, the most suitable residential facilities for him after release, and the ways in which he can be assisted in re-establishing associations with conforming peers and

adults when he leaves the institution. Once agreement is reached, the officer will assume responsibility for implementation of the plan. Whenever changes or adaptations of the scheme are necessary, they will be handled through the original planning committee.

Social intervention: The officer will represent or intervene in behalf of his client with persons who command access to resources vital to conformity. Using the reintegration plan as a guide, he will establish contact with school, employment, and settlement personnel as well as with parents; solicit their interest in the youth; and prepare them to assume a positive role in his post-institutional adjustment. As reintegration progresses, the officer will continue to induce additional persons to assist the youngster. For the purpose of social intervention, all Mobilization personnel will be at the disposal of the officer.

Training: The training role will consist of efforts to enable the youth to use the opportunities provided through social intervention. In his frequent, regular contacts with the youngster throughout institutionalization and parole, the officer will perform primarily a guidance and training function. He may also supplement the therapeutic orientation of the institution if necessary.

The officer will enable the youngster to carry through his reintegration plan by providing him with simple educational, vocational, or social know-how. Special efforts will also be made to handle overly suspicious attitudes that inhibit the youngster's readjustment. Content of the session will vary from simple instruction in how to conduct oneself in a job interview, fill out an application for employment, or organize study procedures to clarifying the

problems facing a released offender in the outside world. If the youngster is planning to acquire a delivery job, he will be taught how to read city maps and directories. If his work involves small money transactions, he will be shown how to make change and keep financial records. In some cases youngsters may be enabled by the individual efforts of the probation officer to enter the Urban Youth Service Corps or to make use of other employment resources of Mobilization for Youth. The training sessions will also serve to alert the officer to the difficulties encountered by the client.

Community interpretation: In a general sense, the officer will serve as interpreter of the problems of institutional returnees, thereby mitigating some of the effects of stigmatization. Through channels provided by Mobilization and LENA, he will convey to key neighborhood organizations and associations, as well as to the general public, an understanding of the plight of the ex-inmate. He will seek their cooperation in easing the returnee's path to conformity. In particular, he will try to enlist the support of school personnel and employers. By gaining the help of settlement workers, who are already experienced in these functions, he will facilitate his client's participation in social and community activities with conventional youngsters. In these ways a youngster will come to be defined by others and by himself as an "acceptable member of the community." As probation officers, the staff of this experimental unit do, however, have a responsibility for the protection and welfare of the community. If an inmate persists in deviant behavior despite probationary assistance, the officers will take the necessary legal steps to curb socially destructive behavior.

## Experimental Narcotics Programs

### Specialized Services to Addicts

Preliminary research and investigation suggest that drug addiction is one of the most serious forms of deviant behavior on the Lower East Side, if not the most serious. According to Police Department records, there are today more than 23,000 drug addicts in New York City. In the year 1959, of approximately 500 addicts admitted to Riverside Hospital, 43 were from the Lower East Side. In the decade of the 1950's, of 1,076 deaths diagnosed as due to an overdose of narcotics, 57 had been residents of lower Manhattan. During the last two years the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., which is open only 10 hours a week at most, has interviewed 145 drug addicts from the Lower East Side. These statistics bear out the contention that the problem of drug addiction is acute in the Lower East Side, as it is elsewhere in New York City.

Drug addiction is one of the most obvious examples of retreat from social and emotional problems. Although it is basically the result of psychological disorder, it often emerges under the pressures of unemployment, discrimination, family troubles, and the impersonality of urban society.[8] These are difficult problems for the normal person; for a person who is psychologically prone to addictive drug use they may be insurmountable. It is the purpose of this proposal to demonstrate that a dual focus on the social and underlying emotional problems of the addict will facilitate his reintegration into the community. Concentrated therapeutic attacks on his employment and family problems are essential aspects of the program.

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8. Isidor Chein and Eva Rosenfeld, "Juvenile Narcotics Use," Law and Contemporary Problems, Vol. 22, No. 1 (1957).

In recent years, local, state, and federal agencies have begun to approach the drug addict with increasing understanding of his complex problems. However, except for hospital beds and minimal institutional aftercare, there are very limited resources available to the local community. On the Lower East Side, the only institution expressly established to provide outpatient services for the addict and his family is the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc. Begun as a demonstration program by LENA, it has enlisted the resources of neighborhood agencies and churches in an effort to supply needed services. The dissemination of information about detoxification facilities, community education and work with the family unit have been the three foci of the Center's program.

Experience indicates that addicts make the most progress when the whole family constellation is involved in a treatment program. The literature on drug addiction also emphasizes the need for involvement of the addict's family in his treatment.[9] It is proposed, therefore, to establish, under the auspices of the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., a pilot demonstration project which will work with 50 randomly selected teen-age and young adult addicts residing in an area yet to be defined. The program will provide community based psychiatric and social services for the addict and his family. The detoxification services of Manhattan General Hospital, which are city-supported, will be used. The hospital has about 90 beds available for addicts but provides no aftercare service.

A team of six experienced social workers and a supervisor will be responsible for supplying the addicts with supporting services from the time of their admission to the project. It is imperative that there be a

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9. Percy Mason, "The Mother of an Addict," Psychiatric Quarterly Supplement, Part 2, Utica, New York: State Hospital Press, 1958.

continuity of contact between addict and worker, and each worker will have a smaller than usual caseload.

Services to addicts may include activities in the following areas:

1. Reception and Intake
2. Hospital referral and detoxification from narcotics
3. Specialized medical and dental care
4. Psychotherapy
5. Family involvement and strengthening
6. After-care following incarceration
7. Economic assistance including housing as needed
8. Job counselling and job finding
9. Educational and vocational guidance
10. Social programming for leisure time and recreation
11. Police, courts and probation follow-up

The drama of rehabilitation will be played out fundamentally in the family and vocational life of the addict under treatment. Addicts who are capable of working will be referred for job placement to the Vocational programs of Mobilization for Youth. Counseling by the caseworker will precede placement. A sheltered workshop (see below) is also proposed for addicts who are unable to face a competitive job situation. The same caseworker will deal with all the family and institutional representatives who enter the life of the addict.[10] In order to perform these many functions, the caseworkers will need to possess skills in group work as well as in casework and will require the occasional services of an interdisciplinary team of specialists.

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10. Report of the State of New York Joint Legislative Committee on Narcotics Study, Legislative Document, No. 7, 1959.

A part-time psychiatrist will serve as medical director of the project. He will screen and diagnose addicts, as well as provide consultative help to other staff. A part-time psychologist will provide psychological testing and clinical consultations. A public health nurse will serve as liaison with the Health Department, provide nursing service for medical problems, and supervise outpatient detoxification. A physician will provide medical service for health problems secondary to the addiction and be responsible for outpatient detoxification. The project director will spend one fourth of his time working with the present program of the Lower East Side Information and Service Center for Narcotics Addiction, Inc., and the remaining three fourths with this project.

Although the addict's interaction with his family will be a constant focus in the treatment, there may be times when it is not therapeutically advisable for him to be living at home. A halfway house may be needed in which to maintain the addict during such periods.

A voluntary agency is attempting to finance a similar project using a control group of 50 addicts, randomly chosen. The tentative plan is to make available to the control group the same battery of services plus an intensive medical program involving the controlled use of sustaining doses of drugs.

Sheltered Workshop

Professionals experienced in working with drug users -- psychiatrists, sociologists, clergymen, social group workers, and others -- have indicated the need for a sheltered workshop for addicts. A sheltered workshop can provide an opportunity to test the value of work in the resocialization of addicted youth. It may also provide an opportunity for such youth to learn

elementary skills and work habits which may be useful to them in later years. A specific proposal for a sheltered workshop for narcotics addicts will by detailed in a subsequent submission.

Other Services to Individuals and Families

Services to individuals and families will not, of course, be limited to the programs outlined in this discussion. Indeed, there is no Mobilization program which will not give attention to individual functioning. We have asserted the importance of giving individualized assistance to persons who might otherwise not use available resources effectively. The advantage of closely integrating such help within the structure of each service is obvious. Thus group workers and work-experience counselors will need the time, training, and sensitivity to focus upon mitigating the personal difficulties of participants as these affect their use of the program. Guidance people will serve this function in the public schools.

Individuals with behavioral difficulties too severe for such treatment will be referred for casework and psychiatric services. Caseworkers will therefore need to have a knowledge of the full gamut of community programs. For example, if a youngster is unable to use the Youth Corps experience meaningfully, he may be seen by a worker at a Neighborhood Service Center. In order to understand the youngster's reactions and help him to renounce the behavior that prevents his effective participation, the worker will need to be familiar with the activities and peer-group demands of the Corps. This is particularly important since the focus of the contact will be the boy's effective utilization of the Corps experience.

Caseworkers will aid and advise other professionals as well. For example, teachers making home visits will be accompanied initially by social caseworkers who are skilled in interviewing and accustomed to entering the homes of strangers. As a parent shares his problems in the course of the interview, the worker may be able to direct him to other appropriate community programs.

LENA's efforts in the Lower East Side and the multi-faceted nature of the Mobilization program permit close coordination of programs and specialties throughout the area. The aim of integrating specialized services to individuals with other community resources may thus be served.

MADISON TOWNSHIP ADULT SCHOOL

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Dr. William Sample, Superintendent of Schools
Mr. Kenneth V. Smida, High School Principal

Adult School Secretary
Mrs. Sally Jenkins

The Adult School is a self-supporting and non-profit organization operated under the authorization of the Board of Education.

SPRING TERM 1964

DATES OF CLASS MEETINGS

Classes begin on the first Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday (respectively) in February, and run for 10 consecutive nights. Classes will not operate during Easter week.

Remember classes start Feb. 4, 5, or 6!

Address all communication to:
MADISON TOWNSHIP ADULT SCHOOL
MADISON TOWNSHIP HIGH SCHOOL
Old Bridge, New Jersey
Telephone Number: Days - PArkway 1-5500
Evenings - PArkway 1-5501

Any Madison Township resident 65 years of age or older may take courses free of charge, excepting the cost of course materials, if required.

HOW TO REGISTER - The rolls of some classes are limited - register early; Mail registration will be accepted if post marked no later than midnight January 15. Register in person from 7:00 until 9:00 p.m. on Friday, January 31 in the High School Department Heads Office. Registrations are accepted unless you are notified to the contrary.

MADISON TOWNSHIP ADULT SCHOOL

PRESENTS

"WEDNESDAY WINDOWS ON THE WORLD"

A continuing program of lectures and discussion sessions centered on contemporary world problems.

In our first semester we are happy to present two outstanding guest speakers.

Fee for both lectures (in advance) $2.50
Fee for individual lectures 1.50

TUESDAY

ACTION COURSE IN PRACTICAL POLITICS

8 - 10 p.m.
$2.00 registration fee
2.50 material
$4.50 Total

The object of this discussion course, developed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, is to enable individuals in local groups to learn more about how they can become active and effective in the political party of their choice in their own communities. Consists of 9 - 2 hour workshops concluding with a meeting with prominent politicians and government office-holders. Typical workshop topics include Political Party Organization, The Political Campaign, and The Political Leader's Problems. Course materials, provided at their cost of $2.50, include a set of 8 pamphlets covering each workshop topic plus a series of case problems. The Discussion Leader is a graduate of the same course given within the Madison Township Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1963.

Instructors supplied by the Madison Township Junior Chamber of Commerce.

TUESDAY

SEWING I 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A practical course for beginners.

Minimum of 10 students. Maximum of 15 students.

Instructor: Mary Dudley, B.A.
Home Economics instructor, Madison Township High School.

TUESDAY

ADVANCED DANCING 8 - 9:30 p.m. Fee $16.00 couple

This is a course for people with some experience in the basic dance steps - people who have been doing some dancing. If you are in doubt as to how much of a "beginner" you are, call Mr. Agolia at CL 4-5046 for information.

Minimum of 5 couples - maximum of 15 couples.

Instructor: Michael Agolia.

I. "LATIN AMERICA'S REVOLUTION"

An investigation of some of the hemisphere trouble - spots.

SPEAKER: Dr. Robert J. Alexander
Rutgers University

Wednesday evening, February 12, 1964 in the High School Auditorium

8:00 P.M.

Admission at door $1.50 ( or series admission of $2.50 in advance )

II."CIVIL RIGHTS Admission at door $1.50

AMERICA'S NUMBER ONE DOMESTIC PROBLEM"

The struggle for social justice for Negroes is the fight for democracy for all Americans requiring an immediate application of the best of this nation's resources -- moral, economic, social and political.

Wednesday evening, March 18, 1964 in the High School Auditorium

8:00 P.M.

SPEAKER: Norman Hill
Assistant to the Director
C.O.R.E. ( Congress of Racial Equality )

(Admission for series $2.50 in advance)

TUESDAY

WORKSHOP IN SUBSTITUTE TEACHING
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

Serve your school system! Earn money! Designed for those interested in part-time or student teaching. Two years college required. Classroom management, homeroom procedures, planning, etc. will be covered.

Instructor: Arnold Fineberg, B.A.
Instructor at Central School, Marlboro Township

TUESDAY

OIL PAINTING 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A basic course for beginners

Instructor: John J. R. Resh, M.A.
Art instructor, War Memorial High School, Sayerville

TUESDAY

AMATEUR RADIO II - GENERAL CLASS LICENSE
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

Instructor: Marvin Stern, W2AOC
Prerequisite Novice class license
Minimum of 10 students required

TUESDAY

BEGINNERS TYPING 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A practical course for beginners.

Minimum of 10 students required.

Instructor: Mrs. Anne Marie Healy, M.S.

TUESDAY

CREATIVE WRITING 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

For people with little or no experience.

Instructor: Mrs. R. Giancristofaro, A.B.

TUESDAY

SLIMNASTICS 8 - 9:30 p.m. Fee $16.00

Housewives and career women - here is the course tailored to you! Tone up your muscles, stay healthy and improve your posture through a program of rhythmic slimnastics. You'll look and feel better! Bring sneakers and appropriate clothing. This course includes slimnastic exercises and modern dance movements.

Minimum of 15 students required.

Instructor: Gloria Knudsen, B.S. Ed.

WEDNESDAY

HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENCY
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $20.00

The High School Equivalency program of Madison Township Adult School goes into its second semester of its second year, in February. The program originally started in answer to a community request, has been outstandingly successful. One hundred and twenty adults over 20 years of age, from throughout the township have gone through the ten week program.

The program is especially designed to help adults identify their academic strengths and weaknesses through diagnostic testing and counseling in preparation for the five part state examination.

Each student meets with his counselor to discuss test results and plan an individually tailored study program. He is assigned to an English and Mathematics class for eight weeks; however, he may choose to spend more time in one class than the other.

The success of this program can be evaluated in part by the number of students who have contacted us to say they have a better position, or have started college or night school.

Miss Ruth Samsel, M.A. Ed.
Irvin Knudson, M.A. Ed.
Guidance Counselors, M.T.H.S.

Raymond Singley, B.S.
Douglas Auburn, B.S.
M.T.H.S. instructors

WEDNESDAY

ENGLISH GRAMMAR REFRESHER
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A continuation of Mr. Stiteler's successful Fall offering. New Students are welcome.

A minimum of 10 students required.

Instructor: Terry Stiteler, B.S.
Madison Township High School English teacher.

WEDNESDAY

SEWING II 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A continuation of Mrs. Smith's Fall course offering. Students may call the instructor at LO 6-5814 for information.

A Minimum of 10 students and a maximum of 15.

Instructor: Joann Smith,
Instructor at Woodbridge Vocational Tech. High School.

WEDNESDAY

ELEMENTARY GREGG SHORTHAND, SECOND HALF
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A continuation of Mrs. Healy's Fall course offering including a review of materials covered plus dictation.

Instructor: Mrs. Anne Marie Healy, M. ED.

THURSDAY

THE EVOLUTION OF WORLD COMMUNISM
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

The new course by the popular instructor in Philosophy during the Fall season.

Instructor: George Goetz, M.A.
History Instructor, Columbia High School, So. Orange - Maplewood, N.J.

THURSDAY

CHESS 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

Instructor: Irvin Rubin, M.A.
Senior High School teacher
City of New York

THURSDAY

PUBLIC SPEAKING 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A basic course for absolute beginners.

Instructor: Mrs. Charles Walling, B.A.

THURSDAY

SEWING I 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A basic course for beginners.

Instructor: Mrs. Mary Dudley, B.S.
Instructor at M.T.H.S.

THURSDAY

TYPING II 8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A continuation of Mrs. Healy's Fall course offering.

A minimum of 10 students required.

Instructor: Anne Marie Healy, M. Ed.

THURSDAY

RADIO AND T.V.-BASIC THEORY AND PRACTICE
8 - 10 p.m. Fee $11.00

A basic course for beginners.

Instructor: Louis Rainone
Bell Labs, Holmdel

THURSDAY

SOCIAL DANCING FOR BEGINNERS
8 - 9:30 p.m. Fee $16.00 per couple

This is a class for absolute beginners. Dances to be taught are Fox Trot, Waltz, Cha Cha, Peabody, etc.

Minimum of 5 couples and a maximum of 15 couples.

Instructor: Michael Agolia

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## *Madison Township Adult School*

**MAIL REGISTRATION FORM**

Mr.
Mrs. .....
Miss (Please Print)

Mailing Address .....

Post Office ..... Phone .....

COURSE TITLE .....

COURSE TITLE .....

Total fee enclosed $ .....


## *Madison Township Adult School*

**MAIL REGISTRATION FORM**

Mr.
Mrs. .....
Miss (Please Print)

Mailing Address .....

Post Office ..... Phone .....

COURSE TITLE .....

COURSE TITLE .....

Total fee enclosed $ .....

## GENERAL INFORMATION

Courses will be cancelled because of insufficient enrollment. Minimum enrollment in some courses is 10. In some courses 5.

Ample parking facilities are located adjacent to the building. Please lock your car.

The School is not responsible for the loss or damage of personal property.

Suspension of classes because of inclement weather will be announced on the W.C.T.C. radio, New Brunswick.

No transfers from one class to another are permitted without the consent of the Director.

No smoking is permitted in the building.

Registration for the Fall Term will be announced in September.

We regret that no course projects may be stored in the building.

INVEST TEN EVENINGS IN YOURSELF

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Organization
Permit No. 9
Old Bridge, N. J.

Education . . . the key to better living

*Madison Township Adult School*
Old Bridge, New Jersey

C. O. R. E.
att: R. Kuckes
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

JAN 13 1964

To be assured of your choice . . .
Register by mail NOW!

MAIL DEADLINE, WED. JAN. 15, 1964

# *Madison Township Adult School*

*. . . a community project*

SPRING TERM 1964

*Madison Township High School*
Old Bridge, New Jersey

Jan 9, 1967 — Wall St. Journal

## INTEGRATION IN ACTION

### Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well In Mixed-Race Schools

### Negro Students Lag at First But Study Hard to Catch Up with Whites, They Say

### After Snubs, 15 Autographs

By James C. Tanner - Staff Reporter
of The Wall Street Journal

Nashville - Lesa Gibson and Cynthia Thornton, nine-year-old girls at Buena Vista Elementary School, consistently score high marks in fourth grade reading, writing and arithmetic. A few blocks away at North Nashville Junior-Senior High School, Geneva Ware, 12, is speedily stepping into the ranks of honor students in the seventh grade, and also is president of her home room class.

The experience of these youngsters is significant for three reasons. They're Negroes attending school with mostly white classmates. Their academic and social gains are being made in an Old South city where classroom integration began with racist bombing of an elementary school seven years ago. And, say many Southern educators, their progress is not at all untypical of Negro children studying under such circumstances.

A large number of Southern whites refuse to believe this - and, their stubborn conviction that school desegregation lowers academic and moral standards for both Negro and white children is a major reason why classroom integration is still the South's most explosive racial issue. Nor is this view confined to extreme segregationists. "Education suffers" from integration, insists a white businessman in St. Augustine, Fla., who's regarded by many as a moderate on the race question. "Regardless of merit, the fact remains that when you integrate classes you dilute the level of education."

"Normal or Nearly Normal"

But Southern schoolmen who have had actual experience with desegregation tell a different story. W. H. Oliver, Nashville school superintendent, readily concedes that Lesa, Cynthia and Geneva are outstanding among the 800 Negro youth now attending Nashville schools with whites. But, he says, the Negro students generally "are achieving normal (levels) or nearly normal from a social, emotional and scholastic standpoint, and the achievement of white students has not been adversely affected to an appreciable degree."

Other educators concede that the first Negro children to enter formerly white schools often lag behind their white classmates scholastically, because of their environment and the poor education many had been receiving in Negro schools. But once in school with whites, teachers say, the Negroes usually study hard to close the gap - and the white children often study hard to prevent having the Negroes pass them. Typical result: Tests made the year before and the year after integration in Louisville, Ky., show substantial gains in scholastic achievement for both Negro and white second, sixth and eighth graders, with the Negroes making proportionately the largest gains.

Socially too, teachers report, the Negro children usually win gradual, if grudging, acceptance from their white classmates. It's true many draw jeers and rebuffs at first, and some drop out. But educators relate many such incidents as that of a Negro high school girl in Atlanta who was snubbed all during her senior year. On the last day she was approached by more than 15 white students who asked

to autograph her yearbook.

Easing Other Race Tensions?

Altogether, despite some remaining problems, many Southern educators think classroom integration is working well enough to prepare the way for eventual Dixie harmony on other race issues, too. "Students are making more rapid progress toward race acceptance than are parents," assert Southern college teachers Herbert Wey and John Corey in Action Patterns in School Desegregation, a guide-book for Southern schools that expect to integrate. "When the students now in school become parents, many of the problems that seem insurmountable will decrease in importance."

This, of course, would be far in the future. For the time being school desegregation seems rather to be inflarning Southern racial tensions, as can be gauged from some of the incidents that attended the reopening of Southern schools last fall. In Birmingham, classroom integration and white resistance to it stirred passions that led to a church bombing in which four Negro children were killed. In Tuskegee, Ala., white students have boycotted the previously all-white high school following admittance of 13 Negroes, Surry County, Va., closed its only white public school this year when seven Negroes were assigned to it by the state's pupil placement board.

Nevertheless, desegregation is making continual Southern gains. In the 17 Southern and border states which had compulsory school segregation prior to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against it, more than one-third of the 3,053 biracial districts now have some desegregation, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service. Mississippi is now the only U.S. state with no mixed schools. In all, 318,039 of the South's 3,412,799 Negro students, or 9.3%, now attend classes with whites, and the number grows almost daily.

What Happens

As a result, Southern teachers are gaining more experience with the results of desegregation, and many Northern educators have been studying their progress and problems. Here, in some detail, is what they say usually happens when a Southern white school begins admitting Negroes:

The first Negroes to attend a formerly white school are often one to two years behind their new classmates in scholastic achievement, educators say. That's partly because their social and economic environment had given them little incentive to learn, and partly because many of them had received inferior teaching in Negro schools. Many of the children have had "traumatic experiences in learning" in poor Negro schools, and feel hopelessly behind their white classmates at first, says a school psychiatric consultant who has studied the effects of desegregation.

However, schoolmen say, once they do begin attending school with whites the Negro children usually develop a burning desire to learn enough to catch up with their new classmates. This "motivation factor compensates for deficiencies of past academic records in many cases," says R.W. Stephens, deputy superintendent of Atlanta schools. "Although we have found that Negro high school students generally are about two years behind white students, they are highly motivated, and they tend to be over-achievers in desegregated schools. The Negro student does better actually than his tests might indicate."

As a result, most teachers report, the Negroes learn more rapidly than they did in segregated schools, and soon begin closing the gap with their white classmates. When Negroes were first admitted to San Angelo, Texas, high school, says Superintendent G. B. Wadseck, those who had received A marks in Negro schools usually dropped to B, those who had been getting B dropped to C, and so on. "Then they began to pull up," he reports.

In Nashville, Glenn Hale, principal of the Buena Vista Elementary School, finds many Negro pupils entering the second and third grades about a year behind their white classmates in learning. But, he says, by the time they leave his school at the end of the seventh grade, they "knock three or four months off" that deficiency. After one class of Negroes has gone through all 12 years of elementary and high school with whites, he believes, the gap will disappear.

Studies of the Washington, D.C., school system, which began integrating immediately after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, give strong support for Mr. Hale's belief. In the early months of integration in 1954, achievement tests showed Washington students generally far below national standards. In progress reading tests, for example, the typical Washington sixth grader scored 4.9 - the level he should have reached the ninth month of the fourth grade - against a national norm of 6.6.

In the most recent comparable tests, however, Washington sixth graders - a larger proportion of them now Negro - fell only two to four months below the national norm in reading, world knowledge and social study skills. And they surpassed the norm by two months in arithmetic, by three months in language usage, and by five months in spelling and language study skills. Some 34% of the students in Washington public schools now are Negro.

While Negro students thus learn rapidly in desegregated schools, the achievement of white pupils doesn't seem to suffer. "Even the strongly segregationist (white) children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment," reports Dr. Robert Coles, a Boston child psychiatrist who spent two years in extensive research on how desegregation affects Southern students. He tells of one white student who worked much harder after integration because of the fear that several of his Negro classmates might get better grades.

The end result, says Dr. Coles: "We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school."

These happy results, of course, are not uniform from child to child. Some mediocre and poor Negro students have turned up in classes with whites. And, says Dr. Coles, "if the younger (Negro children beginning to attend class with whites) manage well, the older ones sometimes have the burden of their former years" of limited educational opportunity and incentive.

On the other hand, some Negro students have made outstanding records in desegregated classes. A Negro girl who was graduated recently from Oklahoma City's desegregated Central High School made the National Honor Society and won a scholarship to the University of Oklahoma, where she's now studying for a medical degree. In Little Rock, where Federal troops first had to be used to end violent resistance to integration, two Central High Negro Seniors last tern won college scholarships.

In general, J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Va., concluded in a study of classroom race-mixing that desegregated classes seem to accept each other better than the older ones. Negro and white youngsters can be seen playing together on the slides and swings of almost any desegregated Southern elementary school's playground. At Nashville's Buena Vista Elementary School, Negro boys have won two of the three positions of captain on the school's safety patrol. And in Birmingham, often called the most segregated U.S. city, a Negro boy was chosen vice president of a sixth grade class that was desegregated last fall.

Even in desegregated high schools, some Negroes win quick social acceptance. When a lone Negro was admitted to the 10th grade of one high school in a small Texas town, he was elected vice president of the class his first day. A Negro also has become president of Oklahoma City's integrated Central High School student council.

Educators concede, however, that desegregation poses some other social problems for Southern schools. At North Nashville Junior-Senior High, where Negroes now are in the seventh grade, school authorities worry over whether they should permit school dances to be held this year. "We might have to curtail some of these things," says W. J. Mullins, principal. But he's enthusiastic about the reception 20 Negro parents got the other night from white parents at a school chili supper, the school's first biracial social affair.

Mr. Mullins and other school officials who know desegregation first-hand dispute segregationist arguments that race mixing brings new problems in discipline, delinquency, morals and health. They do not deny, however, that it accentuates those problems already present in the schools. It brings about some teaching changes, too.

Incoming Negro children, for example, often are grouped with whites according to their academic abilities. The ones who lag far behind scholastically are taught alongside whites of comparable academic achievements, even if these white children are younger. The brighter Negroes go into more advanced groups. This permits a speedier education pace for the fast learners.

And one Nashville teacher is making her new Negro pupils feel at home by "integrating" the bulletin board. She clips pictures of Negro children from magazines and pastes them on the board.

*Minutes of*

JAN 22 1964

*EXPLORATORY CONFERENCE OF PERSONS INTERESTED IN NATIONAL SCHOOL BOYCOTT, FEBRUARY 3, 1964*

*Manhattan Hotel*
*44th Street & 8th Avenue*
*New York City, N.Y.*
*Sunday, January 12, 1964*
*12:00 Noon*

*Thirty-two individuals representing civil rights and civic groups in Chicago, Illinois; Atlanta, Georgia; Cleveland, Ohio; Boston, Massachusetts; Chester, Pennsylvania and the various communities of New York met together to explore essentially the possibility of a multi-city boycott of schools in February, 1964, one of the methods advocated to demonstrate Negro discontent with segregated unequal education throughout the nation.*

*The Acting Chairman, Dr. Milton A. Galamison, opened the meeting at approximately 12:30 P.M. The participants were asked to introduce themselves and to identify the organizations they represented. Mr. John Lewis, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), read his organization's statement of support for the proposed multi-city boycott of schools, and stated that SNCC will call upon people in communities throughout the country to make February "stay away from school month." SNCC will act in a supporting role and will call on local protest groups to become very much involved in the effort.*

*During the course of the meeting delegates described local school conditions and it was learned that the educational problems among Negroes in the various urban areas are as similar as they are grotesque:*

*Chicago*

*The delegation from Chicago stated that 87% of the public schools of that city are segregated. Negotiations with the School Board have been fruitless. "Open Enrollment" or the like has not been granted in Chicago; the school system has not acknowledged segregation as a problem; it is on record as opposing segregation, but has no positive policy for integration.*

*A successful boycott was launched - 224,000 Negro and 10,000 to 15,000 white students stayed out of school - for one day in protest against segregation. Very little to nothing concrete was accomplished by the boycott, except for the fact that it created more awareness of the problems and an opportunity to tie up some organizations to support the struggle. The School Board omitted several of the thirteen demands made by civil rights groups. As a result, the Chicago "Freedom Day Committee" was organized and an effort made to contact civil rights groups in other cities to see*

*what could be done about the school issue nationwide. It was felt that national pressure is needed in local communities - national pressure against school boards and for the whole issue of integrated education and what it means; pressure on civil rights legislation in Congress; need for mutual support and giving local problems the national scope they need.*

*Chester, Pa.*

*Delegates claimed Chester to be the most segregated northern city in the country. In 1963 twelve hundred Negro children attended a school built to hold five hundred children over fifty years ago; classes were held in the basement coal bin; three classes held in a nearby housing project in an area next to the boiler room. The school had only two toilets - one for the boys and one for the girls - to which children were allowed fifty at a time. In the boys' restroom there were only three commodes until the night before a Human Relations Committee was to visit. The school board installed (apparently in the middle of the night) four additional commodes to give a better appearance. Direct action in Chester brought promises to fulfill all demands. The School Board was to transfer 200 children out, which they did (transferred them out into another Negro school that was already overcrowded). The School Board built two new junior high schools and renovated three elementary schools. Not one Negro school was physically repaired! District lines have been gerrymandered each year to keep Negro children contained. There is no promise whatsoever from school authorities for future integration of the system.*

*Cleveland, Ohio*

*Ninety-three per cent of the elementary school children attend de facto segregated schools; a similar situation exists in junior high and high schools. Many prominent people picketed, used pressure on the white power structure, and presented a seven-point program for schools. The opposition, however, got the school board to promote the "neighborhood school concept."*

*There is currently some action on a seven-point program of demands, namely: integration of apprenticeship training programs; integrating transported classes; contracting on a non-discriminatory policy; school participation in the Federal Lunch Program; integrated teaching materials; use of Negro real estate brokers in acquiring property; the establishment of a human relations committee.*

*The problem in Cleveland has been the real radical difference in philosophy among civil rights groups about how far to go and methods used. There has been a bigger fight within than outside the groups. It was noted that only two Negro Ministers are involved in the Cleveland Movement. None of the "ghetto" ministers has become a part of the Movement.*

*Boston, Mass.*

*Negro apathy prevails - the black bourgeoisie is unaware a problem exists. The Boston Movement uncovered some of the problems and the NAACP negotiated fourteen points with the School Committee. Seven out of eight school districts made promises on thirteen of the fourteen points; i.e., matter of substitute teachers under consideration; guidance counselors; Negro representation in text books; less expenditures being made in Negro schools, etc. It was stated that out of 3,000 teachers, there are only thirty-nine Negro teachers.*

*The School Committee refused to admit the existence of de facto segregation; actively discouraged the boycott by implying violence would erupt; got a judge to come out with the statement that organizers of the boycott were contributing to juvenile delinquency and breaking the law; Negro ministers' association voted against the boycott and urged students to go to school. The ministers did, however, allow "Freedom Schools" to be set up in churches.*

*The School Committee declared that de facto segregation is not an educational matter and would not discuss it. The Chairman of the Boston School Committee, thought to be the biggest bigot in the city, was elected by a larger majority vote than the Mayor. Spokesmen for the Committee have stated there are no inferior schools - only inferior students.*

*New York*

*The "Open Enrollment" program brought about by a threat to boycott. The Board of Education of the City of New York has admitted since 1954 that de facto segregated schools exist and has issued reports saying something should be done about it. A threat of a boycott last year, sponsored by the City-wide Committee for School Integration, brought promise of a plan and time table by December 1, 1963 for desegregation of the public school system. The Board came up with nothing but a proposal for "separate but equal;" a crash program for making schools in ghetto areas somewhat more endurable. The school authorities completely reneged on its commitment to produce a plan and time table by the specified date.*

*Harlem*

*Negroes feel a part of the power structure and tend to be against the movement. The Harlem organizers feel inclined to shift pressure from the school board to City Hall and the Governor. It was learned that: the school board is using its administrative personnel to speak to people against the proposed boycott; the Black Muslim philosophy has divided the people; and the ministers in Harlem are not active in the school issue.*

*Brooklyn Ministers*

*A group of 72 ministers who are completely committed to the school boycott and whose churches will be available for use as "Freedom Schools" in February. An effort will be made by this group to enlist Manhattan ministers in the movement.*

*Rochdale, Queens*

*This direct action group is moving into educational militancy and completely endorses a multi-city boycott and/or extended boycott.*

*The following information was received through indirect representation:*

*Gary, Indiana*

*Advised Chicago delegates they could not send a representative but are very interested in the problem and share many of the same ills. It was stated that the majority of the people in Gary are Negro and are behind this conference group.*

*Philadelphia, Pa. & Wilmington, Dela.*

*The delegate from Chester, Pa. assured all that Philadelphia and Wilmington will participate in the effort.*

*Hartford, Conn.*

*The delegate from Boston indicated that Hartford would support the effort and that this area is already planning something for February.*

*Indianapolis, Ind.*

*A delegate from Chicago indicated that the Social Action Council of Indianapolis would participate.*

*Cambridge, Md.*

*It was felt that Mrs. Richardson's group would support a multi-city boycott.*

*The meeting was recessed at 4:00 P.M. for supper.*

*The second part of the meeting addressed itself to the possibility of unifying as a multi-city group interested in educational and/or other problems whether or not a boycott could be organized in February. There followed lengthy discussion around this point. Some persons felt that those in attendance should not consider more than schools at this point. The representative of the Cleveland United Freedom Movement indicated that the power structure in that particular area is conservative and it is doubtful that his group would even participate in the boycott in February and less likelihood that they would be inclined to join a national organization. The Cleveland delegate is fully comitted to the effort personally, but was instructed before coming to this New York conference that he could not by any means commit the Cleveland people.*

*Individuals representing existing national groups were asked how they felt about the proposed permanent organization. The national CORE representative felt such an organization to be unnecessary; that what is needed at this point is to exchange ideas, plans, and in particular more concern for and work with people in the ghettoes. It was stated that the proposal would, however, be taken back to the CORE chapters for reaction.*

*Others present felt a permanent committee should be formed to coordinate all equal rights activities, structured only to do action and give mutual and community support. It was the feeling that the Negro people are discontented and want the job done. The delegate from Boston was for the idea of a permanent committee, and Chicago endorsed the idea of the formation of a permanent organization for direct action to end segregation in the public schools. Cleveland CORE indicated its support; SNCC appeared ready for formal or informal involvement. The representative of the National Lawyers Guild was certain his organization would commit itself to the proposed permanent group.*

*The prevailing opinion seemed to be that an informal organization could not do the job and that many things point to the need for a permanent group to transform some of the boycott activities into civic activities; that the power structure is so well organized and only through a formal coordinated effort can these people be confronted. It was then recommended that consideration be given to the formation of a permanent organization (representative of grass roots people) at the next meeting, for the purpose of communicating quickly, getting the facts, giving support and direct action to local communities altogether when possible. It was suggested that any name picked for the present group not be limited to the school issue and it was agreed that any title be left open to move as an organizational piece in the future.*

*Following the discussion it was moved that:*

*1) The members in this room support a multi-city boycott of public schools in February.*
*AMENDED to READ: a multi-city boycott to take place in the month of February with each city trying to choose a date as close as possible to the other city.*
*The amendment was seconded and voted.*

*2) A motion was made and seconded that a call be sent to everyone present and others over the signature of one individual for each organization represented.*

*It was suggested some thought be given to a February 11th national boycott: Chester, Boston and Chicago committed themselves to February 11; New York to February 3 (and/or February 11 - or a sympathy demonstration of support for the multi-city boycott); Boycotts in Philadelphia and Wilmington will take place sometime during the month of February; Cleveland undecided about boycott; CORE chapters will be asked whether they will support national boycott on February 11.*

It was proposed that the conference participants should establish themselves as a "Temporary Freedom Day Committee;" issue a call for another meeting in Chicago on January 25; take for the call something along the lines of the support statement written by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for multi-city boycott; and that the call be sent to everyone present with an invitation to bring others to the next meeting:-

"The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announces its support of a planned multi-city boycott of schools. This boycott, like the "Freedom Day" Boycott in Chicago last year, should serve to remind the nation as well as local school boards across the country that conditions in Negro schools North and South are still separate and unequal, as they have been since and before the Supreme Court's 1954 Decision, ten long years ago.

"Decent education is basic to our struggle. We are jim crowed first in the classroom in the first and second grades where overcrowding and poor facilities conspire to rob us of jobs and other opportunities in later life.

"Whether racial imbalance, the polite term for segregation, or simply the reluctance of school officials to admit and correct the deplorable conditions that exist in this nation's schools is at fault this situation must be remedied. We call upon all Americans and all groups working to improve America to join us and other sponsoring organizations to make the multi-city boycott a successful demonstration of Negro discontent."

A motion to adopt and edit the call was seconded and voted.

It was agreed that the conference participants constitute a loosely-knit organization in which each group is maintaining its own soverignty; that each one has committed himself individually to a boycott of schools in February, and agreed to meet in Chicago on January 25 to further plan things.

Appreciation was expressed for the fine work of the Acting Chairman. The meeting adjourned at approximately 6:00 P.M. with the singing of "We Shall Overcome" and prayer by the Chairman.

Respectfully Submitted

Mildred Roach

EXPLORATORY CONFERENCE OF PERSONS INTERESTED

Attendance Sheet

| Name | Organization |
|---|---|
| | CHICAGO |
| 1. Mr. Al Raby | Coordinating Council of Comm Organizations |
| 2. Mr. Lawrence Landry | Coordinating Council of Comm Organizations; Student Nonvi Coordinating Committee |
| 3. Mr. Nahaz Rogers | Negro American Labor Coun Packing House Workers |
| 4. Mr. Charles Fischer | Chicago Friends of SNCC |
| 5. Mr. Quentin Young | Freedom Day Committee of C Committee to End Discrimina Chicago Medical Institutions |
| | ATLANTA, GA |
| 6. Mr. John Lewis | Student Nonviolent Coordinati Committee |
| 7. Mr. James Bevel | Observer, Southern Christia Conference |
| | CLEVELAND, |
| 8. Rev. David L. Zuverink | Citizens' Committee to Suppo Schools; United Freedom Mo |
| 9. Miss Nancy Thomas | Congress on Racial Equality |
| | CHESTER, PENNA |
| 10. Mr. Stanley Branch | Committee for Freedom Now |
| 11. Mr. Frank Brooks | Committee for Freedom Now |
| 12. Mr. Nick Eagleson | Committee for Freedom Now |
| 13. Mrs. Lois Hobbs | Committee for Freedom Now |
| | BOSTON, MASS. |
| 14. Mr. Noel Day | Boston Freedom Schools; an Massachusetts Freedom Mov |

*STED IN NATIONAL SCHOOL BOYCOTT - January 12, 1964*
*heet*

| | Address | Telephone |
|---|---|---|
| Community | 343 South Dearborn, Rm1118 or 5026 Woodlawn Ave. | 373 - 0121 |
| Community Nonviolent | 6139 South Indiana | PL 2-8699 and 268-5077 |
| Council & | 7658 So. Rhodes Ave. | VI 6-0033 |
| C | 1316 E. Madison Park | LI 8-6477 |
| e of CCCO; rimination in tions | 1418 East 55th Street (15) | |
| , GA. | | |
| dination | 8 1/2 Raymond St., N.W. | 688-0331 |
| ristian | 334 Auburn Avenue | 524 - 1378 |
| ND, OHIO | | |
| Support Our m Movement | 9301 Columbia Ave. (8) | 681-3809 |
| ality | 11714 Phillips Ave. (8) | 851-9643 |
| ENNA. | | |
| Now | 513 Penn Street | TR 2-5867 |
| Now | 921 Edwards St. | TR 2-2798 |
| Now | Swarthmore College Swarthmore, Pa. or 135 E. 71st St., NYC | 215 KI 3-0200 |
| Now | 513 Penn Street - or 1317 Stewart Street | TR 2-5867 |
| SS. | | |
| s; and Movement | c/o St. Marks Social Center 216 Townsend Street Roxbury 21, Mass. | 4429808 (office) or 442 7622 |

*Exploratory Conference, January 12, 1964 - Att*

| | |
|---|---|
| | NEW |
| 15. Dr. Milton A. Galamison | Parents Workshop fo |
| 16. Miss Dorothy Lane | Parents' Workshop |
| 17. Mrs. Mildred Roach | Parents' Workshop |
| 18. Mrs. Thelma Hamilton | Parents' Workshop |
| 19. Rev. James McGraw | Ministers' Committe |
| 20. Rev. Carl McCall | Church Community S |
| 21. Mr. Oliver Leeds | B'klyn Congress of R |
| 22. Mrs. Velma Hill | National C.O.R.E |
| 23. Mr. Isaiah Robinson | Harlem Parents' Co |
| 24. Mrs. Annie Stein | Observer, American |
| 25. Miss Jo Ann Grant | SNCC |
| 26. Mr. Don Harris | SNCC |
| 27. Mrs. Julia Prettyman | SNCC |
| 28. Miss Penny Patch | SNCC |
| | LON |
| 29. Mr. Herman Ferguson | Rochdale Movement |
| 30. Mr. Merle Stewart | United Negro Improv |
| 31. John Silverberg, Esq. | National Lawyers' G<br>Observer, NAACP |
| 32. Mrs. Muriel Silverberg | Observer, NAACP |

-Attendance Sheet

NEW YORK

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| hop for Equality in NYC Schools - 260 Jefferson Ave. | Brooklyn, N.Y. | ST 9-7050 or PR 4-6431 |
| shop | 260 Jefferson Ave. or 1319 Bedford Ave., Bklyn | SL 6-0652 |
| shop | 334 Hawthorne St.-Bklyn | PR 4-6189 |
| shop | 260 Jefferson Ave. or 345 Dumont Ave., Bklyn | ST 9-7050 or DI 6-9391 |
| mittee - Brooklyn | 307 Warren Street, Bklyn | MA 4-3683 |
| nity Services-Bklyn | 1121 Bedford Ave., Bklyn | MA 2-1100 |
| s of Racial Equality | 319 Nostrand Ave. or 272 Van Buren St., Bklyn | UL 7-9200 GL 3-2731 |
| .E | 38 Park Row, N.Y.C. | CO 7-6270 |
| s' Committee | 40 West 135th St., NYC | AU 1-6333 |
| erican Jewish Congress | 372 Central Pk., W., NYC | RI 9-7086 |
| | 392 Central Pk., W., NYC | UN 5-8925 |
| | 2225 Fifth Ave., NYC | AU 6-2166 |
| | 156 Fifth Ave., NYC | YU 9-1313 |
| | 185 Maple St., Englewood, NJ | LO 7-6497 |
| LONG ISLAND, N.Y. | | |
| ment | 129-39 157th St. Jamaica 34, NY | FI 1-1285 |
| nprovement Assn. | 111-29 179th Place St. Albans, N.Y. | JA 3-6580 |
| rs' Guild; CP | 15 Park Row, NYC & 3360 21st St., L.I.C. | BE 3-7990 RA 1-6855 |
| CP | 3360 21st Street Long Island City, N.Y. | RA 1-6855 |

# Many Colleges Offer Extra Financial Aid To Recruit Negroes

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## Scholarship Picture Brightens In Houston; Princeton Calls Rivalry for Talent 'Intense'

WSJ ——— 1/29/64

By LAWRENCE LYNCH
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

LOS ANGELES—Benny Robinson, a senior with a B plus average at Jordan High School here, figures he will need financial help to get through college. Since Benny's parents both work, the most he could ordinarily expect would be a scholarship paying half his tuition, room, board and other educational expenses.

Benny's school counselors have told him, however, that at least two California universities will probably offer to foot his entire higher education bill. Ironically, the reason for this special consideration is the same one that might have made it harder for Benny to get into college a few years ago: Benny is a Negro.

Prodded by the stepped-up pace of the drive for civil rights, and their own liberal traditions, a number of Northern and Western colleges are becoming increasingly concerned about their small Negro enrollments. As a result, they're making special efforts, including offering extra financial aid, to recruit qualified Negro students.

Qualified Negro applicants, however, are few and far between, educators say. "The annual pool of young Negroes who are prepared to meet the educational standards of universities like Princeton is depressingly small," says Princeton President Robert F. Goheen. "And because there are so few of them, the competition among universities to enroll them is nowadays intense."

**Talent Scout**

Two years ago Princeton and the seven other Ivy League universities formed a "cooperative program for educational opportunity." They commissioned Charles E. McCarthy, Jr., a residence dean at Yale, to scout Eastern urban centers and Southern states for Negro high school seniors with academic ability. Last spring, seven Eastern women's colleges joined the program. Mr. McCarthy says a qualified Negro will get all the financial help he needs.

Mr. McCarthy's work and related efforts by individual schools seem to be paying off. Yale's freshman Negro enrollment increased to 12 last fall from six the year before; Princeton's jumped to 10 from "two or three" over the same period. Wellesley College, one of the women's schools participating in the program, last fall brought in nine Negro coeds from Southern Negro colleges to spend their junior year at its Massachusetts campus.

Interest in Negro students goes well beyond these 15 schools. The National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS) reports the number of colleges accepting its applicants increased to 353 from 319 in the last two years. NSSFNS helps Negro high school students decide where to go to college, passes along their records to interested schools and helps them win financial aid.

Richard L. Plaut, president of the services, says such Southern schools as Davidson College, Duke University and Tulane University have asked for NSSFNS applicants for the first time within the last year. He adds that the number of schools awarding scholarships to the service's applicants climbed to 214 from 186 over the last two years.

**Pick and Choose**

Many top-ranking Negro high school seniors this spring will be able to pick and choose among scholarship offers. John E. Codwell, principal of all-Negro Jack Yates Senior High School in Houston, expects that most students in the top 10% of the present senior class will get scholarship offers from at least two colleges and all students in the top 5% will get offers from at least three schools.

Some colleges are trying to develop more qualified Negro applicants by encouraging them early in their high school careers. Admissions officers from seven Southern California colleges will visit four predominantly Negro Los Angeles high schools this spring, mainly to try convincing Negro 9th and 10th graders that scholarship money is plentiful for students with high marks.

Princeton, Dartmouth College and Oberlin College are setting up summer sessions for selected students in the early stages of secondary education; the students are from low income families and most will be Negroes. The programs, operating under $150,000 Rockefeller Foundation grants, will test whether intensive study can help students overcome inadequate educational backgrounds and prepare for college.

New York Times March 5, 1964

# INTEGRATION SUIT WON IN MISSISSIPPI

## 3 School Boards Told to Plan Fall Desegregation

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., March 4—United States District Judge Sidney Mize told three Mississippi school boards today to submit school-desegregation plans for the term beginning next September.

It was the first integration order for schools below the college level in Mississippi, the only state that has not complied in some degree with the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling was considered a signif-

Derrick A. Bell Jr., attorney for 64 Negro plaintiffs, said the ruling was considered a significant breakthrough in efforts by civil rights organizations to dissolve the rigid segregation that exists in this state.

"We still have a long way to go, even in this case," Mr. Bell said. "But this opinion appears to be designed to bring the school boards into compliance with the law of the land on a peaceful and orderly basis."

There were indications, too, that state officials may be planning to submit to the order rather than close the schools concerned or put up a show of resistance, as was done in 1962 when the University of Mississippi was ordered integrated.

Judge Mize called for integration of at least one grade a year, beginning next September, in Jackson, Biloxi and rural Leake County, the former home of ex-Gov. Ross R. Barnett. Judge Mize acted after the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit overruled his earlier decision that the cases should be dismissed until remedies were sought in the state courts.

His order today calls for the three boards involved to submit integration plans by July 15. The order, however, is temporary. Judge Mize will hear the case on its merits beginning May 18.

But the Court of Appeals made a clear decision on Feb. 13 that the state cannot continue to argue that segregation is purely voluntary.

"The Mississippi Constitution requires the maintenance of separate schools for white and colored people," the court said. It continued:

"Moveover, (state law) forbids the attendance of any member of the white race with Negro children in any public school of high school level or below on the pain of fine, imprisonment or both. And it is precisely because of this state-enforced segregation of schools under Mississippi law that the District Court erred in dismissing the complaint."

In view of this decision, state officials were reported to be quietly agreeable to an integration plan consistent with today's order.

"It is felt that integrating a grade a year under the supervision of Judge Mize is better than throwing it back to the Fifth Circuit," an informed source said.

For several years Mississippi has been prepared to close any public school faced with integration. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who succeeded Mr. Barnett two months ago, is authorized under law to close schools individually or collectively.

Mr. Johnson has surprised the state with his moderation on the race issue since he took office.

Governor Johnson is expected to be put under strong pressure of white Citizens Council dealers to close schools and set up a private system rather than submit to integration.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, Monday, March 16, 1964

# U.S. Requests School Desegregation Order Against State Rather Than Local Officials

By JOSEPH D. MATHEWSON
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department for the first time asked a Federal court to require a state to take positive steps to desegregate all its public schools. Although the request concerned only Alabama, there were indications in the Government brief that the same legal approach, if accepted by the courts, could be used in most other states.

The principal reason for requesting a desegregation order aimed at Alabama state officials rather than local ones, the Justice Department said, was that Gov. Wallace and the state school board last fall took control of individual local schools in an effort to head off court-ordered desegregation. And the department went on to contend that even without this intervention Alabama law gives state officials "sufficient authority over each school district to make them proper subjects to a decree that is state-wide in its scope," and "the supervisory hierarchy of Alabama's educational system is not significantly different from that of most states."

The brief asserted specifically that Louisiana, Virginia and Delaware, where Federal courts have decided school desegregation suits, have school systems much like Alabama's, controlled primarily from the state level. In the Delaware case, it was noted, the court not only held the state responsible for local segregation but actually ordered state officials to take steps toward state-wide desegregation. This judgment was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. So the state-wide approach has already been applied once, although in that instance it wasn't requested by the Justice Department.

**Supreme Court Opinion**

In its Alabama brief, the Justice Department also relied on a 1958 opinion of the Supreme Court. It said that, as a result of the 1954 decision that separate-but-equal schools are unconstitutional, "state officials were thus duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system. . . . State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the (14th) Amendment's command that no state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The Supreme Court may well be asked to make the final decision in the Alabama case if state-wide desegregation is ordered by the three-judge district court in Montgomery. Such a ruling probably wouldn't be accepted as final by Alabama officials without a Supreme Court appeal, which could be sought directly from the district court.

Even if the courts order desegregation of all Alabama schools, there's no indication yet that the Justice Department would press for similar requirements in other states. Department officials noted that the idea of a state-wide desegregation order was suggested by the district court, which asked the state, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, representing Negro children in the suit, and the Federal Government, as a friend of the court, to file briefs stating their views on whether such a directive should be issued.

One official commented further that even the court "really didn't have any choice. The state-wide question came up because Gov. Wallace directly interfered with the assignment of pupils in the local school district."

However, even if the Justice Department maintains this cautious view, state-wide desegregation ordered in Alabama would encourage Negroes and civil rights groups to ask for similar broad action in other states. School desegregation suits are brought by individuals, although the pending civil rights bill would also give the Government limited authority to sue.

The schools involved in the Alabama case are those in Macon County. Last summer, the Federal court ordered 12 Negroes admitted to the all-white high school in Tuskegee, and the county superintendent of education, C. A. Pruitt, carefully prepared students, teachers and parents for peaceful desegregation. But unexpectedly on the first school day in September Gov. Wallace surrounded the building with state troopers and kept out all students and teachers. Federal judges forbad the use of state troopers, so Mr. Wallace called out National Guardsmen. They were quickly nationalized and ordered away by President Kennedy.

This took a week, producing bitterness and destroying Superintendent Pruitt's preparation. When the Negroes finally entered the school, all the white students boycotted it. In January, the state board of education, of which the governor is president, closed the school. The Federal court then ordered the Negroes admitted to the all-white high schools in nearby Shorter and Notasulga, and these were promptly boycotted by all their white students. Many of the white students transferred to an all-white private school, Macon Academy, newly established with Gov. Wallace's blessing.

The Justice Department contended in its brief that the state's officials, by these and other acts designed to maintain segregated education, asserted "plenary authority over the Macon County School Board" and "demonstrated their plenary authority over all local school boards." Therefore, the department asserted, "the court may order them to exercise that authority to abolish Alabama's segregated school system."

**'Authorized Involvement'**

But even without these recent acts, the department asserted, a state-wide desegregation order is legally proper in this case because of the "state board's authorized involvement in practically every aspect of local public school education and the state board's continuous participation in the operation of segregated schools through Alabama."

According to the Government brief, the state provides most of the funds for operation and construction of the public schools, prescribes "minimum contents of courses of study," adopts rules and regulations covering school construction, school sanitation and students' physical examinations, trains and certifies teachers, exercises "a broad power of review over actions of local boards and officers" and is authorized to make rules "to meet emergencies."

These powers have been used to maintain school segregation, the Justice Department argued, and thus "the state-level defendants are the appropriate officials to at least initiate and then supervise its undoing." The department didn't propose specific steps or any time schedule but suggested that the state might be required to draw up desegregation plans, withhold funds for school construction or other programs designed for one race only and transfer some state school funds from segregated institutions to those that are desegregating.

In addition to requesting the state-wide desegregation order, the Justice Department asked the court to declare unconstitutional the state's payment of tuition grants to private segregated schools and the present application of the state's pupil placement law, which the department contended is being used to perpetuate segregation.

The tuition-grant law was attacked on the ground that it provides aid only when public school education is "unavailable." If public schools are closed to avoid integration, the Justice Department argued, the state cannot legally substitute a system of private schools that also are segregated. A similar legal attack was made by the Government on Virginia's tuition grants to private segregated schools in Prince Edward County, where public schools were closed to avoid court-ordered desegregation. That case is before the Supreme Court.

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# City Schools

By Patricia Cayo Sexton

Abstract: Though other issues exist, the basic issues and problems in city schools arise from a conflict of interests between haves and have-nots. Race appears as a subdimension of the larger problem. The major contours of this engagement are seen at the federal level where the power exists to make governing decisions about school financing and in state government where conservative and usually anticity interests dominate. It is seen in a dimmer but far more explosive form in the city itself where have-nots, mainly Negroes, are pressing demands for school equity. Class lines are somewhat redrawn within liberal city governments and school systems. Negro demands give the illusion that the issue is strictly racial although, in fact, the educational and political interests of other have-not and liberal leadership groups run parallel and converge more often than they diverge.

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TO talk about urban education is to talk about an old fallen phrase in such disrepute during two postwar decades that it has hidden out from scholarly journals like a furtive sex criminal. The phrase "class struggle" now appears in black tie and softened aliases as "slum and suburb," "inequalities," problems of the "disadvantaged," of the "culturally deprived," of "integration." However Americanized or blurred the new image may appear, the basic fact seems simple enough: a remarkable "class struggle" now rattles our nation's schools and the scene of sharpest conflict is the city. Southern cities—and New York—were the scenes of first eruptions, but now almost every northern city, and many suburbs, are feeling the new tremors.

A high-ranking official in New Rochelle, New York put it in these words: "It's not just race in our schools . . . it's class warfare!" Class conflict, of course, is not the only issue in city schools. There is ethnic conflict and the special status of Negroes—and of Puerto Ricans and other identifiable groups—at the bottom end of the ladder and the special Rickover pressure-cooked conformism and prestige-college frenzy at the upper end.[1] Nor are the sides in the conflict always clearly formed. But, usually, when the chaff and wheat are separated, what is left is the "haves" in one pile and "have-nots" in another, with some impurities in each—middle-class white "liberals," for example, who support some Negro demands and white have-nots who oppose them. Banfield and Wilson claim four important cleavages in city politics: (1) haves and have-nots, (2) suburbanites and the central city, (3) ethnic and racial groups, (4) political parties.[2] A reduction to more basic outlines might show that the first category would, with some slippage, cover the other three. Indeed, the authors acknowledge as much when they say: "These tend to cut across each other and, in general, to become one fundamental cleavage separating two opposed conceptions of the public interest."[3] When they refer to ". . . The fundamental cleavage between the public-regarding Anglo-Saxon Protestant, middle-class ethos and the private-regarding lower-class, immigrant ethos," they seem to refer, though the phrase is unspoken, to one aspect of the class struggle.[4]

Other major urban school issues exist—finances, bureaucracy, and the unionization of teachers, among others—and may seem, on the surface, unrelated to class conflict. At second glance, the shortage of school funds can be seen as a product of the antitax ideology of haves. The behemoth bureaucracies may be seen everywhere as more accessible to and influenced by haves, and the decentralization of administration—to which New York's Superintendent Gross and others have devoted themselves—may be seen as a partial response to the growing arousal of have-not groups. The unionization of city

[1] Rickover supporters in the Council on Basic Education voice some misgivings about the Admiral's program to restrict higher education to an elite.

[2] Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press and MIT Press, 1963).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 329. Their ascription of a "public-regarding" ethos to the middle class and a "private-regarding" one to the "lower class" seems an extraordinary and questionable reversal of the usual association of the middle class with private efforts and the lower class with public efforts. It is most puzzling when contrasted with their summary statement: "If in the old days [of lower class ward politics] specific material inducements were illegally given as bribes to favored individuals, now much bigger ones are legally given to a different class of favored individuals . . ." (p. 340).

teachers may be seen as a response to the hitherto rather rigid conservative control of school systems and the new thrust of liberalism in the cities and the schools, released by have-not votes and agitation, as well as a defense against the difficult conditions in have-not schools.[8]

### LEVELS OF CONFLICT

The class struggle in the schools and the struggle for power which is part of it are carried on at many levels. In some cases, it seems least visible under the spotlight—on the school boards. Through liberal and have-not activity, some city school boards are now composed of middle-class moderates who are more inclined to represent the educational interests of have-nots than were their more conservative predecessors. Some big-city boards, as New York's, seem exemplary public servants, superior in purpose and competence to higher political bodies. Their efforts on behalf of have-nots are limited by several personal as well as external characteristics: they are haves, a quality that usually though not invariably limits zeal and identity with have-nots; they are moderates in contrast to those leading the more militant have-not groups. Among the limits set by school systems are: (1) the traditional conservative reluctance of boards to interfere in the operations of the bureaucracy: (2) the inertia and resistance of the bureaucracy to pressure from the board; (3) the usual tendency to become defensive of "their system" and to take criticisms of the system as personal affronts; (4) influences from middle-class interests which are usually more insistent and weighty than have-not pressure; (5) interference from outside groups—such as the unprecedented threat of the Northcentral Association to withdraw accreditation from the Chicago schools if the school board insisted on a step which forced Superintendent Willis into further desegregation. The external limits on the situation, however, seem more determining: (1) the difficulty of the job to be done, (2) the lack of sufficient money to do the job.

Services to have-nots within the city system, therefore, are limited by these conservative factors: (1) the moderate position of most liberal board members and the insufficiency of zeal or identification to drive home the grievances of have-nots: (2) conservatism and resistance within the bureaucracy: (3) conservative influence which acts to shut off funds to the schools.

In the movement of the class struggle from one end of the continuum, where a small elite holds total power, to the other extreme, where have-nots share proportionate influence, there are many points of compromise, and public officials tend to pursue ever more liberal ends and means. The white liberals who sit on some city boards may begin to push for more rapid change or may be replaced soon by representatives who will.

The claim that the city and its school system are so constrained by outside conservatism, especially at the state level, that they can do little seems largely true, though partially exaggerated. Too often outside interference is made an excuse for inertia. City schools have not given adequate service to have-nots largely because the have-

[8] In New York and Chicago especially, the popular political issues of "bossism" and "machine politics" have been referred to the school arena. In New York, 110 Livingston Street (the Board of Education headquarters) has appeared to many as the school equivalent of "city hall," the one place you "can't beat" and with which you often cannot even communicate. Now a proposal is being considered to divide the city schools into several fairly autonomous geographic units in order to scatter the shots at "city hall" and provide easier access.

nots were underrepresented in decision-making positions. As cities go, New York's school board seems unusually enlightened, appointed as it is by a relatively responsive mayor and served by two unusually alert citizen groups—the Public Education Association and the United Parents Association. Yet a nine-member board includes only one Negro and no Puerto Rican, although these groups together compose 40 per cent of the city's public school enrollment. Nor is there any blue-collar worker or person of modest means or position on the board, but, then, such individuals are rare specimens on city boards. One trade unionist, himself a university graduate and member of a professional union, sits on the board. Of some 777 top officials in the system—board members, superintendents, and principals—it appears that only six are Negroes, 0.8 per cent of the total.[6]

Although it is sometimes asserted that the interest-group identity of board members does not affect their decision-making, what may be more nearly the case, given present knowledge of group dynamics, is that the group interests of the lone have-not representative may be submerged in a board's moderate consensus.

Perhaps the "equality lag" within city systems may be more directly attributable to deficiencies in have-not organization than to lack of good faith among liberals and board members. Many cities could nearly be "possessed" by Negroes who approach a majority in some cases, but Negroes do not vote their numerical strength and may be evicted from the city limits by urban renewal before they catch up with their potential. Nor do labor unions use their full authority in school affairs. A major weakness of have-nots is their limited understanding of power, who has it and how to get it; they also lack the time, money, and organization often needed to purchase it.[7]

[6] Daniel Griffiths and Others, *Teacher Mobility in New York City* (New York, 1963).

### BEYOND THE CITY LIMITS

Local class conflict seems only a dim reflection of a larger conflict. The main drama of class conflict and thrust of conservatism are seen in full dimension in a larger arena—at the federal and state levels. The national scene cannot be ignored in any consideration of the city school situation. Only at this level does there appear a possibility of releasing the funds needed to support high-quality education and the high-level job opportunity that goes with it. The claim that federal aid to education is the *only* school issue and that other concerns are simply distractions is given substantial support by any cursory study of city school budgets and revenue limitations.[8]

Nationally, the conflict seems shaped by at least two major factors:

(1) The congressional system is biased against have-nots and their representatives. The bias results from at

[7] Banfield and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 282: "Organized labor—even if it includes in its ranks the majority of all the adult citizens in the community—is generally regarded as a 'special interest' which must be 'represented'; businessmen, on the other hand, are often regarded, not as 'representing business' as a 'special interest,' but as serving the community as a whole. Businessmen, in Peter Clark's term, often are viewed as 'symbols of civic legitimacy.' Labor leaders rarely have this symbolic quality, but must contend with whatever stigma attaches to being from a lower-class background and associated with a special-interest group. . . . Labor is handicapped not only by having imputed to it less civic virtue but also by a shortage of money and organizational skills."

[8] This seems to suggest that social scientists could much more profitably study the political mechanisms by which such aid could be released rather than the often esoteric and "academic" studies of culture, personality, and the like which now tend overly to occupy many who are concerned with have-nots.

least two forms of conservative manipulation: (a) manipulation of rural and small-town interests, North and South, and, through them, congressional apportionment and votes; (b) the additional manipulation of southern rural conservatism—which is given unusual congressional power by the committee seniority system—through the exchange of votes on the race issue.

The superior effective power of haves at this top level serves to block federal legislation in general but specifically those measures that might ensure rapid economic growth through federal expenditures, full employment, and the extension of power to have-nots—measures that would give significant relief to the city's distress. More directly revelant, it has blocked any substantial aid to urban areas and held up the transfer of political power from rural to urban areas.[9]

Moreover, largely by the manipulation of conflicting religious interests, this coalition has prevented the passage of the federal aid that seems indispensable to urban schools. At the same time, it has continued, through extension programs, copious aid to rural education.

(2) Seriously deprived have-nots have failed to enter their full power into the political arena.

## THE STATE

If direct federal aid seems distant and the aid formula unlikely to provide much assistance to the cities, fiscal aid from the state may be closer at hand, depending upon how quickly reapportionment will be enforced in the states. New York City received $197 in school aid for each student in its public schools in 1961–1962, while the average in the rest of the state was $314. Miami, Florida paid $47 million in state taxes in one recent year and got back only $1.5 million in grants-in-aid. With sympathetic legislatures, cities may be able to call on other revenues, including an income tax on suburbanites working in the city such as has been adopted in Philadelphia and Detroit.

## INEQUALITIES

The consequences of local, state, and national class conflict are seen in the school inequalities and class-biased training given to children even within the most liberal city systems. Only in the past few years has the concern of some unionists, academicians, liberals, and many Negroes brought the full range of inequities to public attention. The "spoils" of the city school, limited as they are by outside controls, are usually divided according to the crude formula "them as has gets." Only now in some cities is there any insistence on the more radical "compensatory" formula—"to each according to need."

Documentary evidence about class inequalities, past and present, is now weighty. My own study of one large city school system, *Education and Income*, describes the various forms of class inequities within one system.[10] I will refer here only to a few facts about Chicago and New York (not the cities of my study). In 1955, following Dr. Kenneth Clark's demand for attention to Negro schools, an "outside" study found that Negro and Puerto Rican schools in New York City were generally inferior to "Other" schools.[11] In a group of Negro and Puerto Rican schools (the *X* Group), 50.3 per cent of teach-

[9] The assumption that a proper apportioning of representatives, giving a proper share to the city's suburban areas, will result in an accretion of power to haves may not be warranted inasmuch as have-nots are also being rapidly suburbanized yet, contrary to expectation, seem to be maintaining their political identity.

[10] Patricia Cayo Sexton, *Education and Income* (New York: Viking Press, 1961).

[11] *The Status of the Public School Education of Negro and Puerto Rican Children in New York City*, October, 1953.

ers were on tenure, compared to 78.2 per cent in the "Other" group (the *Y* Group); 18.1 per cent in the *X* group and only 8.3 per cent in the *Y* group were "permanent substitutes." On the average, facilities in Group *X* schools were older, less adequate, and more poorly maintained than *Y* schools. The costs of operating *Y* schools were higher than costs in *X* schools. Though the New York Board of Education now claims that Negro and Puerto Rican schools are equal or superior to "Other" schools, Dr. Kenneth Clark still says Harlem schools reflect "a consistent pattern of criminal neglect."

In the absence of cost-accounting, comparative expenditures in have and have-not schools in New York cannot be checked. Certainly efforts are being made by New York schools to provide better education for deprived minorities, especially in "certain" schools where extra services tend to be overconcentrated, but the schools still do not seem to approach full equality, and the cost estimates do not measure the *full* cost of education—the differences in nursery and kindergarten education, the last two years of high school missed by the low-income dropout, and the costs of higher education—not to mention the low-quality and segregated "ability" tracks into which have-not children are often placed.

Though New York permitted an outside study of school inequalities in 1954, the Chicago Superintendent of Schools, Benjamin Willis, has only in the past year agreed to a three-man study committee of which he will be a member. In 1962 John E. Coons, Northwestern University law professor, prepared for the United States Commission on Civil Rights a report on segregated schools in Chicago.[12] Ten schools in each of three groups were selected—white, integrated, Negro—and the findings were as follows:

| 1961–1962 | White | Integrated | Negro |
|---|---|---|---|
| Number of pupils per classrooms | 30.95 | 34.95 | 46.8 |
| Appropriation per pupil | $342 | $320 | $269 |
| Number of uncertified teachers | 12% | 23% | 27% |
| Average number of books per pupil | 5.0 | 3.5 | 2.5 |

In 1963 a *Handbook of Chicago School Segregation* claimed that 1961 appropriations for school operating expenses were almost 25 per cent greater per pupil in white than in Negro schools, that teacher salaries were 18 per cent higher, that nonteaching operating expenses—clerical and maintenance, salaries, supplies, textbooks—were 50 per cent higher, and that only 3 per cent of Chicago's Negro population finishes college.[13]

The reluctance of Chicago schools to move as far as New York on the race issue seems to derive from at least these sources: (1) the centralization of power in the Chicago system, parallel to the centralization of civic power in the person of the mayor; (2) the praise of Dr. Conant—probably the most influential person in American education—for Mr. Willis and the Chicago method and his concurrent criticism of the New York method; (3) the presence in New York of large numbers of unusually concerned and articulate white middle-class liberals; (4) the inordinate influence in Chicago schools and civic affairs of State Street, tax-conscious financial interests; (5) the past failures of have-not organization in Chicago.

[12] John E. Coons, *Civil Rights USA, Chicago, 1962*, A Report to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

[13] *Handbook of Chicago School Segregation, 1963*, compiled and edited by the Education Committee, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, August 1963.

An example of influential conservatism in relation to have-nots and the schools is seen in this passage from the Chicago *Tribune:* "Let's Throw the Slobs out of School":[14]

> The ignoramuses have had their chance. It is time to make them responsible for their actions. . . . Sweep through the school house with a fiery broom. Remove the deadwood, the troublemakers, the no-goods, the thugs. . . .
>
> [The teacher can tell on the first day] which students are the dissatisfied, the misfits, the illitearate [*sic*], undeserving, *non compos* nincompoops.
>
> We have become the victims of the great transcendental fraud, a deceit put upon us by a generation of psychiatrists, guidance counselors, and psychologists, none of whom spends any more time in the classroom dealing with these apes than he has to.

Despite the fact that median income in Chicago is higher than in New York, Chicago in one recent year spent $410 per pupil while New York spent $761.52.[15]

Inequalities and the compensatory formula now being advocated—reverse inequality—produce only one kind of conflict, one which may be more easily resolved than other disputes because it involves simply the redistribution of money. The "concept" of equality itself seems far less susceptible to change—the notion that, with proper attention, the abilities of have-not children may prove roughly equal to those of haves and that, therefore, they should not be separated, sent off at an early age on different tracks, or given disproportionate access to higher education.

In New York City, fiscal inequality, segregation, and the "concept" of inequality resulted in the following racial distribution of recent graduating classes in New York's special high schools for "gifted children" drawn from the whole city:

| | Negroes | Puerto Ricans | Others |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bronx High School of Science | 14 | 2 | 863 |
| Stuyvesant High School | 23 | 2 | 629 |
| High School of Music and Art | 45 | 12 | 638 |
| Brooklyn Technical School | 22 | 6 | 907 |

In one recent year, Negroes and Puerto Ricans were about 14 per cent of the graduating class in the city's academic high schools and about 50 per cent in the city's vocational high schools. In the vocational schools, Negroes and Puerto Ricans tend to be heavily concentrated in inferior manual trade schools and seriously underrepresented in the technical schools. For example, in a class of 361 in the aviation school (a high-level technical schools), 26 were Negroes, 51 were Puerto Ricans, 284 were "Others." In the class at the New York printing school, 4 were Negroes, 16 were Puerto Ricans, and 183 were "Others." At the Clara Barton school for hospital workers, Negroes were a clear majority. Vocational schools have been "tightening standards" recently and sending minorities to "academic" schools where, if neglected, they may be no better off.

### Higher Education

A developing conflict centers on higher education. Though ethnic records are not kept, one expert estimate is that

[14] Reprint from *Chicago Tribune Magazine,* "Let's Throw the Slobs out of School," as it appears in *Human Events,* September 21, 1963, a weekly magazine distributed to social-studies classes in schools throughout the nation.

[15] While 21.3 per cent of Chicago's population have incomes over $10,000 annually, only 18.5 per cent of New Yorkers are in this category. In Chicago, 26.3 per cent of whites are in this bracket and only 8.7 per cent of Negroes; at the same time, 9.9 per cent of whites and 28.4 per cent of Negroes have incomes less than $3,000 per year.

about 2 per cent of students at the University of the City of New York (formerly the city's free colleges) are Negro. One branch of the University is located at the edge of Harlem and is more integrated and accessible to Negroes than other branches, yet less than 5 per cent Negro enrollment is reported there.

In New York, Negroes tend to fall between the free city colleges and the dominant and expensive private universities (New York University, Columbia, and their like). They can neither qualify for the former nor afford the latter. Needs tests are not applied to city-college admissions, and free tuition is extended to the affluent with an 85 high school average and denied the impoverished with an 84 average; enrollments are reported to be now predominantly middle class.[16]

Some critics now say that the only equitable system of tuition charges, in all types of institutions, is a sliding scale based on ability to pay. New York does not have a single state university; what is called the University of the State of New York is simply a scattered collection, mainly in nonurban areas, of teachers colleges, agricultural schools, a few technical schools.[17] Recently, the state gave a 40 per cent subsidy to New York's city colleges, converted by some graduate offerings into the University of the City of New York. The importance of federal funds to education is seen in federal research and development investments in California and the pervading effect such funds have had in underwriting and stimulating growth of educational institutions there.

New York City's effort through the years to provide free college education and to compensate for the void at the state level has been extraordinary. No other city appears to have made any comparable effort. Still the city seems not to have deployed its college resources equitably, and the gathering debate over the city colleges suggests a conflict of view—or interest—between the city's have-nots and its numerous liberal middle class.[18]

The compilation and release of information about ethnic and social class enrollments in institutions of higher education, as well as the postsecondary experiences of students, appear to be the first step out of the college inequities which have, in turn, imposed inequities on lower educational levels. Equality of opportunity in higher education will probably come only through a national network of community colleges—low in cost and located within easy commuting distance—and available to all "average"-or-above students who want further education.[19] Perhaps

[16] A recent admissions change at the city university from sole reliance on high school averages to inclusion of college boards scores is expected further to lighten the skin of enrollees. The Board of Higher Education, however, is now discussing a change of admissions standards to accommodate more Negroes.

[17] California spent $33 million on community and junior colleges in 1961–1962 and $214 million on other types of higher education. New York State spent $5.7 million on community and junior colleges and $111 million on other types of higher education. M. M. Chambers, Joint Office of Institutional Research, "Appropriations of State Funds for Operating Expenses of Higher Education, 1961–62." Washington, D. C., January 1962.

[18] None of the New York Board of Education's three community colleges (where admissions standards are such that Negroes can, and often do, qualify) are located in Negro areas. One is now scheduled for Manhattan, but the tentative location is between 23rd and 42nd streets, a white area—one of the few in Manhattan. One high ranking public-school official is quoted as saying "the municipal colleges are not equipped to operate vestibule courses for students who have to be civilized."

[19] The so-called "Russell Report" (Columbia Teachers College) to the Michigan legislature reported that the college enrollments by area rose and fell in proportion to the distance from the state's colleges.

Britain's proposed experiment with televised university instruction will provide an alternative, or supplementary model, to the community college.

## CLASS AND ETHNIC ROLES

Within the city itself, at least these elements seem to have some separate, though often overlapping, identity: (1) Negroes; (2) labor unions; (3) white have-nots; (4) white liberals; (5) the Jewish community; (6) the Catholic community; (7) business organizations and their allies in city silk-stocking areas.

The roles and activities of these groups in relation to the schools have never been adequately defined, but impressionistic observation seems to indicate the following outlines: The main white support for civil rights in the past several decades has unquestionably come from the leadership within the labor and Jewish communities—with some major assists from middle-class liberal and church groups, particularly in the last several years. The rank-and-file within the labor-union and Jewish communities, more personally threatened by Negroes, have tended to lag some distance behind on civil rights.[20]

In the schools, the class and ethnic lines are distinct, even though less clearly drawn than in the larger community. Some political allies of Negroes have been largely outside the school conflict: unions and large numbers of white have-nots, notably the Poles, Italians, and Irish who have tended to use parochial schools. Some feel it is fortunate that these have-not groups have tended to be outside the public school controversy; others feel that the parochial-public school separation has worked hardships on the public schools and delayed a crisis that would, in the long run, be beneficial to the public schools. Union leaders have been less involved in the schools than in other political affairs because of what seems to be a rather basic alienation from the schools and frequently because of their own parochial background. They have, however, supported school expansion, improvement, financing, and their organized political power, as in New York, has given important direct assistance to the schools and to the claims of Negroes on the schools.

The organized business community has traditionally opposed tax increases for public education, the leadership in these groups usually residing in the suburbs where they have provided ample funds for good schools. Powerful real-estate groups have opposed property taxes as well as school and housing integration. The "swing" group has been the Jewish community and, to some extent, the white liberal. The Jewish community, even middle and upper income, has consistently given solid support to the public schools,[21] but its own heavy stress on education and the fact that it is one of the largest remaining white middle-class groups within many cities have produced some ambivalence in its role and some conflict in unexpected places. The con-

[20] On general political and economic issues, class lines seem quite clearly drawn: Negroes, unions, white have-nots, and a preponderance of the Jewish community appear on the have-not side, and the organized business, middle-class, and upper-class groups on the have side. Strangely, perhaps, and to some large extent understandably, Negroes chose two groups closest to them politically for their first-line offense: unions and the Jewish community. Both were vulnerable, having made continuing proclamations, accompanied by considerable effort, on behalf of equality and brotherhood, yet having done much less than their best to provide equality for Negroes within their own jurisdictions.

[21] In Detroit, a recent school-tax election was won, informed observers report, by majorities rolled up in the Negro and Jewish precincts.

frontation of these two allies in the city public schools is a source of growing distress to both groups. Because the Jewish community has tended to remain in the city and to use the public schools, it is generally contiguous, geographically and empathically, with the Negro community and located in the middle of the integration cross fire.[22] Negroes point to Jewish predominance in the "better" high schools, the top "ability" groups, the free city colleges, and in public school administration. In many of the "integrating" areas of the city, the two groups have joined in open conflict, though in other areas they have integrated without friction. Thus, the Jewish community, because it has not fled like others from the city, often finds itself in the same situation as the labor movement with regard to Negroes: competition within a family of mutual interest for a scarcity of opportunities—in the schools in one case and in the job market in the other.[23] Perhaps for this reason, among others, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has been a particularly sensitive target.[24]

[22] If the Jewish community is represented in the schools in proportion to its numbers in the population (one quarter of the New York population), then together with Negroes and Puerto Ricans (40 per cent) it would represent at least 65 per cent of public school enrollments.

[23] On the nine-man New York City school board, three representatives are traditionally selected for each of the three religious communities: Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. Though the Jewish community is represented by three board members, plus a Jewish-Unitarian superintendent of schools, the Negro and Puerto Rican communities, who constitute 40 per cent of the public school population, have only one representative (a Negro) on the board.

[24] The Negro struggle seems to have an interacting effect on other have-not groups. In Detroit, the civil-rights movement is supported by the auto workers' union. In battle-torn Chicago, where the class struggle appears in its more primitive form, unembellished by

### ACCULTURATION AND INTEGRATION

The urban schools now confront the most difficult task they have attempted. Never before has a major *racial* minority been integrated into a nation's school or society. In fact, such integration within a dominantly non-Latin European population is unprecedented in history, the Soviets having settled their racial affairs by geographic separation.

The urban school, whose heavy job has always been the acculturation of immigrant and foreign-speaking ethnic groups, is now taking its first large bite of racial acculturation, as a giant reptile tries to swallow a whole animal. The city is accustomed to educating the immigrant: In New York City in 1960, 48.6 per cent of the population was either foreign-born or had at least one foreign-born parent; in Chicago, the figure was 35.9; in Detroit, 32.2; in San Francisco, 43.5. But the Negro group is unique in these respects: (1) it is the largest "immigrant" group of low-income, public-school-using Protestants (many other recent immigrations having skirted the public schools); (2) it is the first large racial minority to come to the city schools and the first large group with non-Western origins; (3) it has had a unique history of educational and social deprivation.

The active demand of Negro parents for integration perhaps cannot be fully appeased. Negro—and Puerto Rican—

righteous platitudes, the school board seems to have had two lone dissenters on equality and class issues: a steelworker representative (the only unionist on the board) and a Negro (another Negro member has consistently voted with the more conservative majority). The civil-rights drive, however, comes at a time when white workers feel insecure about jobs and their place in society and fear Negro competition in an already glutted job market. In areas of the nation where white have-nots are not organized (as in the South) and therefore do not have this broad view, racial conflict among have-nots is maximum.

students are approaching a majority in many city public schools and any demand for total, one-for-one integration —which few would make—may be impossible in view of the increasing shortage of white public school students. Rather large-scale integration seems possible, however, as New York City is now beginning to demonstrate. Perhaps the issue will finally be settled by integrated urban renewal, or by setting up superschools and superservices in Negro areas—such as the Amidon school in Washington, D. C.—that will attract white students into Negro areas. Mainly, the urban school integration movement has served the latent function of calling attention to Negro education and arousing concern over the quality of Negro schools. The hope is held by many that, if Negro schools are improved, Negroes will not be so eager to integrate.

Among the newer racial demands in urban schools are: (1) compensatory treatment to balance past inequities; (2) "reverse" integration of schools and the busing of whites into Negro schools in order to "equalize" sacrifice (in New York, the demand has been for compulsory busing of both groups; on this most controversial point, Dr. Kenneth Clark has objected that Harlem schools are not fit either for Negroes or for whites and that busing should be "out" only); (3) heterogeneous grouping to scatter Negroes throughout the school population in any given school, rather than segregating them into slow-moving, homogeneous "ability" groups. In New York City and elsewhere, homogeneous grouping has proceeded so far that children in some places are "ability grouped" in kindergarten, based on whether or not they have been to nursery school; these groups, starting almost in the cradle, tend to perpetuate themselves throughout the child's school life.

## SOME WAYS OUT

In this author's view, major breakthroughs in urban education may come via any or all of the numerous possible routes.

Outside the school, the possibilities include: (1) a political break-through of have-nots at the congressional and state legislative levels; (2) increasing civil-rights activity and pressure; (3) organization of have-nots at the following levels: political community, ethnic (civil rights), on the job (union), out of a job (unemployed); (4) federal aid programs—either through direct federal aid or around this bottleneck and through special funds, job retraining, Health, Education, and Welfare funds, urban-renewal domestic peace corps, vocational education; (5) massive infusions of voluntary aid to the schools and assistance from private foundations.

Inside the schools, the break-through might come from such sources as: (1) massive enlargement of college opportunities through the introduction of new funds or new methods of teaching; (2) technological innovation in public school, especially educational television; (3) the unionization of teachers and the arousal of the professional group with the greatest stake in improved schools (organized teachers, it has been demonstrated in New York City, can have an electric effect on the schools, attracting qualified teachers through improved salaries and working conditions, reduced class size, improved curriculum, and quality of school administration and instruction); (4) decentralization of city school systems to encourage greater participation of have-nots and clearer and closer channels of communication.[25]

[25] In New York, the new community school boards, serving as advisory groups, have already geometrically increased the flow of new ideas, spirit, and activity into the schools

Recent months have seen a spectacular burst of citizen interest in the schools, perhaps unparalleled by anything in the history of public education. Women's clubs, youth groups, civil-rights organizations, settlement houses, churches, local government, private funds, and foundations have taken up "tutorials" in deprived areas, and the more imaginative and energetic groups have moved out from there into community organization. The intrusion of nonschool groups into the learning process has injected some new excited spirit into the institutional drabness.

Accompanying this new citizen concern with the "disadvantaged" is a new wave of interest among educators, writers, and scholars in the problems of poverty and equality, a current that has in recent months washed over previous concentration on the "gifted" and almost swept the word out of the educator's vocabulary.

Another source of backdoor assistance to the schools will be the decongestion of cities—a desperate need of New York especially—by: (1) the natural attrition of a suburban-bound, affluent population, and a Negro population pushing ever outward; (2) the forced decentralization of urban renewal, thinning out populations and bringing back into central areas a more taxable balance of middle and lower income groups. Renewal, intelligently, humanely, and artfully carried on, has the potential, of course, to remake urban life—by decentralizing, rebuilding, rehabilitating, and creating a truly heterogeneous class and ethnic community.

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from the local communities and cleared the clogged lines of communication.

A problem with a past

# The Negro Child and Our Schools

by

**Marvin Rich**

MANY white people in northern urban communities, from New York to Los Angeles, are obviously distressed by the new pressure being put on their schools by the civil rights movement. Many tend to regard this pressure as ill-considered and unfair. "This isn't the South," they say. "We have never barred anyone from our schools because of color. To the extent that segregation exists here, it is the result of housing patterns. Why ask our children to solve a problem that is the responsibility of the adult community?"

This attitude seems reasonable enough. The situation in the North cannot sensibly be equated with the situation in the South. In Louisiana, for example, many parishes did not establish Negro high schools until the 1940s. During the 1930s, the General Education Fund provided over $100 million to enable southern states to build schools for Negroes. But even with this sizeable subsidy, most southern states fell significantly short of what could have been expected of them. The denial of an adequate education to Negroes prejudiced their position in other important areas. Many were unable to pass literacy tests for voter registration, even where these were honestly applied, and it imposed limits on jobs and housing as well.

But what about the North? How much better has it really been? New York State ended separate schools for Negroes in 1898. In practice, some segregated schools lingered on into the 1930s. However, this is by no means the only standard to be applied. The fact is that many members of the white community are now "surprised" by the discontent with the quality of education available to Negroes only because, subconsciously or not, they shut their eyes and ears to earlier evidence.

Early in 1935, after a spectacular riot in Harlem, a Mayor's Committee on conditions in that ghetto community asked E. Franklin Frazier, a well-known sociologist, now dead, to make a comprehensive study of it. His study resulted in severe criticism of the Board of Education and 45 general recommendations for the improvement of Harlem schools. They included many of the proposals being made now—29 years later—by civil rights organizations. In 1935, little or nothing was done about them.

The Frazier report was only one of a number that have gone largely unheeded. In 1939, a committee of principals under the chairmanship of Dr. Jacob Greenberg asked for better physical plants, smaller classes, more regularly licensed teachers and additional staff for Harlem schools. In 1943, after another shocking race riot in Harlem, a City Wide Citizens Committee was appointed to conduct an investigation. Its report made in 1944, explains a good deal of the unrest that exists today.

"The low socio-economic status of the large portion of the population in Harlem inevitably occasions a carry over of serious environmental problems into the schools of that area," it noted. "These problems are an adjunct of the basic unrest of the population. There is a background of bitterness and rebellion, keenly felt by many of the children which has been engendered by unfair discrimination against the adults in the family. Lack of employment, poorly paid employment of the mothers instead of the fathers and sons, unsatisfactory housing, exploitation by liquor and vice groups, form the background of the lives of the pupils." The committee urged, among other reforms, the building of additional schools, a reduction in class size, courses in intercultural relations for teachers stressing the achievements of Negroes and other minority groups, more vocational schools, all-day neighborhood schools and nursery schools. That was 20 years ago. A whole new generation has grown to maturity. Yet the old evils remain almost untouched. Is it any wonder the Negro community is now boiling over with impatience?

THE recommendations of these committees and commissions, it should be noted, were not aimed at building an integrated society. They had the far more limited goal of improving the Harlem schools, largely as a means of decreasing crime and delinquency. Yet Harlem schools have continued to lag behind white schools, and it is abundantly clear that Negro youngsters in New York, as in many other northern cities, attend schools that are not only separate but unequal.

Let us look at the more recent history. In 1954, prodded by Dr. Kenneth Clark and the Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. the Board of Education, the N.Y.C. Board of Education announced that its policy was to "devise and put into operation a plan that would prevent the further development of racially homogeneous schools, and to integrate existing ones only as quickly as practicable." The Board of Education established a Commission on Integration, and approved a report which concluded that "segregated education is inferior education."

Now, in 1964, many people are expressing surprise and dismay over the school boycott and other measures impatiently advocated to end the long-festering school situation in Harlem

and other Negro ghettoes. The reaction is honest enough, in most instances, but only because for so long, for 30 years in New York, the facts have been ignored even when published on newspaper front pages. For 30 years in New York, Negro parents have been told that the education of their children will be improved to meet white standards. But the performance has never approached the promise. Now they are groping for new solutions and for new people to put those solutions into practice. Is that really so hard to understand?

SOME of the proposals now being advocated to correct old and painful wrongs fly in the face of established norms. But it would be wrong to reject them out of hand. After all, the old norms have not done so very well for either white or Negro children.Itwould be much wiser to examine carefully each proposal to see whether it would really do what it purports to do. For example, the open enrollment plan advanced by the Parents' Workshop for Equality in New York City four years ago now reaches some 15,000 students. One gathers that it represents a real improvement for these youngsters. But they represent only a very small fraction of the one million students now enrolled in our schools. We have several other programs to assist children with backgrounds of social and cultural deprivation. Perhaps the most important of these is the Higher Horizons Program. However, there is no question that all of these are by themselves hopelessly inadequate. On analysis, it seems impossible significantly to increase the quality of education received by Negro students without integration. On the other hand, it is equally true, and equally important to recognize, that there will be no meaningful kind of integration unless the quality of education is significantly raised. White parents simply will not allow the integration of their children into inferior schools.

Where does this leave us?

It is obvious that certain devices, such as the Princeton Plan, can work more effectively in suburban and smaller communities than in the great urban sprawls of New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. There is no excuse at all for the failure to integrate in the suburbs and in the smaller communities. There are real difficulties involved in integrating schools in the large cities. But difficulties should not be excuses. We must remember that de facto segregated class rooms say to Negro children "You are black. You belong apart. You are inferior." To white children they say, "You are superior. You are important. You are somebody because you are white." When children have learned to feel this way about themselves and others, when the unspoken lesson taught by segregation has distorted their minds and dulled their spirits, the efforts of our most dedicated teachers cannot be expected to undo the damage. This is what we must avoid.

I, for one, believe that the fuss and furor of the past few months have been helpful. Extreme statements have been made and tensions raised, but for the first time the white population of New York City is beginning to sense the depth of Negro resentment and the urgency of the need for change. We must go beyond the recognition of past inadequacies. Now that we understand how badly we have failed, we must begin to fight for a meaningful program at every level. This will cost millions and millions of dollars. We must reduce class sizes—not by one or two pupils per class—but in half, from 35 to 15 or 20. This may cause double sessions for a while until the new schools we so desperately need are built. But it must be done. We must get the thousands of new teachers that this will require, and place them where they are needed, not where they would like to go. Somehow, also, the Board of Examiners must learn that Negroes and Puerto Ricans are qualified for promotion to become principals and administrators of the school system.

There seem to be some misgivings about the wisdom of continuing events which may cause disaffection and even animosity toward the Negro minority among the members of the white community. Yet if the old apathy turns into antipathy, the Negro cause will not really be damaged. So little that is beneficial to the Negro community can come out of apathy—little worse than the present state of the Negro can be inflicted on him. At least the claims have been heard—for the first time—and if the first white reaction to them is antagonistic, the second white reaction may be a reluctant willingness to make concessions in order that the troublesome challenges may end.

Perhaps it is part of an educational process we must all undergo, we and our children alike.

*Marvin Rich is Community Relations Director of CORE.*

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Promises but no action

# Genocide Convention

by

**Betty Kaye Taylor**

THE simple and inexplicable fact is that our government has not yet ratified the United Nations Genocide Convention. Here is the story so far.

In the early part of February, 1963 a delegation of American Jewish leaders met with officers of the Treaty Division of the State Department to discuss the Administration's plans for securing early ratification of the Genocide Convention. The eight-member delegation represented six national Jewish organizations. Jacob Clayman, Administrative Director, IUD, AFL-CIO, attended for the Jewish Labor Committee.

The State Dept. representatives felt confident that Administration support for the measure would receive speedy approval in the Senate. But this approval has not been forthcoming.

The Jewish community, together with the AFL-CIO and others, has been energetically seeking support for this measure. As a result, resolutions have been adopted

NEWS from U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

Week of April 13, 1964

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## Some Unemployed Youths Rendered Virtually "Untrainable" Becuase of Lack of Schooling

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz in his report to Congress on the first full year of operations under the Manpower Development and Training Act, noted that the effects of lack of schooling are so drastic in the case of some youths, that not only are they unable to find any employment for which they are qualified, but they are virtually incapable of being trained for a vocation and job.

The Secretary called attention to the fact that nearly one-fourth of the manpower program trainees at the present time are nonwhite -- about the same proportion as this group represented among all unemployed persons in 1963. More than 40 percent of all trainees were women.

(MORE)

The typical trainee in 1963 was a young adult with family responsibilities. Two-thirds of the male trainees were heads of households. Six out of ten were primary wage earners. Most of the trainees were high school graduates.

"The characteristics of MDTA trainees point up two facts", Mr. Wirtz said, "--that the program has worked well for those equipped to take advantage of it, and has provided a step up the skill ladder for workers with deep and permanent attachment to the labor force. At the same time, because of limitations that were removed in December 1963, by the Congress, the MDTA program has not reached deeply enough into the areas where much of our unemployment has its roots -- into the young age brackets where lack of schooling disqualified a young man or woman not only from jobs, but for training for jobs. During 1964 the training program will begin to bring effective help to these young people."

. More than 500 different occupations have been approved for training projects since the inception of MDTA involving more than 166,000 persons to date. More than 103,000 persons were approved for such training in 1963 alone. Of this total, about 8,100 trainees were approved for on-the-job training, primarily in employer's establishments in 1963.

. About 70 percent of MDTA trainees found jobs, most of them in occupations related to their training, through the local State employment services.

. More than 38,000 individuals received a variety of special counseling, testing, and placement services from the inception of the program (30,000 in 1963) in so-called experimental and demonstration projects designed to meet individual needs.

* * * *

(MORE)

## Low Income Families Hardest Hit by Higher Transit Fares

Negro families, elderly families, and families with annual incomes under $3000 are less likely to own an automobile and are thus more dependent upon public transportation, it is pointed out in an article in the March 1964 Issue of the Department of Labor's Monthly Labor Review.

Public transit fares have been a major contributor to rising consumer prices over the last decade. Average prices of public transit in American cities has almost doubled since 1950.

At the same time, the demand for transit -- outside of rush hours -- has fallen.

Those most affected by rising transit fares are the low income populations of the central cities.

A limited number of reprints of the article --"Demand and Trends in Prices in Urban Transit" -- will be available at the Department of Labor.

* * * * *

## Check Before Seeking an Earthquake Damage Repair Job in Alaska

Americans who plan to seek jobs in Alaska to help repair the earthquake devastation should stay home unless they have definite assurance of a job, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz said recently.

"The task of rebuilding the State's coastal communities will undoubtedly require many workers," he said. "But, I have been advised that Alaska had heavy unemployment in all skills prior to the disaster and that local residents will be employed first.

(MORE)

"We have not had enough time to determine if extra manpower will be needed or when. Housing accommodations are also very limited."

The Secretary pointed out that requests for any additional workers for Alaska will be channeled through local offices of each State employment service affiliated with the United States Employment Service.

* * * *

March Employment-Unemployment Summary, by Color and Sex

| | Employed | Unemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Total Men | 44,730,000 | 2,681,000 |
| White | 40,441,000 | 2,210,000 |
| Nonwhite | 4,290,000 | 470,000 |
| Total Women | 23,786,000 | 1,613,000 |
| White | 20,942,000 | 1,253,000 |
| Nonwhite | 2,845,000 | 359,000 |

* * * *

Speaking Engagements

April 15 - Assistant Secretary Daniel P. Moynihan before the National Conference on Religion and Race, St. Louis, Mo.

April 16 - Assistant Secretary George L-P Weaver before the St. Louis Committee on Foreign Relations, St. Louis, Mo.

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# Give Slum Children a Chance

## *a radical proposal*

By Charles E. Silberman

*Can the nation afford a public-school system which is failing to educate between 50 and 80 per cent of its Negro and white slum children?*

Horace Mann called education "the great equalizer of the conditions of men . . . the balance wheel of the social machinery."

The wheel is out of balance. As the one institution with which every Negro and white slum child comes into intensive and prolonged contact, the public school offers the greatest opportunity to dissolve the cultural barrier that helps block their advance. But the opportunity is being muffed: no city in the United States has even begun to face up to the problem involved in educating the Negro or white slum youngster.

The root of the problem educationally is that the slum child does not learn to read properly in the first two grades. Whether because of this reading disability alone, or because of difficulty in handling abstract concepts that stem from independent causes, the slum child falls further and further behind after the third grade; the gap widens, and his IQ actually declines. His failure to read properly affects a lot more than his school work. It has a profound impact on how he regards himself and consequently on how he regards school. Poor reading skill at the start is the major cause of school dropouts and subsequent unemployment.

No informed person can believe any longer that the poor—or the Negroes specifically—are congenitally slow or illiterate. Yet we have had almost no success in combating this most crippling of a child's handicaps. Even the most well-intentioned and well-financed special program for the "culturally deprived child" serves to help only a small upper crust. New York City, for example, spends some $200 a year *more* per child in slum schools than in white middle-class schools. Yet with it all, third-grade pupils in the schools of central Harlem are one year behind grade level in academic performance; by the sixth grade, they have fallen nearly two years behind, and by eighth grade, two and a half years. And some cities aren't even making an

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effort. Chicago, for example, appropriates 20 per cent *less* per child in Negro schools than in white middle-class schools.

The reason we have failed is that we start much too late, after the damage is already done. Instruction in the first grade of our public schools takes it for granted that a child has completed a reading-readiness program in the kindergarten year. Yet only a small fraction of Negro or lower-class white youngsters attend kindergarten. Compulsory kindergarten undoubtedly would improve matters, but the basic problem would remain. That problem, stated simply, is that the environment in which lower-class Negro and white children grow up does not provide the intellectual and sensory stimulus they so desperately need. The result is that youngsters from impoverished backgrounds enter school lacking a great many skills which the teachers and the curriculum take for granted, and which most middle-class children have acquired as a matter of course.

## A Child's World of Poverty

The slum youngsters, for example, may lack the sense of auditory discrimination—the ability to distinguish very subtle differences and nuances in sound—that is essential to reading. The noise level in a household in which a half-dozen people are living in two rooms tends to be so high that the child is forced to learn how *not* to listen; he develops the ability to wall himself off from his surroundings. Hence he fails to develop an ability to distinguish between relevant and irrelevant sounds, and to screen out the irrelevant. If, for instance, a truck rumbles by while the teacher is talking, the lower-class pupil hears only one big jumble of sound; the middle-class pupil has the ability to screen out the irrelevant noise of the truck and listen only to the teacher.

More important, the lower-class child has not had the experience of having adults correct his pronunciation; correction of baby speech and of mistakes in syntax or grammar is one crucial way in which the middle-class child learns the ability to distinguish subtle nuances of sound and language—"b" as opposed to "p," for example. In the case of the lower-class Negro youngster, particularly in families recently moved from the South, the problem is compounded several times over by the fact that the phonic system of the language he speaks is quite different from the system of the language which the teacher speaks and which the reading primers use.

The lower-class child, moreover, tends to have a poor attention span and to have great difficulty following the teacher's orders. The reason is that he generally comes from a nonverbal household: adults speak in short sentences, if indeed they speak at all, and when they give orders to the child, it is usually in monosyllables—"get this," "bring that." The child has never been obliged to listen to several lengthy sentences spoken consecutively. And the speech he does hear tends to be of a very simple sort from the standpoint of grammar and syntax. In school, the middle-class teacher who rambles on for several sentences might just as well be talking another language. The nonverbal atmosphere of the home also means that lower-class children have a limited perception of the world about them: they do not know that objects have names (table, wall, book), or that the same object may have several names (an apple is fruit, red, round, juicy). They also have very little concept of size or time.

The lower-class youngsters are poorly motivated, because they have had little experience in receiving approval for success in a task or disapproval for failure; but school is organized on the assumption that children expect approval for success. And since the parents, because of their general nonverbal orientation, do not ask the youngsters about school, the children have no way of knowing that the parents *do* very much want and expect success. For much the same reason, these children do not conceive of an adult as a person of whom you ask questions and from whom you get answers—yet school is based on the assumption that children who don't understand will ask. The middle-class mother, by contrast, is engaged in almost constant dialogue with her child. The slum child's home is characterized by a general sparsity of objects: there are few toys, few pictures, few books, few magazines, few of anything except people and noise. In one group of Negro children whom Dr. Martin Deutsch, director of the Institute of Developmental Studies of New York Medical College, has studied, 50 per cent said they did not have a pencil or pen at home, and about as many said there were no books or magazines. Their experiences outside the home are equally narrow; 65 per cent had never gone beyond a twenty-five block radius.

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Given this poverty of experience, it is almost inevitable that the slum child will fail when he enters school. He simply has not been prepared to produce what the school demands, and by and large the school makes no attempt to adjust its curriculum to the realities of what its children actually know, as opposed to what they are *assumed* to know.

## "The Child Is Father"

So far, I have stressed the slum youngsters' failure to acquire a specific set of skills—auditory discrimination, sense of timing, etc.—which are prerequisite to learning how to read. The problem cuts far deeper than that. An impressive body of research in the psychology of cognition and perception as well as in the neurophysiology of the brain has made it clear that exercise of the mind early in life is essential for its later development. The human being is born with less than one third of the adult brain capacity, and there is tremendous growth of the cortex after birth. The way in which the cortex and, indeed, the whole nervous system develop is directly affected by the environment. Hence, mental alertness and in particular the ability to handle abstractions depend physiologically on a broad diversity of experience in the environment of early childhood.

"We know now," says Professor Jerome Bruner, director of Harvard's Center for Cognitive Studies, "that the early challenges of problems to be mastered, of stresses to be overcome, are the preconditions of attaining some measure of our full potentiality as human beings. The child is father to the man in a manner that may be irreversibly one-directional, for to make up for a bland impoverishment of experience early in life may be too great an obstacle for most organisms." As Bruner puts it, "supply creates its own demand"; in the phrase of the great Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget, "the more a child has seen and heard, the more he wants to see and hear."

The problems Negro and other slum youngsters have in learning are no different in kind, therefore, and hardly different in degree, from those of any children coming from a culture of poverty. Thus, the analysis that Deutsch, J. McV. Hunt, and others have made of the reasons for the failure of lower-class children in school are virtually identical with the diagnoses Israeli educators have made of the reasons for the academic failures of the so-called "Oriental Jews"—children of immigrants to Israel from Arabic countries in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Egypt) and the Middle East (Iraq, Yemen, Kurdestan). A sizable gap is evident when these youngsters start school: they score, on average, sixteen points lower on IQ tests than children coming from a Western European background. And the gap widens as they go through school; by age thirteen, the IQ differential is twenty-two points. Until remedial measures were taken, few went to high school, which is not compulsory, and hardly any to the university. Yet there could be no conclusion drawn about inherent inferiority; for a thousand years, the flowering of Jewish culture and learning was in Arabic countries. Studies by Israeli educators have pointed to the same reasons for these youngsters' poor academic performance: an impoverishment of environment —a lack of stimulation, particularly of the verbal sort, in the early years—which must be compensated for in some way if it is to be overcome.

## Starting in Nursery School

Nothing less than a radical reorganization of American elementary education is necessary, therefore, if the schools are to begin to discharge their obligation to teach the Negro and white slum youngsters. To reverse the effects of a starved environment, the schools must begin admitting children at the age of three or four, instead of at five or six. The nursery school holds the key to the future—but a very different kind of nursery school from the one most Americans are familiar with.

It is between the ages of three and six that the battle is won or lost. "The two-and-a-half and three-year-olds are almost universally curious and friendly," says Dr. Ronald Koegler, a neuropsychiatrist at UCLA who is experimenting with a Montessori nursery program for culturally deprived children, "but by the age of six, the children are already different. The culturally deprived have already been deadened by their environment and are already so far behind the middle-class child that all the best elementary education will not be sufficient for them to catch up." Dr. Koegler may be exaggerating somewhat, but the point he is making is basic: the schools which wait until kindergarten or first grade will need to employ many, many more resources to do what they might do with comparative ease for children at age three and four.

By all odds the most important experiment in nursery education for Negro and white slum children is a research and demonstration project

directed by Martin Deutsch in ten New York City public schools and five day-care centers. Deutsch's ultimate objective is to develop a standardized curriculum and a set of teaching techniques that can be used in similar programs anywhere in the country. (Some thirty cities are setting up, or talking about setting up, nursery programs for the culturally deprived, more or less modeled on the Deutsch experiment.) The curriculum is designed to teach the youngsters the verbal and perceptual skills they need in order to learn to read, and also to bolster their sense of self. There is a great deal of emphasis on teaching labeling—getting across the notion, first, that every object has a name, and, second, the more sophisticated concept that objects may have a number of different labels, each referring to different attributes. A teacher may use puppets or other replicas of people, animals, and objects to illustrate the story she is reading, to drive home the relation between people and things. Much use is made, also, of toys: stuffed animals, dolls, peg boards, color cones, to teach color, shape, and size. Auditory discrimination is taught through a tape recorder, in which background noise is used to mask a relevant sound; the level of the background noise is gradually stepped up, to enhance the child's discrimination. To help develop a sense of self, the rooms contain a great many mirrors; many children have never seen themselves in one. One of Deutsch's most successful techniques has been to take a photograph of each child and give a copy to the child and to the parent; 85 per cent of the youngsters had never seen a picture of themselves. The pictures were then used to construct a book about the class.

The physical arrangements of the classroom are planned carefully. The emphasis is on order, beauty, and clarity—on balancing color, physical objects, and space. This is important, Deutsch feels, because there is so little beauty and so little structure in the children's own lives. They respond amazingly to beauty. (Children will typically comment, "I wish I could live in this classroom," and older brothers or sisters in the same school will express envy at the younger child being in such an attractive room.) Each room is divided into a number of self-contained sections: a reading section with books, as well as tape recorders children can use on their own to play back a favorite story; a music section, with phonograph and records; an activity section with blocks and other toys involving motor skills and coordination. The sections are quite distinct—clarity is necessary, in Deutsch's view—but not rigid; they can be rearranged whenever desired. Each child has his own cubby to provide a sense of privacy and personal possession, both of which are difficult to find in a slum home.

## The Israeli Example

It is not enough just to work with the children. Deutsch tries to work with the parents too—to win their trust, which is essential if the program is to succeed, and to give them some instruction in how to help their children. Once the former is done, the latter is relatively easy: once they have been persuaded that this is a genuine attempt to help their children, not a venture in brainwashing, the parents (or rather, the mothers—55 per cent of the youngsters come from broken homes) are eager to get instruction. Deutsch and his staff suggest that the parents encourage the child to talk at the dinner table, especially about school, a completely novel experience to a great many parents; that they give him toys, praise his success—in short, let the child know that the parent wants him to succeed in school and is interested in what he does. This has enormous impact on the children's verbal ability, for they begin talking about school when they get home, instead of remaining mute; and it has profound effect on increasing motivation.

The youngsters in Deutsch's experimental classes show significant improvements in IQ test scores. The more profound effects may be less measurable, but they are striking to anyone who spends even a few weeks in one of the classrooms observing the children; they change under the observer's eye. Kindergarten teachers who receive youngsters exposed to even as little as six months of Deutsch's experimental program are almost speechless with enthusiasm. In all their years of teaching, they say, they have never had slum youngsters enter as well-equipped intellectually, as alert, as interested, or as well-behaved.

My proposal to extend public education down to the nursery level is not nearly as extreme as it sounds. Israel, with a standard of living only about one third that of the United States, has already adopted such a policy, and is in the process of establishing nurseries for the Oriental Jews as the means of acculturating its new immigrants in a single generation. The government has formally adopted a policy of preferential treatment, called "state protection." Compensatory education begins at the prenatal level, when amateur social workers visit the pregnant mother and the father; among other things, they teach the parents how to play with the children,

and leave a set of toys which the government lends the family for a period of a year or so. The government is rapidly establishing free nursery schools so that the Oriental youngsters can begin school at three; the curriculum closely resembles the one Martin Deutsch is developing.

Help does not stop at that point, however. The Israeli educators have tried to isolate the critical points in intellectual development. The first is the nursery-school years; the second is the first and second grades, when the children learn to read. The Israelis are convinced that anyone, even the mentally retarded, can be taught to read. The problem, as Dr. Moshe Smilansky, Pedagogical Adviser to the Minister of Education puts it, is simply one of adapting the method of instruction to the state of development in which the child comes to school. Three years of intensive work have convinced the Israelis that 80 to 85 per cent of the Oriental youngsters can be brought up to the expected reading level.

The third critical point at which Israel's Oriental youngsters need help is the junior-high period (ages twelve to fourteen); they receive up to eleven hours of additional instruction a week, in order to help them adjust to the more complex curriculum they begin to receive, and to help them prepare for high school. In addition to the extra instruction given to all the Oriental youngsters, the government has adopted a separate program for the most academically talented: the top 25 per cent. The object, quite explicitly, is to encourage the development of an intellectual elite among the Oriental students—to create a group that will go through high school and the university without difficulty and then move into positions of responsibility in government, in business management, and in the army, thereby demonstrating to the rest of the Oriental community as well as to the Western Jewish community that Orientals *do* have the capacity to move to the top of Israeli society.

## An Older Experiment

One reason the Israelis have been so successful is that they have far greater administrative flexibility than we do in America; the director of research operates out of the office of the Minister of Education, so his research results can be immediately translated into administrative policy. The main reason for success, however, is the commitment to the program of "state protection" at all levels of government. The officials in charge of the program (though needless to say, not all the teachers in the field) really believe that there is no inherent difference in intelligence between Oriental and Western youngsters—and that in any case IQ scores are meaningless as a guide to a child's potential.

This notion is crucial if any program is to succeed in the United States. The traditional American approach has been to see the child as a more or less fixed, static entity that has been determined by genetic environment. Hence the emphasis on IQ: you have to measure what the child is before you can decide what to teach him, and how. The Israeli educators—and people like Deutsch, Bruner, Professor O. K. Moore of Rutgers, and Professor J. McV. Hunt of the University of Illinois, in the United States, as well as Montessori before them—see the child instead as an "open system." They are interested less in what the child *is* than in what he can *become*, and their goal is to provide whatever materials and techniques are needed to develop his intellectual abilities to the fullest. This is a far cry from the so-called "life adjustment" approach so popular in the United States a while ago; indeed, it is its very opposite, since life adjustment assumed irreversibility of a child's nature. The Israelis reject the idea that there is a point at which it is too late to help a child, though they agree that help is far more effective if begun in the nursery years. And they assume that intellectual development is a major source of mental health; children who receive an infusion of competence from the very beginning—who learn "I can" at the start of school—will tend to be stable, well-adjusted individuals as adults.

The Israeli example is by no means the only one. The first demonstration of the value of early childhood education in reversing the effects of poverty occurred nearly sixty years ago, when the Casa dei Bambini was established in a Roman tenement by Dr. Maria Montessori, one of the towering figures in the history of education, and one who is just beginning to be appreciated. Something of a Montessori revival has occurred in the United States in recent years, and several experiments using her methods are in process.

The Montessori approach may be particularly relevant to our own time for a number of reasons. It emphasizes what psychologists call *intrinsic* motivation—harnessing the child's innate curiosity and delight in discovery. Each child is free, therefore, to examine and work with whatever interests him, for as long as it interests him, from the materials that are available. What is available is determined by the Montessori concept of "prepared environment," which places

great stress on training the sensory processes: cognition is enhanced by providing appropriate stimuli to *all* the senses.

The chief advantage of the Montessori approach, in the opinion of J. McV. Hunt, is that "it gives the individual child an opportunity to find the circumstances which match his own particular stage of development." It has the corollary advantage of making learning fun, whereas the conventional American approach to kindergarten and elementary education manages to establish remarkably early the notion that learning is unpleasant. ("Let's stop playing with the blocks now, children; it's time to learn our letters.")

As in Israel, help for our underprivileged cannot stop with creation of a nursery program, though such a program is crucial. The cultural distance between the school and the community, and the disorganization of Negro and slum life, mean that a great many lower-class youngsters will need extra help all the way through school, and especially in the early grades. It may be useful, for example, to provide them with texts that offer a better bridge between their own lives and the rich world of Western civilization than, say, the almost universal "Dick, Jane, and Sally" series of reading primers. Unfortunately the first experiment in creating an "integrated" series of reading primers—*Play with Jimmy, Fun with David,* and *Laugh with Larry,* written by staff members of the Detroit Public Schools, moves in precisely the wrong direction. The books show a well-scrubbed Negro family in the same sort of antiseptic suburban environment that Dick, Jane, and Sally play in, and the level of prose almost makes the Dick, Jane, and Sally readers sound like poetry. (The Detroit readers use a much smaller vocabulary; the Detroit experts made tape recordings of Negro children's speech, and discovered that their vocabulary contains only about half as many words as white children's.) There is some reason to assume, however, that what these youngsters need is stimulus to the imagination—some evidence that reading is a means of escaping the confines of the slum for something more exciting than a backyard barbecue or a trip to the supermarket.

## Implementing the Imperative

Current dogma, of course, condemns any program of compensatory education, no matter how massive, as a return to "separate but equal," hence an expression of prejudice. But one group of Negro leaders, headed by Professor Kenneth Clark and the Reverend Eugene Callender, has already had the courage to face up to the realities of the education problem in central Harlem. Their views are expressed in a report issued by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc. (HARYOU), a group set up with funds from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime.

The authors mince no words about their belief in integration and their distrust of many of the measures taken so far. But their main proposition is "that this vicious cycle of educational inefficiency and social pathology can be broken only by instituting an educational program of excellence in the schools of deprived communities," and their most important recommendation is a proposal to establish compensatory nursery programs for all Harlem children. In the long run, they argue, excellence requires an end to segregation. But in the short run—"during that period required to obtain more adaptive, democratic, nonsegregated schools for all children"—compensatory education is necessary, for 50 per cent of the junior-high-school students need massive remedial work if they are to be brought up to grade level.

Integration is a moral imperative—the greatest moral imperative of our time. It is essential not so much for Negroes as for whites, who must learn to live in the great world in which they are the minority. But merely throwing white and black students into the same classroom without regard to differences in knowledge and academic performance does not constitute integration in any meaningful sense. How are we to achieve meaningful integration—which leads to genuine contact, to real communication, and to understanding of each group by the other?

The only honest answer is that genuine integration will not be possible until the schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the schools in white slum areas as well, are brought up to the level of the very best in the city—until the schools do their job so well that children's educational performance will no longer reflect their income, or their social status, or their ethnic group, or their color.

To say this is not to suggest indefinite postponement, but to demand that the public schools stop dithering with projects and demonstrations and turn immediately to the most pressing task. Neither the large cities nor the nation as a whole can afford a public-school system which fails to educate between 50 and 80 per cent of its Negro and white slum students.

# Whose Values Should Be Taught?

—Bettmann Archive.

Schoolroom on the Lower East Side New York, about 1886. Photo by Jacob Riis.

By MAX BIRNBAUM, *Education Consultant of the American Jewish Committee and a staff member of the Boston University Laboratory of Human Relations.*

IN A society in which there is general agreement on what constitutes the good, the true, and the beautiful, the task of teaching values is a simple one. The consensus is clear and, even if minority views exist, they do not challenge the majority judgment effectively. But in a pluralist society, in which no general agreement has been reached, the problem becomes infinitely more difficult.

Teaching values in American classrooms today, therefore, is an awesome assignment. For, as a nation, we are caught between the myths of a rural past that has all but disappeared, and the new urban present that has not yet achieved its final form. While our backs were turned, profound changes took place not only in our values, but in the very sources from which they come. While our sights were focused on older, simpler patterns of thought and conduct, far more complex problems and issues were beginning to challenge our society. No longer, for instance, can we teach the principle of equality for all without recognizing its unique meaning for the American Negro; nor can we discuss traditional concepts of religious liberty without taking into account the recent Supreme Court decisions on Bible reading and prayer in the classroom, and the role played by the new assertiveness of Catholics and Jews in many areas of our national life.

(Some teachers who live and work in areas of the country where religious, racial, and ethnic differences are not acute will insist that such problems are alien to the American Way. But many others have experienced the problems of emerging difference at first hand and are aware of the vast changes that have taken place.)

Yet the dramatic changes that have marked the development of contemporary attitudes did not come without warning. If we take even a brief backward look at our nation's history, we can see that they evolved over a period of several decades.

The American colonies were settled originally by Protestant, English-speaking people of Anglo-Saxon origin. Almost from the beginning this group was joined by those who were non-Protestant, non-Anglo-Saxon, and even non-English-speaking. But the names of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the membership of the Constitutional Convention, almost 150 years after the earliest settlements, still reflected the continued dominance of the first group. This persistence of control is most remarkable in view of fairly sound historical evidence that almost 40 per cent of the inhabitants of the United States in 1790 were of non-English-speaking origin.

American culture, its values, institutions, and mores are primarily, although not exclusively, the creation of that remarkable group of men whose origins, immediate and remote, were the British Isles. To be sure, the group absorbed innumerable sons and daughters from other religions and cultures, but its Protestant Anglo-Saxon imprint continued to be highly visible.

THE Civil War and the rise of industrial America contributed directly to changes in the religious and ethnic composition of the nation. Most new immigrants in the years immediately after the Civil War were German and Irish. These were followed by people from Southern and Eastern Europe, of Slavic and Italian origin and Jews from the Austro-Hungarian empire, Poland, and Russia. Part of the native American's horror-stricken reaction to the city of the late nineteenth century came from the fact that it was crowded by people with strange tongues and stranger behavior. By the turn of the century, when immigrants of English origin were fast becoming a minority, voices were saying that unless something were done to stem the tide, the character of our civilization would change drastically.

Just as the Civil War was in many ways the "Second American Revolution" in its impact on our society, so 1914 marked the end not only of our isolation from world involvement, but also of our unitary society. The values and mores derived from our historically dominant religious and ethnic groups were being challenged. As a result, in the years following 1914, we witnessed the imposition of immigration quotas based upon a philosophy of Nordic Supremacy, the Great Depression and the fundamental changes it brought in the relations of the state to our citizenry, and the successive challenges to the old order by Catholic, Jew, and now the Negro. In the light of these swift and truly revolutionary changes, it is not remarkable that our schools have had difficulty in promulgating a common set of values. What is amazing is

*This article is based on a background paper prepared for the annual convention of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Miami Beach, April 1964.*

that they have done as well as they have.

Of the half century since 1914, perhaps the most significant years were the 1920's. For they marked a climactic period during which those conflicts that had raged sporadically just beneath the surface of public awareness were revealed publicly. The fears of those who felt that this country was theirs by right of birth and ancestral domain were intensified by the 1919 steel strike and rumors of Bolshevik infiltration. The American Legion had been organized in Paris in response to similar fears, when all of Europe appeared to be going communist. The United States, with its polyglot population, seemed a natural target for such subversion. But the most significant impact on America came from the immigration debates that raged for almost a decade in Congress and throughout the nation, in which terms such as the "alien flood," the "barbarian hordes," and the "foreign tide" were freely used.

The debates when stripped to their essentials reveal that: 1) the dominant voices in our society used basically racist arguments to stigmatize those who had immigrated from Southern and Eastern Europe; 2) descent from English-speaking ancestors from the British Isles was deemed sufficient guarantee of superior capacity to assume the responsibilities and privileges of American citizenship; 3) American labor, despite its origins, was willing to be swayed by economic need to shut the doors of the nation even against its own kin; 4) the new American patriotic coalition, which emerged at this time, spearheaded the drive for restriction of immigration as an expression of nationalism and a fear of socialism and communism.

ALTHOUGH minority peoples formed protective organizations in response to a variety of special needs, the defensive character of these groups was intensified by the use of ethnic group classifications in the National Origins Act that determined all future quotas for immigration into the United States. From that point on, the right to enter America and become a citizen was defined not in individual but in group terms. The Irish had already learned the uses of ethnic group politics; other immigrant groups were now to follow in their footsteps, and group pressures soon became common in all areas of national life, including the schools.

The end of unrestricted immigration created a condition quite different from that which had been intended by the architects of the restrictive immigration policy. In two generations, all citizens of Eastern European descent had become native, rather than foreign-born Americans. But for many the group consciousness stimulated by the National Origins Act helped to strengthen rather than lessen their adherence to the values of the groups from which they sprang. Aided by awareness of service on behalf of country in two World Wars, the minority religious and ethnic groups began increasingly to assert their rights. Subsequently, the American Negro returned from the Allies' victory over German Nazism, determined to destroy racism here as well.

THE decade of the Thirties witnessed two events of overwhelming importance to all Americans that had special poignancy for Catholics and Jews—and that also demonstrate the complexity of group loyalties in American society. The first was the Spanish Civil War. The nation, with the exception of the Catholics, was largely sympathetic to the Republican cause. The fact that Germany and Italy were aiding Franco, and Soviet Russia was aiding the Loyalists, created disastrous divisions among religious, ethnic, and political groupings. The issue was in large measure, for the Catholics and Jews, a matter of opposing the ally who was most threatening to them at the time. For the Jews it was obviously Hitler; for the Catholics it was Stalin; Protestants, and the unchurched generally, except for those who feared and hated the Soviet more than anything else, were either neutral or pro-Republican.

Then came the war against the Axis powers. A significant number of Americans, reflecting predominantly Catholic and Protestant groups, some of whom were of German ancestry, felt that we were fighting the wrong enemy. When Stalin and the Soviet Union became our major antagonists in the period after the Second World War, those groups that had opposed our fighting as an ally of Russia came into their own. Their passionate opposition to American foreign policy had been long pent-up and the beginning of the Cold War provided them with final justification for their feelings.

Senator McCarthy was in many respects a charismatic champion of this submerged cause. A Midwestern Irish Catholic, elected from a state with a very large German ethnic population, he provided precisely the kind of ruthless hostility toward Communism that would satisfy the loose coalition of those who had always felt that Russia was the true threat to America. A Gallup Poll during the period of McCarthy's greatest influence showed Jews overwhelmingly opposed to him, the Catholics strongly in his favor, and Protestants divided. The strongly Protestant hinterlands of the Middle West and Southwest supported him, and the urban, Northwestern, and Far Western Protestants strongly opposed him. The endurance of attitudes based on religious and ethnic considerations has rarely been more clearly demonstrated than during this conflict. And, as we shall see, recent problems in the teaching about communism and patriotism are still intertwined with this legacy of the past.

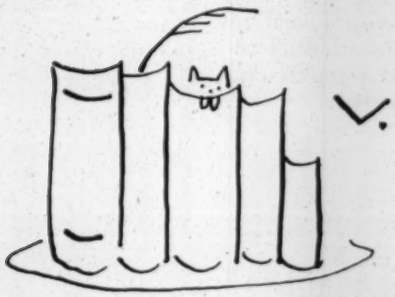
At this point it should be revealing to analyze three basic issues that have presented serious problems for teachers, in terms of the group forces operating in our contemporary society. Obviously, the most significant value-laden issues for public schools have been the place of religion and religious values in the curriculum, the teaching of patriotism, and the closely related issue of teaching about communism. The impact of race on our schools is also of prime importance, but this will be treated separately because of the unusual character of the group forces reflected in the racial crisis.

BEFORE applying a group relations theory to explain these complicated issues, however, certain qualifications should be stated. No one theory can explain complex group behavior. Few observers after the election of 1960 would deny the persistence of religious, ethnic, and racial loyalties. The significant shift of Democratic Protestants to Nixon and a similar shift of Republican Catholics to Kennedy is evidence enough. What is not explained by any simple cause and effect analysis is why so many Protestants, for example, voted for Kennedy, and why so many Catholics voted for Nixon. Economic factors, ethnic backgrounds, regional biases, personal preferences largely free of group loyalties or pressures, would have to be investigated. Jews and Negroes, on the other hand, voted in overwhelming numbers for Kennedy. The Democratic Party, especially in the Northern cities, still retains the loyalty of these and other minority religious and racial groups. The appointment of two Jews to Kennedy's Cabinet, and the subsequent appointment to that powerful and symbolic body of an Italo-American and a Polish-American, with a tacit commitment to include a Negro eventually as well, makes very plain indeed that the old Protestant, Anglo-Saxon order has changed.

With this *caveat* stated, let us consider the two major problem areas that have both openly and subtly affected the teaching of values and value-laden subjects during the past two decades—religion and patriotism. Both problems differ markedly from region to region and stubbornly refuse to respond to simple analysis. But after saying this,

we are also reasonably certain that on both issues Catholics and Jews have been overwhelmingly on opposite sides, and that Protestants, once again, have split down the middle, in a pattern very similar to that which prevailed during the 1930s and through the McCarthy period.

THE growing agreement between the politically and theologically liberal Protestants and the Jews with similar views has been an important factor in Protestant sensitivity to Jewish hostility toward religious influences in the public schools. Prayer, Bible reading, and excessively Christological observance of Christmas and Easter are cases in point. And most of the leaders of the larger Protestant denominations, together with a few Catholics, have gone along with the recent Supreme Court decisions on prayer and Bible reading. (To be sure, the awareness of Protestant leaders that the more important issue is public support of parochial education undoubtedly influenced many to make what is a comparatively small sacrifice in order to build additional legal bulwarks against the potential diversion of public funds.) Common commitment to public education, similar attitudes on censorship, birth control, and a host of other religiously value-laden issues make for easy communication and accommodation between these Protestants and most Jewish groups.



Most Catholic spokesmen, on the other hand, originally opposed the Supreme Court decisions in terms that were surprisingly similar in tone to the declarations of the Protestant South and Middle West. Increased secularization of the public schools is seen as a direct threat to conservative Protestants, and as an attack on religion in public life by Catholics.

Beyond this point, however, the two groups differ. And unless the essentially unstable character of this coalition is comprehended, it is virtually impossible to understand the unpredictable strengths and weaknesses of its pressures on the schools. The largest segment of Protestants opposed to the elimination of prayer and other religious observances in the classroom also opposes with the greatest vigor any grant of public funds to Catholic parochial schools or any move that would increase Catholic influence. Fundamentally, the purely religious loyalties of the two parties to the coalition are directly opposed to each other. For instance, consider the Catholic opposition to public school baccalaureate services throughout the Middle West and the opposition of Protestants to an ambassador to the Vatican.

When the topics of divorce, family relationships, and the nature of authority arise, members of each of the two coalitions again find themselves in agreement. The question of school discipline is a revealing touchstone, for here, too, with some exceptions, the Jews and liberal Protestants tend to be more child-centered and less concerned with traditional forms of authority and discipline. The fundamentalist Protestants and most Catholics tend in the opposite direction. Attitudes toward the subject of mental health divide similarly. What we have in essence is a serious culture conflict, with powerful groups arrayed against each other along fairly distinct religious lines.

THE issue of patriotism and the related problem of communism are directly associated with this culture conflict. Reliance on familiar religious forms, hostility to anti-religious forces, zealous support for traditional forms of authority, a highly developed sense of individual property rights, plus a strong nationalist bias would immediately predispose the conservative coalition to react to the serious threat of the cold war with traditional solutions. Their support for a program of indoctrination in the schools, the feeling that there should be no compromise with evil, and a strong sense of what is right and what is wrong, the insistence that there is good only on our side and nothing but evil "out there" are but a public restatement in pedagogical terms of the manner in which members of the coalition were reared—or believe they were reared.

The opposite approach is also easy to comprehend if we interpret the religious, ethnic, and regional influences on those who support it. The coalition of liberal Protestants and Jews reflects basically a yearning for peace, an effort to achieve possible accommodation with the cold war enemy, and a recognition that authoritarian solutions are difficult if not impossible to achieve. (To be sure, the liberal coalition has at times seemed to be so unaware of the harsher realities of peace and power politics as to cause their opponents to question both their patriotism and their competence to administer affairs of state.) This group also displays a considerably smaller degree of nationalism, and their support of the U.N. is, therefore, firm. In direct contrast, the conservative religious coalition reflects strong suspicion and outright hostility to the U.N. and its affiliated agencies, especially UNESCO. And finally, the liberal coalition's memory of Hitler predisposes its members to be especially vigilant in opposing any excessive anti-communism that tends to bracket communism with liberalism.

WHAT impact the recent shift in emphasis and viewpoint within the Roman Catholic Church will have on issues that concern the public schools is a matter for speculation. Very likely, leading Catholic spokesmen will join with the liberal coalition on selected issues at first, but ultimately the full import of the Catholic Church's ecumenical effort to reorient itself for participation in a religiously and racially pluralist society will make itself felt—and with profound effects on the American public school scene. This realignment will not only have profound influence on the atmosphere in which values are taught—possibly making the job easier—but it may also lead to further experiments in closer cooperation between public and parochial schools such as shared-time programs.

The racial problem has been reserved for separate treatment for several reasons. Race in our culture has been an infinitely more difficult barrier to surmount than religious or ethnic background, and the Negro has been compelled to condense into a few short years what for other groups has been decades of organization and effort. The violence of the Negro thrust can only be understood when we remember what happens when a coiled spring, compressed to its utmost, is suddenly released. The election of 1960 was won with the strong surge of Negro votes in the major Northern city strongholds of the Democratic Party. What has happened since has been the presentation of a bill for payment for services rendered. This process is as old as the political realities of American elections.

The Negroes, who are primarily Protestant, although there is a sizable Catholic minority, have hardly engaged in "religious politics;" their overriding concern has been the question of race. So basic is the issue of color that increasingly the Negroes have become a separate entity, considered as a third force

in addition to the two religious coalitions. This condition will undoubtedly continue for some time to come. Ironically, in the last few years the cause of equality for the Negro has become the first occasion for a remarkable degree of cooperation and collaboration among the three major religious faiths. Short of war, this has not happened before. (There are other signs that cooperation on behalf of the cause of the Negro may be the first of a series of collaborations on crucial issues, such as U.N. support and world peace.)

The Negro, with the help of his white allies, has turned to the schools with a host of demands that have upset public education as seldom before. This is true not only in the South, where the issue has been a matter of constitutional right, but also in the North, where the school has become the major instrumentality for the symbolic—if not actual —end of racial segregation. Balked at ending residential segregation immediately, and unable to secure the kinds of jobs that satisfy their rising expectations, the Negroes have turned on the schools with a series of demands. Almost overnight the problems of the education of deprived children and the school drop-out have become predominantly the problems of Negro children. They have also become the two most discussed educational problems since the post-Sputnik overhaul of science and mathematics teaching. The reverberation of this onslaught will affect the teaching of history and social problems, textbook revision, the nature of teaching, the organization of schools, and practically every other facet of education. But what is perhaps most meaningful for the teaching of social values is that the militancy of the civil rights movement has heightened our awareness of the fact that so many of our values reflect a white culture with unconscious as well as conscious biases. These will be repeatedly challenged from now on. Excessive sensitivity that has led to attacks on *Huckleberry Finn* and other classics will undoubtedly abate in the future, but the period immediately ahead promises to be a very stormy one for schools and teachers.

The gradual dissolution of a homogeneous, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant society, the appearance of the conservative and liberal religious coalitions, and the emergence of the racial crisis will necessarily lead either to a truly pluralist society or to chaos. The problem for the public schools, of course, is especially acute. Caught for the past two decades in a religio-ethnic crossfire, they are suddenly also beset by racial conflicts. Their only salvation is to begin immediately to bring to bear all our present knowledge and experience to develop ground rules for teaching and learning in a diverse society that will conserve our basic values and still accommodate the emerging social order. Fortunately, such a pluralist solution is in harmony with the spirit of our democratic ideal and the reality of our constitutional tradition. But the task will be a difficult one —far more difficult and complex than most of us have yet admitted.

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# A Statistical Summary, State By State, of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border Area from 1954 to the Present

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**Reed Sarratt**, *Executive Director*
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# THE REGION

### Elementary and High Schools

6,141 Districts: 3,028 With Negroes and Whites; 1,140 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 10,909,919 | 3,412,799 | 14,322,718 |
| Teachers* | 406,473 | 110,607 | 545,847 |

*Maryland not included in racial breakdowns.

### Colleges and Universities

195 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 240 | 52 | 292 |
| Enrollment | 774,237 | 73,391 | 847,628 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The region has 6,141 public school districts—3,113 are either all-white or all-Negro districts, and 3,028 have both Negro and white students enrolled. Of those districts having both races, 1,049 have Negroes attending the same schools with whites, and the other 91 are desegregated in policy but have no biracial schools. About 985 of the desegregated districts acted voluntarily, and the remaining 155 acted only after a court order. (See table "Analysis of Desegregation") The table below shows that 23.9 per cent of the region's total enrollment is Negro, 42.9 per cent of the Negroes are in desegregated districts, and 9.3 per cent of the Negroes are in desegregated schools. Of the Negroes in desegregated districts, 21.7 per cent actually attend schools with whites. The table also provides separate statistical breakdowns for the 11 Southern states and for the border area. The South has a public school enrollment that is 26.8 per cent Negro, 33.5 per cent of the South's Negro students are in desegregated districts, and 1.06 of the Negroes actually attend schools with whites. Of the Negroes in the South's desegregated districts, 3.2 per cent actually attend schools with whites. The border area has a public school enrollment that is 14.6 per cent Negro, 96.6 per cent of the border area's Negro students are in desegregated districts, and 56.2 per cent of the Negroes actually attend schools with whites. Of the Negroes in the border area's desegregated districts, 58.2 per cent actually attend schools with whites. Comparing the two areas, the South has 85 per cent of the region's total Negro enrollment, and the border area has the other 15 per cent. But of the region's 318,039 Negroes in desegregated schools, only 9.7 per cent of these are in the South, and the other 90.3 per cent are in the border area schools. Mississippi remains the only state with no initial desegregation at the level of grades one through 12. The increase in desegregated districts this year represented the largest since 1956, and the increase in the percentage of Negroes in schools with whites was the greatest since SERS first began reporting this figure in 1960. (See tables "Statistical Developments from 1954"). A few districts quietly admitted Negroes to schools with whites before the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the first believed to have been Baltimore, Md., which accepted 12 Negroes at an advanced high school in 1952-53, before the district began its regular desegregation program in 1954-55. Several districts already have announced plans or been ordered to desegregate in 1964-65. (See table "Desegregation Planned or Ordered")

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negroes | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % † |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 114 | 114 | 4 | 539,996** | 287,414* | 106,199** | 70,896** | 11 | .004 |
| Arkansas | 415 | 228 | 13 | 328,023** | 112,012** | 66,752 | 18,643 | 1,084 | .968 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 16 | 964,241* | 237,871* | 669,375 | 130,667 | 3,650 | 1.53 |
| Georgia | 197 | 181 | 4 | 689,323 | 337,534 | 95,731 | 77,599 | 177 | .052 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 2 | 460,589** | 301,433** | 68,700 | 79,077 | 1,814 | .602 |
| Mississippi | 150 | 150 | 0 | 304,226** | 291,971** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 171 | 171 | 40 | 802,900* | 346,746* | 367,764* | 133,164* | 1,865 | .538 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 1 | 368,496* | 258,955* | 3,108 | 9,539 | 10 | .004 |
| Tennessee | 154 | 143 | 44 | 687,902* | 164,940* | 374,621* | 119,547* | 4,466 | 2.71 |
| Texas | 1,421 | 899 | 244 | 2,045,449* | 326,409* | 1,290,000* | 186,000* | 14,000* | 4.29 |
| Virginia | 130 | 128 | 55 | 728,259* | 236,386* | 486,231 | 145,658 | 3,721 | 1.57 |
| SOUTH | 2,994 | 2,256 | 423 | 7,919,404 | 2,901,671 | 3,528,481 | 970,790 | 30,798 | 1.06 |
| Delaware | 86 | 86 | 86 | 79,024 | 18,422 | 68,321 | 13,976 | 10,209 | 55.4 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 19,803 | 117,915 | 19,803 | 117,915 | 98,813 | 83.8 |
| Kentucky | 204 | 165 | 163 | 611,126* | 54,874* | 492,701* | 54,874* | 29,855 | 54.4 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 540,667 | 160,946 | 535,691 | 160,946 | 77,816 | 48.3 |
| Missouri | 1,597 | 212* | 203* | 793,000* | 95,000* | NA | 90,000* | 40,000* | 42.1 |
| Oklahoma | 1,180 | 241 | 197 | 529,300* | 42,916* | 317,670* | 34,898* | 12,048 | 28.1 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 44 | 44 | 417,595* | 21,055* | 417,595* | 21,055* | 18,500* | 87.9 |
| BORDER | 3,147 | 772 | 717 | 2,990,515 | 511,128 | 1,851,781†† | 493,664 | 287,241 | 56.2 |
| REGION | 6,141 | 3,028 | 1,140 | 10,909,919 | 3,412,799 | 5,380,262†† | 1,464,454 | 318,039 | 9.3 |

*Estimated
**1962-63
†Number of Negroes in schools with whites, compared to total Negro enrollment
††Mo. not included

### TEACHERS

Public school teachers remain completely segregated in seven Southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina. Some teacher desegregation has begun in four Southern states—Florida, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—plus all the border states and the District of Columbia. In four states—Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas and West Virginia—a sizeable number of Negro teachers lost their jobs in the early stages of the change to desegregation. Teacher desegregation is an issue in many of the school desegregation cases now pending in the courts, and federal judges in Kentucky and Florida have ordered districts there to begin desegregating at this level.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Every state in the region has begun desegregation at the college level, although Mississippi at present has no Negroes enrolled at the state's only school to have desegregated, the University of Mississippi. The region has 292 tax-supported institutions of higher learning, and 195 of these are desegregated. Of the 240 schools with all-white or predominantly white enrollments, 171 will accept Negroes; of the 52 with all-Negro or predominantly Negro enrollments, 24 will accept whites. The region has at least an estimated 35,877 Negroes attending public colleges and universities with whites, including at several predominantly Negro institutions. About 10,000 of the Negroes are in predominantly white, public colleges.

The exact number of white and Negro students involved in college-level desegregation is unknown since many states report they no longer keep records by race. The available figures are listed below and in the individual state reports. Of the 195 desegregated schools, 169 actually have Negroes and whites attending together, and the other 26 are desegregated in policy only; 25 of the schools have desegregated only after a court order, and 170 acted voluntarily. (See table "Analysis of Desegregation") A predominantly Negro school in Maryland, Morgan State College, has had no racial restrictions since its founding in 1867 and it had white students before 1936, when the University of Maryland was the first all-white public college to be ordered by a court to admit Negroes.

| | Colleges and Universities | | | | | | Enrollment | | Students in Biracial Colleges | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Predominantly White | | Predominantly Negro | | Total | | Predominantly White Schls. | Predominantly Negro Schls. | | |
| | No. | Deseg. | No. | Deseg. | No. | Deseg. | | | White | Negro |
| Alabama | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 3 | 57,293† | 4,802† | 30,360 | 3 |
| Arkansas | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 20,774* | 2,175* | 20,728 | 46* |
| Florida | 20 | 10 | 13 | 1 | 33 | 11 | 69,031 | 10,007 | 48,463 | 963* |
| Georgia | 16 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 19 | 8 | 40,804 | 3,488 | 24,532 | 1,185 |
| Louisiana | 10 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 6 | 44,391 | 9,528 | 31,365 | 848 |
| Mississippi | 19 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 25 | 1 | 33,955** | 5,296** | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 11 | 11 | 6 | 6 | 17 | 17 | 38,675 | 8,892 | 37,500 | 7,731 |
| South Carolina | 5 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 16,753 | 2,440 | 11,898 | 6 |
| Tennessee | 6 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 40,629 | 4,240 | 36,510 | 4,640 |
| Texas | 50 | 40 | 4 | 3 | 54 | 43 | 167,003 | 8,237 | 143,379 | 6,600 |
| Virginia | 19 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 21 | 9 | 37,935 | 4,130 | 27,425 | 46* |
| SOUTH | 170 | 101 | 42 | 14 | 212 | 115 | 567,243 | 63,235 | 412,160 | 22,068 |
| Delaware | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3,995 | 658 | 4,000 | 653* |
| Dist. of Columbia | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 1,438 | 153 | 1,285 |
| Kentucky | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 36,702 | 924 | 36,083 | 1,543 |
| Maryland | 16 | 16 | 4 | 4 | 20 | 20 | 32,944 | 4,224 | 31,763* | 4,774* |
| Missouri | 14 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 15 | 15 | 53,419* | 1,582 | NA | 2,463* |
| Oklahoma | 22 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 23 | 23 | 57,253 | 693 | 52,033 | 1,542 |
| West Virginia | 10 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 11 | 22,681 | 637 | 20,892 | 1,549 |
| BORDER | 70 | 70 | 10 | 10 | 80 | 80 | 206,994 | 10,156 | 144,924†† | 13,809 |
| REGION | 240 | 171 | 52 | 24 | 292 | 195 | 774,237 | 73,391 | 557,084†† | 35,877 |

*Estimated **1962-63
†1961-62 ††Mo. not included

## FACULTIES

Faculty desegregation has been started at the college level in four Southern states—Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas — and in all the border states, plus the District of Columbia. Faculties remain completely segregated in the seven Southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Seven Southern states—Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—and all the border states, plus the District of Columbia, have initiated desegregation in their trade and special schools—ones for the blind, deaf, dumb, orphan, exceptional, retarded or delinquent children. A Maryland judge has ruled that the 1954-55 decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court included schools for juvenile delinquents and all educational institutions.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

Separate schools or desegregation involving such mixed blood or ethnic groups as Moors, Indians, Turks, and others are reported in the individual state reports for Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Federal court rulings involving such groups generally have followed the legal precedents of school desegregation suits involving Negroes. One North Carolina county, Robeson, operates separate schools for whites, Negroes, Indians and a mixed blood group known as "Smilings." A formerly all-Indian college in North Carolina, Pembroke, now has a predominantly white enrollment.

## LITIGATION

The summary lists 351 court cases filed in state and federal courts on school segregation, desegregation and related issues. Every state in the region has had litigation on the school issue. (See "Race Relations Law Reporter" for texts of court decisions.)

## LEGISLATION

Legislatures of all 17 states have adopted 409 new laws and resolutions concerning school desegregation. Most of the legislation has been added to the statute books since 1954, although a few laws were enacted in anticipation of the U. S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision. Oklahoma has passed legislation to encourage desegregation. The Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia legislatures removed racial designations from their school laws. In 1959, Maryland ratified the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, giving approval to the amendment on which the desegregation decisions were based. Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia have adopted tuition grant laws. Legislatures in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia set up pupil placement plans. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia legislators approved interposition resolutions. Provisions for closing schools are on the law books in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Compulsory school attendance laws have been amended or repealed in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Alabama, Florida, Louisiana and Virginia have laws to encourage or facilitate private schools. Legislation mentioned above has been adopted, but in some cases it has become invalid by court rulings, later legislation, or failure to receive approval in constitutional referendums. (See "Race Relations Law Reporter" for text of laws.)

# ALABAMA

## Elementary and High Schools

114 Districts: 114 With Negroes and Whites; Four Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 539,996 | 287,414 | 827,410 |
| Teachers* | 19,325 | 9,428 | 28,753 |

*1962-63

## Colleges and Universities

Three Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Enrollment* | 57,293 | 4,802 | 62,095 |

*1961-62

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The first desegregation at this level in Alabama occurred with the opening of the 1963-64 term in Birmingham, Huntsville, Macon County (Tuskegee) and Mobile, all by federal court orders. Huntsville actually began desegregated classes on Sept. 9, 1963, a day before the other three districts. The admission of Negroes to the formerly all-white schools in all four districts had been blocked by state troopers acting under the orders of Gov. George Wallace. President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard on Sept. 10 and all five U.S. district judges in Alabama issued an order restraining further interference by the governor. When the biracial classes began in Macon County, all the white students withdrew voluntarily from the one desegregated school, leaving only the 13 Negroes in the boycotted high school. One of the original 13 Negroes later was expelled for disciplinary reasons. The desegregated districts are:

| Districts | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | 38,447 | 34,541 | 5 | 3 | 1963-C |
| Huntsville | 19,226 | 2,309 | 4 | 4 | 1963-C |
| Macon Co.† | 970 | 5,317 | 0 | 0 | 1963-C |
| Mobile** | 47,556 | 28,729 | 2 | 1 | 1963-C |
| TOTALS | 106,199 | 70,896 | 11 | 8 | |

*1962-63.
**District includes Mobile city and county, but rural schools were not affected by the court order this year.
†Although 13 Negroes entered one formerly all-white high school, all the white students voluntarily withdrew to other public schools or the newly established private school.

### TEACHERS

Segregation is maintained at all levels.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Two of the state's seven predominantly white institutions of higher learning are desegregated by court order, and one of the two predominantly Negro schools voluntarily accepted a white student for a 1963 summer session. The University of Alabama first desegregated in February, 1956, when Autherine Lucy attended for several days by order of a federal court in *Lucy v. Adams*. She was driven from the campus by rioting and the Board of Trustees later expelled her for accusing university officials of conspiring in the disorders. The federal court upheld the expulsion but the school remained under permanent injunction to admit qualified Negroes. When three Negroes sought admission to the school in 1963, their suit, *Malone v. Mate*, was combined with the *Lucy* case and they were admitted in June, 1963, under the original order. Gov. George Wallace, who had campaigned on a pledge to "stand in the schoolhouse door" and to block any desegregation efforts, attempted to stop the admission on the main campus June 11, but he withdrew when President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard. Two of the Negroes were accepted by the school and the third enrolled without incident two days later at the Huntsville extension center. One of the two Negroes attending at the main campus withdrew on Aug. 11, 1963, when faced with charges that he had accused university officials of conspiring to get him expelled. Auburn University is under court order to desegregate and admit a Negro graduate student in January, 1964. The college enrollments are:

| Predominantly White | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama College | 2,114 | 0 | |
| Auburn University | 16,025 | 0 | |
| University of Alabama** | 26,404 | 2 | 1963-C |
| Medical-Dental | 802 | 0 | |
| Florence State | 3,154 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Jacksonville State | 4,075 | 0 | |
| Livingston State | 979 | 0 | |
| Troy State | 3,737 | 0 | |
| TOTALS | 57,290 | 3 | |
| **Predominantly Negro** | | | |
| Alabama A & M† | 0 | 1,784 | 1963-V |
| Alabama State | 0 | 3,018 | |
| TOTALS | 0 | 4,802 | |

*1961-62, except for Negroes in predominantly white schools.
**Includes Birmingham, Dothan, Gadsden, Huntsville, Mobile, Montgomery and Selma extension centers.
†One white, summer, 1963.

### FACULTIES

Segregation is maintained. The seven predominantly white schools had 2,830 faculty members; the two predominantly Negro schools, 192.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

All the state's 11 vocational technical schools are segregated. The eight schools for whites had a total enrollment in 1961-62 of 4,025; the three for Negroes, 435. A desegregation suit (*Koen v. Knight*) is pending against the all-white trade school in Mobile. The eight white trade schools had 361 instructors in 1961-62; the three Negro schools, 60.

### LITIGATION (14)

*Alabama ex rel Patterson v. NAACP*

Montgomery Circuit Court Judge Walter B. Jones issued temporary injunction in June, 1956, restraining organization from operation in state. Jones fined NAACP $100,000 for refusing to produce membership records. Fine set aside by U.S. Supreme Court in 1958, reinstated by Alabama Supreme Court in 1959, again set aside in 1959 by U.S. Supreme Court. On Oct. 23, 1961, the U.S. Supreme Court directed Alabama courts to hear the case on its merits—thus permitting the NAACP a chance to free itself of the temporary injunction—or forfeit jurisdiction to the U.S. District Court in Montgomery. Jones made the injunction permanent Dec. 29, 1961. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed Oct. 14, 1963, to hear the case for the fourth time.

*Armstrong et al v. Birmingham Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court June 17, 1960, to enjoin Birmingham Board of Education from "operating a biracial school system." *Armstrong* and *Nelson* cases combined. On May 28, 1963, U.S. District Judge Seybourn Lynne refused to order desegregation of

Birmingham schools because plaintiffs had not exhausted administrative remedies. But he warned that the court would not tolerate discrimination under the School Placement Law, which had been held valid "upon its face" Nov. 24, 1958, in *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled July 12, 1963, that the board must submit a plan for September, 1963, and apply the placement law without discrimination "to all grades . . . including the admission of new pupils entering the first grade, or coming into the city for the first time." On Aug. 19, 1963, the District Court approved a grade-a-year plan beginning with the 12th grade. After attempts by Gov. George Wallace to block admission of five Negroes to three previously all-white schools, schools were desegregated on Sept. 10, 1963, when President Kennedy federalized the state Guard. All five of Alabama's federal district judges had issued an order against the governor's interference.

*Davis et al v. Mobile Board of Education*

Filed March 27, 1963, in U.S. District Court on behalf of 20 Negro children seeking admission to white schools. U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas refused on April 24, 1963, to grant a temporary injunction against the board, and the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld him on May 24, although it directed a "prompt and reasonable start" in desegregation. Judge Thomas on June 24 ordered the board to present by Nov. 14 a desegregation plan for 1964-65. The circuit court on July 9 overruled Thomas and directed that a grade-a-year plan begin with the first grade in September, 1963. The circuit court later revised the order to coincide with the order in the Birmingham case, allowing the school board to submit a plan. On Aug. 16, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black refused a stay order. Gov. George Wallace attempted to block the admission of two Negroes to the 12th grade at Murphy High but President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard and all five of the U.S. district judges in Alabama issued preliminary injunctions forbidding the governor to interfere. Negroes entered the classes on Sept. 10. On Oct. 28, 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the circuit court order. Judge Thomas on Nov. 15, 1963, took under advisement a request for a permanent desegregation order.

*Franklin v. Parker*

Filed Aug. 27, 1963, in U.S. District Court by Harold A Franklin, graduate of Alabama State College (for Negroes), for admission to Auburn University's graduate school. U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson on Nov. 5, 1963, rejected Auburn's contention that Franklin was not qualified because he had not graduated from an accredited college. Johnson held that it was the state's fault, since neither of the state-operated colleges for Negroes is accredited. Johnson directed Auburn to enroll Franklin on Jan. 2, 1964. The university filed notice of appeal.

*Gunn v. Norton*

Filed Aug. 20, 1963, and on Aug. 29 U.S. District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered Florence State College to admit Wendell Willkie Gunn, a Negro, Sept. 11. Gunn entered the college without incident.

*Hereford et al v. Huntsville Board of Education*

Filed March 11, 1963, by five Negro parents in behalf of their children. On Aug. 12, 1963, U.S. District Judge Hobart Grooms ordered Huntsville to accept four Negro students in four schools and directed the board to submit plan of future desegregation no later than Jan. 1, 1964. Negroes entered peacefully Sept. 9, 1963, after being blocked earlier by state troopers under the orders of Gov. George Wallace.

*Koen v. Knight*

Filed in Mobile District Court in August, 1960, by Ernest Koen and Frank E. Lee, Negroes, against H. Clay Knight, director of state trade school at Mobile, seeking admission to school. Also named as defendants: State Superintendent of Education Frank R. Stewart and members of State Board of Education. The court has motions under advisement; no hearing date has been set on the merits.

*Lee v. Macon County Board of Education*

Filed Jan. 28, 1963, in U.S. District Court in behalf of 16 Negro children seeking to attend previously all-white Tuskegee High School, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. on Aug. 12, 1963, ordered desegregation of Macon County schools, directing the board to apply the state placement law without discrimination and to submit further plans by January, 1964. On Aug. 29, the board approved transfer of 13 Negroes to Tuskegee High. Gov. Wallace attempted to block admission of Negroes, using state troopers. President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard Sept. 10 and all five of Alabama's U.S. District Court judges joined in a restraining order and a preliminary injunction directed at the governor. Negroes entered the school Sept. 10 but all white students withdrew, leaving only 12 Negroes attending the high school (one of the original 13 was expelled). White students began attending other white schools nearby and a newly organized Tuskegee private school.

*Lucy v. Adams*

U.S. District Judge H. Hobart Grooms ordered Autherine Lucy admitted to the University of Alabama on Feb. 3, 1956, but Grooms upheld her expulsion after brief attendance for accusing school officials of conspiracy in the riots that drove her from the campus in February. Order opening university to all qualified Negroes remains in effect. (See *Malone v. Mate*)

*Malone v. Mate*

Filed April 15, 1963, in U.S. District Court by Vivian J. Malone and James Hood, seeking admission to the University of Alabama main campus in Tuscaloosa, and by Dave M. McGlathery, seeking admission to the university's Huntsville extension center. On May 21, 1963, Judge H. Hobart Grooms ruled that the July 1, 1955, permanent injunction ordering the university to accept qualified Negroes remained in effect *(Lucy v. Adams)*. Grooms directed admission of the Negro students. On June 11, Gov. George Wallace turned back Asst. U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach who arrived on the main campus with Miss Malone and Hood. President John F. Kennedy federalized the Alabama National Guard, and ordered Wallace to desist. Wallace stepped aside and the students were enrolled. On June 13, McGlathery entered the Huntsville center without incident. The university filed notice of appeal June 19. Hood withdrew from the university in August, 1963, under doctor's orders, he said, while faced with charges he had attacked the administration in a July speech in Gadsden.

*Nelson et al v. Birmingham Board of Education*

Filed June 13, 1962, in U.S. District Court, seeking substantially same relief as Armstrong case. Combined with Armstrong case for hearings, and dismissed on May 28, 1963, because Nelson children no longer lived in Birmingham.

*Reed v. Pearson et al*

Willie Reed attended Reeds Chapel School in Washington County for three days in January, 1961, but was dismissed after other parents protested his presence. Suit filed in U.S. District Court was dismissed on Aug. 21, 1961. Appeal to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals charged he was "not discriminated against by the white race, but by people of his own race, color, mixed blood group and by his own relatives." Appellate court upheld District Court that no federal question was raised and that the case was "nothing more than a family squabble among Negroes of mixed blood."

***Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education***

The U.S. Supreme Court on Nov. 24, 1958, held *Act 201 of 1955* (amended in 1957) valid "upon its face," affirming finding of three-judge district court May 9, 1958, which denied a Negro request for an order admitting Negroes to Birmingham white schools.

***United States v. Mobile, Huntsville and Madison County Boards of Education***

Filed Jan. 18, 1963, by the U.S. Department of Justice seeking desegregation of schools attended by children of servicemen in the three areas. The Huntsville and Madison suits were joined. On May 29, 1963, U.S. District Court Judge H. Hobart Grooms ruled in Birmingham that the justice department was "without authority" in bringing suits against Huntsville and Madison County. Grooms said individuals must show discrimination, otherwise the pupil placement law remained valid. "Except in the field of voting rights," Grooms found, "the Congress has granted no authority to bring such a suit as this. In fact, it has refused to grant such permission." On June 27, 1963, the justice department filed notice of appeal.

## LEGISLATION (32)

### 1955

*SJR 23*—Asked Congress to limit appellate jurisdiction of federal courts.

*Act 187*—Allowed "freedom of choice" in school segregation for Wilcox County.

*Act 201*—Established pupil assignment criteria. Amended by *Act 367* of 1957. Upheld in 1958 in *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*.

### 1956

### (Special Session)

*HJR 10*—Requested U.S. Supreme Court modify its decree.

*Act 40*—Modified teacher tenure in Macon County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 41*—Modified teacher tenure in Marengo County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 42*—Interposition and nullification.

*Act 43*—Required registration of organizations soliciting memberships in Marengo County.

*Act 82*—Proposed amendment for "freedom of choice" in school segregation and provided for disposal of property to private schools. Approved in referendum in August, 1956.

*Act 117*—Authorized separate schools for children whose parents "voluntarily elect" them.

### 1957

*HJR 13*—Interposition. Also protested school and other Supreme Court decisions.

*HJR 33*—Urged Supreme Court to "reverse . . . tendency" and "restore rule of law."

*HJR 122*—Urged president to respect states' rights.

*SJR 16*—Condemned "Black Monday" school decision.

*SJR 46*—Proposed constitutional amendment to limit federal court terms to definite periods.

*SJR 47*—Requested convention to implement proposal to *SJR 46*.

*Act 119*—Established Legislative Coordinating Committee.

*Act 239*—Modified teacher tenure in Bullock County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 361*—Modified teacher tenure in Lowndes County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 367*—Amended pupil assignment act (*Act 201* of 1955) to make school officials judicial officers in fact as well as name.

*Act 528*—Allowed boards of education to close schools, to sell or lease buildings, and provided tuition grants for private schooling. Amended by *Act 210* of 1961.

*Act 532*—Protected teacher retirement benefits in case of public school closing or conversion to private schools.

### 1959

*Act 39*—Provided for secession of individual schools from local and state systems and for their organization into independent districts.

*Act 127*—Provided state aid at college level for instruction not available at public colleges.

*Act 652*—Permitted allocation of education funds to private schools where public school facilities not available.

### 1961

### (Special Session)

*Act 210*—Amended 1957 school closing law ( *Act 528*) to permit boards of education to close desegregation-threatened schools "in the public interest," without waiting for violence or threat of it.

*Act 249* (Special Session)—Modified teacher tenure in Dallas County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 383*—Modified teacher tenure in Sumter County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

*Act 443*—Modified teacher tenure in Perry County to permit firing of teachers who advocate desegregation.

### 1962

*HJR 35*—Established 15-man Commission on Constitutional Government and provided $25,000 to "promulgate information concerning the dual system of government," with emphasis on the "effect of integration" of schools and other public institutions. Gov. John Patterson killed by pocket veto on the ground that "the responsibility of maintaining segregation in the public schools rests primarily with the governor."

### 1963

*Acts 460, 522*—Permitted local boards to separate students on basis of "disparate ability, background and achievement," and to provide special classes, instruction, and whatever grouping considered necessary "in the best interest of the students and the entire student body of the school". The acts' sponsor, Rep. Alton Turner, said the legislation provided for segregation by sex and race within a school ordered desegregated.

# ARKANSAS

## Elementary and High Schools

415 Districts: 228 with Negroes and Whites; 13 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 328,023 | 112,012 | 440,035 |
| Teachers* | 13,205 | 3,545 | 16,750 |

*1962-63

## Colleges and Universities

All Eight Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Enrollment | 20,774 | 2,175 | 22,949 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Arkansas has 13 desegregated school districts, with 66,752 whites and 18,643 Negroes enrolled. The state's first desegregation was at Charleston and Fayetteville, both in 1954, both voluntary. Texarkana's Board of Education has voted to desegregate in September, 1964. Statistics on desegregated districts follow:

| District | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Grades | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bentonville | 1,678 | 3 | 3 | 1-12 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Charleston | 488 | 18* | 18* | 1-12 | 2 | 1954-V |
| Dollarway | 1,413 | 1,482 | 2 | 1,2,10,11 | 1 | 1960-C |
| Fayetteville | 4,275 | 120* | 56* | 7-12 | 3 | 1954-V |
| Fort Smith | 12,002 | 1,222 | 31 | 1-7 | 3 | 1957-V |
| Gosnell | 1,480 | 40* | 20* | 1-12 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Hot Springs | 5,202 | 1,090 | 10* | 1-2** | 5 | 1956-V |
| Hoxie | 896 | 4 | 4 | 1-12 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Little Rock | 16,137 | 7,046 | 123 | 1,4,7-12 | 15 | 1957-C |
| Mansfield | 736 | 14 | 14 | 1-12 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Pine Bluff | 5,100 | 3,525 | 5 | 1-2 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Pulaski Co. | 14,570 | 4,034 | 743† | 1-12 | 4 | 1959-V |
| Van Buren | 2,775 | 55* | 55* | 1-12 | 4 | 1957-V |
| TOTALS | 68,752 | 18,643 | 1,084 | | 47 | |

*Estimated.
**Plus one high school vocational class.
†Includes one white child in a school with 718 Negroes.

### TEACHERS

Complete segregation is maintained.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

All eight state, tax-supported colleges and universities consider applicants without regard to race. About 46 Negroes attend the seven predominantly white schools. The University of Arkansas desegregated voluntarily in January, 1948. The seven other colleges adopted desegregation in principle in the summer of 1955 on the advice of the state attorney general, who said the U.S. Supreme Court decisions would apply to them. Enrollment figures, all estimated, are:

| Predominantly White | Total | Negroes | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arkansas A&M | 1,178 | 0 | 1955-V |
| Ark. Polytechnic | 1,755 | 3 | 1955-V |
| Ark. State | 3,679 | 15 | 1955-V |
| Ark. State Teachers | 2,394 | 0 | 1955-V |
| Henderson State Teachers | 1,853 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Southern State | 1,500 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Univ. of Ark. | 8,415 | 20 | 1948-V |
| TOTALS | 20,774 | 46 | |
| **Predominantly Negro** | | | **Date** |
| Ark. AM&N | 2,175 | 2,175 | 1955-V |
| STATE TOTALS | 22,949 | 2,221 | |

### FACULTIES

No college has a desegregated faculty. No Negro teachers have lost jobs due to desegregation.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The state maintains separate schools by race for the blind, the deaf, the retarded and the handicapped, and for the incorrigible or the delinquents. The state also maintains a vocational trade school for whites at the high school level but none for the Negroes.

### ETHNIC GROUPS

The 1960 census showed Arkansas had 580 Indians, 237 Japanese, 676 Chinese, 83 Filipino and 206 "Other." As far as known, all children in these groups attend regular public schools with whites. During cotton chopping (spring) and cotton picking (fall) seasons, Arkansas imports Mexican workers, whose children also attend regular white public schools

### LITIGATION (33)

*Abernathy v. Izard*

Filed Oct. 28, 1955, in U.S. District Court, seeking desegregation of Van Buren public schools. Desegregation ordered by the court in January, 1956. School board presented plan Aug. 21, 1956, and began desegregation September, 1957.

*Bates v. City of Little Rock*

Appeal by Mrs. L. C. Bates from her conviction under the Little Rock "Bennett" ordinance, which required disclosure of NAACP membership list. U.S. Supreme Court overturned conviction Feb. 23, 1960.

*Carr v. Young*

Filed June 17, 1959, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested *Act 10 of 1958*. Chancery Court upheld the act and State Supreme Court affirmed on Feb. 8, 1960. Carr, Gephardt and Shelton cases consolidated on appeal to U.S. Supreme Court, which held act invalid Dec. 12, 1960.

*Dove v. Parham*

Filed Feb. 6, 1959, in U.S. District Court. Sought to end segregation in the Dollarway School District at Pine Bluff. Principal rulings and events:

Aug. 4, 1959—Federal district judge ordered three Negroes admitted to the white high school but upheld validity of the pupil placement law (*Act 461* of 1959).

Sept. 21, 1959—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed ruling on placement law and ordered the plaintiffs to complete the appeal procedure under the law, instead of being admitted immediately to the white high school.

Feb. 19, 1960—On supplementary complaint by the Negro plaintiffs that they had completed the procedure but still were denied admission to the white school, a federal district judge refused to order them admitted but ordered the school board to file a statement of "affirmative policy" by which it would eliminate segregation.

April 30, 1960—District judge approved the board's statement, which provided that starting in 1960, first grade students would be assigned to schools according to the preference of their parents "insofar as possible" and that transfers at higher grades would be opposed.

Aug. 30, 1960—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the statement did not constitute an adequate start toward desegregation.

September, 1960—One Negro girl entered the first grade of the white school under the plan.

Oct. 12, 1960—District judge ordered the board to present a new "more adequate, objective and definite" plan.

Nov. 19, 1960—Board filed restatement of original plan, assuring that no student would be denied admission to a school solely on racial grounds, and argued that the Negro's admission was an objective and definite action.

Dec. 20, 1960—District judge said the new plan was

not enough, ordered the board to "beef it up."

March 13, 1961—Board filed another—the third—version of its desegregation plan. It said first graders would be admitted to schools of their choice subject to meeting the criteria of the assignment law and making at least average scores on pre-school tests.

May 12, 1961—District judge authorized board to proceed with plan and after the board assigned only two Negro pupils to the white school, the judge on Aug. 25 ordered two more admitted.

Nov. 6, 1961—The district judge refused to allow the board to assign a Negro second grader back to the Negro school, even though that might be more advantageous for him educationally, because there was no reason for the transfer under the pupil assignment law.

Oct. 24, 1962—The court ordered a Negro girl admitted to the 10th grade at the start of the second semester, in January, unless the board could find, by Jan. 1, 1963, a valid reason for not admitting her under the assignment law.

Jan. 21, 1963—Over the board's objection, the girl was admitted to the 10th grade.

*Duncan v. Kirby*

Vernon H. Duncan, a civilian arrested by an Army officer at Little Rock Central High School on Oct. 3, 1957, was fined $50 in Municipal Court. In March, 1958, State Supreme Court granted Duncan's motion to dismiss the case.

*Ex Parte Rector*

Filed Aug. 17, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought to determine the validity of four 1957 segregation laws, *Acts 83, 84, 85* and *86*. No hearing was ever held.

*Fitzhugh v. Ford*

Filed Sept. 16, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested validity of *Act 5*, of 1958, which provided for state tuition payments to the schools attended by pupils displaced by schools closed under *Act 4* of 1958. Upheld Oct. 1, 1958, by Chancery Court, and on May 4, 1959, by State Supreme Court, but ruled invalid June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court, in *Norwood v. Tucker* (then *Aaron v. Cooper*).

*Garrett v. Faubus*

Filed Sept. 12, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested validity of the school-closing law, *Act 4* of 1958. Act upheld Oct. 1, 1958, by Chancery Court, and April 27, 1959, by State Supreme Court, but ruled invalid in June, 1959, by Federal District Court in *Norwood v. Tucker* (then *Aaron v. Tucker*).

*Gephardt v. Tucker*

Filed June 19, 1959, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contested *Act 10* of 1958. Chancery Court upheld act and State Supreme Court affirmed on Feb. 8, 1960. U.S. Supreme Court held act invalid Dec. 12, 1960, in Shelton, Gephardt and Carr cases consolidated on appeal.

*Glover v. McKinley*

Filed May 22, 1959, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Libel suit by 39 white teachers asked $3.9 million against former school board president and his campaign manager. Plaintiffs withdrew their complaint March 19, 1962, without explanation.

*Hoxie School District v. Brewer*

Filed Oct. 14, 1955, in U.S. District Court, seeking to enjoin interference with school board's desegregation plan and asked for declaration of the board's duty under the 1954-55 Supreme Court decisions. On Jan. 9, 1956, District Court enjoined interference, held all state segregation laws invalid and ruled that board had duty to desegregate or be liable to lawsuit. Justice department intervened on side of school board (first desegregation suit the department entered). On Oct. 25, 1956, U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed District Court.

*Jackson v. Kuhn*

Filed Oct. 2, 1957, in U.S. District Court. Sought removal of federal troops from Little Rock Central High School. Dismissed Oct. 15, 1957, by the court. U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld District Court on April 28, 1958.

*King v. Little Rock School District*

Filed Nov. 13, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court. Sought to keep school board from buying up contract of former Supt. Virgil T. Blossom at face value. Dismissed April, 1959, after Blossom declined the board's offer and accepted lesser amount.

*Matthews v. Lanius*

Filed June 20, 1952, in U.S. District Court by Negro plaintiffs who sought equal facilities in Bearden public schools and also requested, as matter of form, desegregation of schools. U.S. Supreme Court ruling of 1954 brought the desegregation request into play. District Judge John E. Miller on Oct. 4, 1955, ordered Bearden school board to start changing to non-discriminatory school system within a year. School board and Negro plaintiffs worked out plan of equalization that satisfied both sides. Board presented desegregation plan March 19, 1957, but Judge Miller issued no order and held case in abeyance. There have been no more proceedings.

*NAACP v. Bennett*

Filed Dec. 4, 1958, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Acts 12, 13, 14* and *16* of 1958. Court ruled Feb. 17, 1959, that state courts should rule first. U.S. Supreme Court on June 22, 1959, ordered District Court to reconsider. After hearing Sept. 12, 1959, District Court again stayed proceedings pending action by state courts. Plaintiffs refiled February 1960, in Pulaski County Chancery Court. On May 13, 1961, Chancellor Murray O. Reed voided *Acts 12, 14* and *16* but upheld *Act 13*. Both sides appealed to the State Supreme Court, which voided all four acts on June 3, 1963. Bennett asked for a rehearing, which was refused Sept. 9, 1963.

*NAACP v. Faubus*

Filed Oct. 26, 1957, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Act 85* of 1957, which required certain organizations to register with the State Sovereignty Commission. Federal court stayed proceedings until law had been tested in state courts. State Supreme Court ruled *Act 85* invalid in September, 1959, in the case *Smith v. Faubus*. Petition in federal court dismissed Feb. 12, 1962, by request of the judge and with consent of the plaintiffs.

*Norwood v. Tucker*

Filed Feb. 8, 1956, in U.S. District Court, Little Rock, as *Aaron v. Cooper*. Attacked Little Rock school plan of gradual desegregation as inadequate. Main rulings and events:

Aug. 28, 1956—District Court upheld plan.

April 29, 1957—U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld plan.

Aug. 30, 1957—District Court overruled Chancery Court injunction against desegregation plan and ordered board to proceed.

Sept. 3, 1957—Admission of Negroes to Central High blocked by Arkansas National Guard.

Sept. 20, 1957—Federal court enjoined Gov. Faubus and others against interfering with court-ordered desegregation; injunction upheld April 28, 1958, by Eighth Circuit Court and by U.S. Supreme Court in October, 1958.

Sept. 25, 1957—Negro students entered Central High under protection of federal paratroopers.

June 20, 1958—District Court delayed plan 2½ years to January, 1961; Eighth Circuit Court reversed delay; and appeals court upheld on Sept. 12,

1958, by U.S. Supreme Court, which ordered board to proceed with desegregation plan.

Sept. 12, 1958—Gov. Faubus closed Little Rock high schools and ordered referendum Sept. 27 on whether to close high schools or desegregate every school in district immediately. Vote was 19,470 to 7,561 for closing.

Sept. 29, 1958—School board enjoined by appeals court from leasing public school property to Little Rock Private School Corp.

Nov. 4, 1958—Dale Alford, school board member who opposed any desegregation, defeated Brooks Hays for Congress. Nov. 12, other five board members resigned en masse. Dec. 6, new six-man board elected and Ed I. McKinley Jr., became president (making style of case *Aaron v. McKinley*). May 25, 1959, McKinley and two others recalled from board, three new members appointed and Everett Tucker Jr. became president (making style of case *Aaron v. Tucker*).

June 18, 1959—*Acts 4* and 5 of 1958 held unconstitutional by District Court; affirmed Dec. 14, 1959, by U.S. Supreme Court.

Aug. 12, 1959—Little Rock high schools reopened with Negroes assigned to both Central and Hall High Schools.

August, 1959—Negro plaintiffs in *Aaron v. Tucker* filed supplemental complaint that school board was using placement law to limit desegregation.

Sept. 20, 1960—District Court upheld board's use of placement law (*Act 461* of 1959), declared this terminated case and ruled that Negro plaintiffs in future would have to file individually. (In appealing this ruling, attorney for plaintiffs changed style of case to *Norwood v. Tucker*).

March 2, 1961—Eighth Circuit Court reversed District Court, ruled that board was using assignment law illegally and must begin applying it objectively to all students, and ordered board to speed up desegregation plan.

June 13, 1961—After board assigned 48 Negro pupils to white schools for 1961-62, plaintiffs asked that assignments be done over and district judge refused.

Sept. 9, 1961—Plaintiffs protested 1961-62 assignments but district judge overruled protests.

*Parker v. Blossom*

Filed Mar. 7, 1958, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought reinstatement of Sammie Dean Parker, white student expelled from Central High School because of incidents with Negro students. Dismissed March 11, 1958, when she was reinstated.

*Rogers v. Paul*

Filed Sept. 12, 1963, in U.S. District Court by Mr. and Mrs. William Rogers, Negro parents who sought the admission of their two daughters to Northside High School, a white school in Fort Smith.

*Safferstone v. Tucker*

Filed July 21, 1961, in Pulaski County Chancery Court. Safferstone and other white property owners sued to stop the Little Rock school board from converting Rightsell Elementary School from white to Negro use. The court upheld the school board, and the State Supreme Court affirmed the decision on May 4, 1962.

*Shelton v. Tucker*

Filed April 21, 1959, in U.S. District Court. Contested validity of *Act 10* of 1958 and *Act 115* of 1959. In June, 1959, District Court upheld *Act 10* but held *Act 115* invalid. *Act 10* held invalid Dec. 12, 1960, by U.S. Supreme Court.

*Smith v. Faubus and State Sovereignty Commission*

Filed Aug. 16, 1957, in U.S. District Court, then refiled Nov. 8, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Attacked validity of 1957 legislation establishing State Sovereignty Commission. State Supreme Court in Sept. 14, 1959, crippled *Act 83* of 1957, which established the commmission, by ruling that six of its 12 members could not legally serve because they were members of the legislature; this left the commission without a quorum and thus powerless to act. At same time the State Supreme Court invalidated *Act 85* of 1957, which required certain organizations to register with the commission, on the ground that the state had no authority to control lobbying, which is regulated by federal law. The federal court suit was dismissed Feb. 26, 1962, at the request of the judge and with consent of the plaintiffs.

*State v. NAACP*

Case No. 108,363 filed Aug. 26, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Contended NAACP was foreign corporation, which had failed to register with state and owed $350, and sought to examine NAACP records. Default judgment for penalty and interest of $437.50 entered and paid by NAACP, November, 1957, but NAACP stood firm on claim that its records were privileged. State Supreme Court affirmed ruling Dec. 23, 1958, and U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear appeal, June 15, 1959. On Aug. 18, 1961, the $437.50 was transferred to State Revenue Department and from there to Secretary of State, who then issued notice that the NAACP was in good standing.

*State v. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund*

Case No. 44,679 filed Aug. 26, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought $5,000 penalty for alleged failure to file with state as foreign corporation. No ruling has been made.

*State v. NAACP*

Case No. 44,851 filed Oct. 10, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought $5,000 penalty for alleged failure to register as foreign corporation. No ruling has been made.

*State v. NAACP*

Case No. 45,182 filed Dec. 23, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent alleged illegal practice of law. Circuit Judge Guy Amsler held on May 30, 1961, that he did not have the authority to issue the requested injunction and dismissed the lawsuit.

*State v. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund*

Case No. 45,183 filed Dec. 23, 1957, in Pulaski County Circuit Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent alleged illegal practice of law. No ruling has been made.

*Stephens v. Laster*

Filed Dec. 24, 1958, in Pulaski Circuit Court, Little Rock. Contested Laster's victory over Stephens in school election Dec. 6, 1958, for position on Little Rock school board. Laster was recalled from board in special election and suit became moot.

*Taylor v. University of Arkansas*

Filed Oct. 16, 1958, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought to cure any legal defect in purchase of a school site from university by Little Rock Private School Corp. Court ruled that any defect had been cured by *Act 223* of 1959.

*Thomason v. Cooper*

Filed Aug. 28, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought injunction to prevent Little Rock school board from proceeding with its desegregation plan. Chancery Court granted injunction Aug. 29, 1957. U.S. District Court overruled injunction Aug. 30, 1957. U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld District Court, April 28, 1958.

*Wilbern v. Little Rock School Board*

Filed Aug. 14, 1957, in Pulaski County Chancery Court, Little Rock. Sought transfer of white students from desegregated schools. Hearing never held.

*Williams v. City of North Little Rock*

Appeal by Mrs. Birdie Williams from her conviction under the North Little Rock "Bennett" ordinance, which required disclosure of NAACP membership list. U.S. Supreme Court overturned conviction Feb. 23, 1960.

*Wise v. Gasaway*

Filed Sept. 19, 1955, in U.S. District Court by Negro teachers who protested their pay was lower than white teachers' in Gould (Lincoln County) School District. Dismissed December, 1957, at request of plaintiffs, who said pay had been equalized.

## LEGISLATION (43)

### 1956

*Initiated Act 2*—Enacted pupil placement law by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 214,712 to 121,129 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

*Constitutional Amendment 47*—Required legislature to adopt interposition. Enacted by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 185,374 to 146,064 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

*Resolution of Interposition*—Declared state policy. Enacted by initiative petition and referendum. Approved 199,511 to 127,360 in general election Nov. 6, 1956.

### 1957

*Act 83*—Created State Sovereignty Commission with duty to protect Arkansas and other states from encroachment by federal government and to provide advice and legal assistance to school districts on matters relating to commingling of the races. Had power to examine books, records, investigate, hold hearings and to subpoena persons and things. Law rendered ineffective Sept. 14, 1959, by State Supreme Court ruling, in *Smith v. Faubus*, that six of the 12 commission members could not legally serve because they were members of the legislature, thus leaving commission without a quorum to act.

*Act 84*—Modified compulsory school attendance law to provide that no child would be required to attend a desegregated school.

*Act 85*—Required racial lobbyists and promoters to register with the Sovereignty Commission. Rendered ineffective by State Supreme Court, Sept. 14, 1959, in *Smith v. Faubus*, by ruling that law could not apply to lobbyists.

*Act 86*—Authorized schools boards to hire legal counsel to defend board or any board member in desegregation suits.

### 1958

(Special Session)

*Act 4*—Permitted governor to close schools. Declared invalid June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court, in *Norwood v. Tucker* (formerly *Aaron v. Tucker*).

*Act 5*—Provided that state aid be withheld from schools closed under *Act 4* and be paid to schools attended by students transferring from the closed school. Declared unconstitutional June 18, 1959, by U.S. District Court in *Norwood v. Tucker* (formerly *Aaron v. Tucker*).

*Act 6*—Permitted student transfers from desegregated school to any segregated school.

*Act 7*—Permitted segregated classes within desegregated school.

*Act 8*—Appropriated $100,000 for governor's expense in school crisis.

*Act 9*—Authorized recall of school board members on petition of 15 per cent of qualified electors (*Act 19 of 1959* made it 25 per cent.) Repealed by *Act 61 of 1961*.

*Act 10*—Required teachers to list, as condition of employment, memberships in and contributions to organizations in last five years. Upheld June, 1959, by U.S. District Court but held unconstitutional Dec. 12, 1960, by U.S. Supreme Court in consolidated appeal of *Shelton v. Tucker*, *Gephardt v. Tucker* and *Carr v. Young*.

*Act 11*—Made law prohibiting practice of law by corporations apply to benevolent and charitable organizations.

*Act 12*—Required any organization deemed to be "interfering with operation of public schools" to file membership lists and other records with county judge. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*, and State Supreme Court on June 3, 1963, also held the law unconstitutional.

*Act 13*—Authorized state attorney general to get court order to search office and copy records of organization suspected of evading state taxes. Voided June 3, 1963, by State Supreme Court in *NAACP v. Bennett*.

*Act 14*—Defined barratry, set penalties for conviction. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*, and the State Supreme Court on June 3, 1963, also held the law unconstitutional.

*Act 15*—Appropriated $19,200 to state attorney general for expenses of school desegregation suits.

*Act 16*—Made it unlawful to promise or to give anything of value as an inducement to commence a lawsuit. Voided May 13, 1961, in *NAACP v. Bennett*, and the State Supreme Court on June 3, 1963, also held the law unconstitutional.

*Act 17*—Made it a misdemeanor to enter public school property or public place of business and create disturbance.

### 1959

*SJR 5*—Proposed *Constitutional Amendment 52* on tuition grants, local option on school closing, other matters. Rejected at general election Nov. 8, 1960, by 247,804 to 83,900.

*Act 19*—Required 25 per cent (instead of 15 per cent) of electors to petition for school board recall election. Repealed by *Act 61* of 1961.

*Act 46*—Provided for tuition grants to students themselves if schools closed.

*Act 55*—Protected retirement benefits of teachers switching to private schools.

*Act 115*—Made it unlawful for any NAACP member to be employed by state, county, municipality or school district. Declared unconstitutional June, 1959, by U.S. District Court in *Shelton v. Tucker*.

*Act 151*—Provided tuition grants to students who decline to attended desegregated school.

*Act 181*—Authorized school boards to meet in jail if any member jailed for defying desegregation court order.

*Act 208*—Allowed schools closed during desegregation to use average daily attendance of previous year in applying for state aid.

*Act 223*—Cleared title to land for T. J. Raney High School (private).

*Act 224*—Allowed sale or lease of public recreation facilities to avoid desegregation.

*Act 225*—Permitted county judges to require certain records and information from any organization deemed to be interfering in school operations.

*Act 226*—Made creating disturbance in public place a misdemeanor.

*Act 236*—Provided tuition grants to white students whose "welfare would be served by attending segregated instead of desegregated school."

*Act 337*—Appropriated $65,000 to Pulaski County (rural) School District and $3,000 to Hazen School District for expense of taking in displaced Little Rock high school students during 1958-59.

*Act 358*—Appropriated $100,000 to State Board of Education for use by needy school districts in desegregation litigation.

*Act 461*—Pupil assignment law. Included all assignment criteria of *Initiated Act 2* of 1956 except one (the location of pupil's residence in relation to schools) and omitted the injunction in *Act 2* that race may not be considered.

*Act 466*—Provided that money withheld under *Act 5* of 1958 and unused would be returned to school district from which withheld.

**1961**

*HCR 14*—Requested Congress to propose a constitutional amendment providing that Supreme Court decisions be invalidated on application within three years of decision by one-fourth of state legislatures until decision subsequently approved by three-fourths of legislatures.

*SJR 1*—Proposed to amend state constitution to provide that no child would be denied free public school education because of refusal to attend school with student of different race if school board were satisfied that attendance would be inimical to child's welfare. Defeated in general election Nov. 6, 1962.

*Act 45*—Increased penalties for bombing or dynamiting public or private property.

*Act 61*—Repealed *Act 9* of 1958 and *Act 19* of 1959, which provided for school board recall elections.

*Act 265*—Required State Board of Education to reimburse local school districts for 50 per cent or more of cost of desegregation, appropriated $100,000 for that purpose and outlined procedure for checking claims.

# DELAWARE

## Elementary and High Schools

86 Districts: 86 With Negroes and Whites; 86 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 79,024 | 18,422 | 97,446 |
| Teachers* | 3,450 | 750 | 4,200 |

*Estimated.

## Colleges and Universities

Both Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Enrollment | 3,995 | 658 | 4,653 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

All 86 school districts operate under a State Board of Education policy of desegregation; only 40 districts actually have Negroes attending classes with whites, and the other 46 are desegregated in policy only. A federal court ordered the state's grade-a-year plan ended and complete desegregation started in all grades and all schools with the 1961-62 year. Arden and Claymont were the first districts to desegregate, voluntarily admitting Negroes in 1953. The districts with biracial schools are:

| | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arden #3 | 68 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1953-V |
| Gunning Bedford | 890 | 91 | 91 | 3 | 1954-V |
| Bridgeville #90 | 697 | 20 | 20 | 1 | 1959-C |
| John M. Clayton | 607 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 1963-C |
| H. C. Conrad #31 | 2,327 | 58 | 58 | 2 | 1954-C |
| Delmar #163 | 639 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Alfred I. duPont #7 | 6,052 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 1954-V |
| Ellendale #125 | 100 | 32 | 32 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Felton #54 | 797 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1959-C |
| Frederica #32 | 266 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1962-C |
| Greenwood #91 | 558 | 52 | 52 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Henry #133 | 1 | 734 | 734 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Houston #125 | 106 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Kenton #9 | 84 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Lincoln 3# | 99 | 61 | 61 | 1 | 1962-C |
| Magnolia | 165 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Marshallton #77 | 2,419 | 94 | 94 | 3 | 1960-C |
| Middletown #60 | 1,080 | 9 | 9 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Millsboro #23 | 751 | 45 | 45 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Milton #8 | 668 | 13 | 13 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Newport #21 | 1,440 | 54 | 54 | 1 | 1960-C |
| Odessa #61 | 143 | 12 | 12 | 1 | 1959-C |
| Rose Hill-Minquadale | 2,998 | 1,327 | 466 | 6 | 1954-V |
| Stanton #38 | 3,003 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Sussex Co. Voc. Tech. #100 | 512 | 17 | 17 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Townsend #81 | 321 | 15 | 15 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Special Districts (14) | | | | | |
| Claymont | 2,536 | 46 | 46 | 3 | 1953-V |
| Dover | 3,159 | 689 | 201 | 5 | 1954-V |
| Alexis I. duPont | 1,770 | 52 | 52 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Harrington | 891 | 142 | 12 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Laurel | 1,589 | 401 | 18 | 2 | 1962-C |
| Lewes | 1,113 | 158 | 22 | 1 | 1960-C |
| Milford | 2,262 | 434 | 30 | 4 | 1959-C |
| Newark | 7,592 | 291 | 291 | 9 | 1954-V |
| New Castle | 4,823 | 192 | 192 | 5 | 1954-V |
| Rehoboth | 438 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 1959-C |
| Caesar Rodney | 4,793 | 432 | 218 | 5 | 1958-C |
| Seaford | 2,434 | 591 | 81 | 4 | 1960-C |
| Smyrna | 1,815 | 300 | 183 | 5 | 1959-C |
| Wilmington | 6,315 | 7,579 | 7,055 | 20 | 1954-C |
| STATE TOTALS | 68,321 | 13,976 | 10,209 | 106 | |

### TEACHERS

The NAACP has launched a drive for teacher desegregation in New Castle County, which already had some at Wilmington and Newark. The extent has not been disclosed.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Both state schools are desegregated. The University af Delaware, only formerly all-white, tax-supported school in the state, announced in 1948 that it would accept Negroes for graduate courses not offered at Delaware State College. The university admitted Negro undergraduates under order from the Court of Chancery in 1950. The enrollments are:

| | White | Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Delaware State | 25* | 633 | 1953-V |
| Univ. of Delaware | 3,975 | 20* | 1948-V |
| TOTALS | 4,000 | 653 | |

*Estimated

**FACULTIES**

The University of Delaware has over 325 faculty members but does not keep race statistics. One Negro reportedly taught in the 1963 summer school after a charge that the university did not have a single Negro faculty member. The predominantly Negro college, Delaware State College in Dover, has 55 faculty members, some of whom are white. Delaware State does not keep race statistics, either.

**SPECIAL SCHOOLS**

Delaware does not maintain any special schools, as such, for the blind, deaf, dumb, etc. Instead, schools themselves operate such units in rooms inside the regular school buildings. The majority of this type school is located in New Castle County, but one also has been built in Caesar Rodney Special School District in Kent County. Such classes are open to members of all races.

**ETHNIC GROUPS**

Delaware's Constitution still calls for separate schools for Indians, Moors, Negroes, and whites, although all schools are under federal court order to admit pupils of all races. In practice, the small schools for separate ethnic groups are being dissolved. In 1962, for instance, the Nanticoke Indian school in Sussex County closed as the pupils enrolled at white schools.

**LITIGATION (5)**

*Belton v. Gebhart*
*Bulah v. Gebhart*

Filed in the Court of Chancery on July 13, 1951, to desegregate public schools in Claymont and Hockessin. On April 1, 1952, Chancellor Seitz ordered the Negro plaintiffs admitted to the schools. The Delaware Supreme Court affirmed the decision on Aug. 28, 1952. On appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the cases were joined with the other school segregation suits pending before the court. The Delaware cases were decided with the other cases on May 17, 1954.

*Buchanan v. Evans et al*

Negro pupils sought admission in seven white school districts in Kent and Sussex counties in a suit filed in U.S. District Court in Wilmington in May, 1956. The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia on Aug. 29, 1960, ordered the state board to end its grade-a-year plan and to desegregate all schools, beginning with the 1961-62 school year. The Supreme Court in January, 1961, refused to review the circuit court order. U.S. District Judge Caleb Wright on Aug. 29, 1962, ordered Rose Hill-Minquadale district to admit nine more Negroes. U.S. District Judge Caleb R. Layton III on Oct. 15, 1962, signed an order forbidding Lincoln School to deny admission of certain Negro children.

*Dennis et al v. Baker et al*

Sought admission of Negro pupils to elementary grades in the Dover district, which in 1954 admitted Negro pupils to high school academic courses. Filed in U.S. District Court in Wilmington in August, 1957. The court has not ruled in the case, perhaps because *Buchanan v. Evans et al* was viewed as a class action.

*Parker v. University of Delaware*

Delaware State Court of Chancery in 1950 reaffirmed principal that segregation per se did not violate the 14th Amendment if equal facilities were provided, but found that such a disparity between the facilities of Delaware State College for Negroes and the University of Delaware warranted an order for admission of Negroes to the university.

**LEGISLATION (1)**

*HB 420*—Established State Human Rights Commission.

# DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

## Elementary and High Schools

**Constitutes a single desegregated school district**

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 19,803 | 117,915 | 137,718 |
| Teachers* | 1,336 | 3,638 | 4,974 |

*Includes D.C. Teachers College faculty.

## Colleges and Universities

**Desegregated**

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| D.C. Teachers College* | | | |
| Enrollment | 153 | 1,285 | 1,438 |

*District's only strictly public college.

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Complete desegregation was inaugurated in 1954, after the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Bolling v. Sharpe*. The District has 24 schools with an all-Negro enrollment of 19,102, and four all-white schools with 1,074 students. This leaves 98,813 Negroes in schools with whites. Enrollment by schools follows:

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS**

| | White | Negro |
|---|---|---|
| Adams | 48 | 327 |
| Aiton | 0 | 996 |
| Amidon | 221 | 456 |
| Bancroft | 191 | 762 |
| Barnard | 12 | 1,185 |
| Beers | 89 | 631 |
| Benning | 5 | 562 |
| Birney | 0 | 1,010 |
| Blair | 1 | 222 |
| Blow | 1 | 404 |
| Bowen | 19 | 691 |
| Brent | 71 | 160 |
| Brightwood | 135 | 573 |
| Brookland | 37 | 309 |
| Bruce | 3 | 566 |
| Bryan | 25 | 824 |
| Buchanan | 14 | 631 |
| Bundy | 0 | 428 |
| Bunker Hill | 47 | 954 |
| Burroughs | 20 | 946 |
| Burrville | 1 | 542 |
| Carver | 0 | 283 |
| Cleveland | 0 | 667 |
| Congress Heights | 536 | 103 |
| Cook, J. F. | 6 | 745 |
| Cooke, H. D. | 202 | 802 |
| Crummell | 1 | 578 |
| Davis | 12 | 1,531 |
| Draper | 406 | 549 |
| Drew | 0 | 1,049 |
| Eaton | 326 | 11 |
| Eckington | 1 | 315 |
| Edmonds | 22 | 322 |
| Emery | 10 | 739 |
| Fillmore | 103 | 10 |
| Gage | 1 | 337 |
| Garfield | 2 | 930 |
| Garrison | 1 | 849 |
| Giddings | 27 | 575 |
| Goding | 9 | 1,033 |
| Grant | 33 | 33 |
| Grimke | 0 | 1,040 |
| Hardy | 167 | 0 |
| Harrison | 4 | 619 |
| Hayes | 0 | 239 |
| Hearst | 213 | 11 |
| Hendley | 437 | 570 |
| Houston | 5 | 827 |
| Hyde | 116 | 10 |
| Jackson | 55 | 21 |
| Janney | 464 | 3 |
| Keene | 71 | 819 |
| Kenilworth | 1 | 1,007 |
| Ketcham | 522 | 152 |
| Key | 165 | 0 |
| Kimball | 119 | 753 |
| Kingsman | 5 | 951 |
| Lafayette | 733 | 1 |
| Langdon | 42 | 827 |
| Langston | 0 | 319 |
| LaSalle | 30 | 1,092 |
| Lenox | 20 | 482 |
| Lenox Annex | 2 | 254 |
| Lewis | 4 | 724 |
| Logan | 3 | 1,009 |
| Lovejoy | 6 | 794 |
| Ludlow | 3 | 260 |
| Madison | 6 | 292 |
| Mann | 210 | 0 |
| Maury | 13 | 791 |
| Merritt | 2 | 601 |
| Meyer | 13 | 1,244 |
| Military Road | 0 | 38 |
| Miner | 3 | 1,074 |
| Monroe | 3 | 546 |
| Montgomery | 0 | 690 |
| Morgan | 5 | 642 |
| Morgan Annex | 7 | 212 |
| Morse | 0 | 268 |
| Moten | 0 | 1,030 |
| Mott | 0 | 725 |
| Murch | 710 | 6 |
| Nalle | 0 | 863 |
| Nichols Ave. | 11 | 605 |
| Noyes | 46 | 755 |
| Orr | 268 | 12 |
| Oyster | 208 | 23 |
| Park View | 6 | 1,052 |
| Patterson | 1,027 | 48 |
| Payne | 16 | 828 |
| Peabody | 97 | 344 |
| Perry | 7 | 408 |
| Petworth | 9 | 715 |
| Pierce | 8 | 380 |
| Plummer | 24 | 1,286 |
| Powell | 11 | 652 |
| Powell Annex | 7 | 268 |
| Randle Highlands | 254 | 61 |
| Raymond | 6 | 729 |
| Richardson | 0 | 913 |
| River Terrace | 5 | 560 |
| Rudolph | 24 | 838 |
| Seaton | 60 | 306 |
| Shadd | 1 | 867 |
| Shepherd | 315 | 153 |
| Simmons | 2 | 856 |
| Simon | 582 | 480 |
| Slater | 3 | 313 |
| Slowe | 11 | 333 |
| Smothers | 2 | 571 |
| Stanton | 168 | 851 |
| Stevens | 23 | 308 |
| Stoddert | 177 | 5 |
| Sumner | 33 | 256 |
| Syphax | 6 | 812 |
| Takoma | 224 | 277 |
| Taylor | 5 | 310 |
| Thomas | 0 | 824 |
| Thomson | 64 | 526 |
| Truesdell | 17 | 707 |
| Turner | 1 | 864 |
| Tyler | 72 | 759 |
| Van Ness | 19 | 985 |
| Walker-Jones | 3 | 919 |
| Watkins | 71 | 1,008 |
| Webb | 4 | 956 |
| West | 19 | 597 |
| Wheatley | 9 | 770 |
| Whittier | 22 | 1,142 |
| Wilson | 7 | 985 |
| Woodridge | 41 | 566 |
| Young | 0 | 1,452 |

**JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Backus | 48 | 1,208 |
| Banneker | 9 | 1,566 |
| Browne | 3 | 1,382 |
| Deal | 1,187 | 6 |
| Douglas | 4 | 1,109 |
| Eliot | 12 | 1,289 |
| Evans | 0 | 926 |
| Francis | 70 | 902 |
| Garnet-Patterson | 0 | 911 |
| Gordon | 668 | 305 |
| Hart | 793 | 401 |
| Hine | 50 | 964 |
| Jefferson | 129 | 490 |
| Kramer | 661 | 530 |
| Langley | 7 | 1,190 |
| Macfarland | 15 | 1,468 |
| Miller | 0 | 1,329 |
| Paul | 267 | 922 |
| Randall | 21 | 982 |
| Shaw | 8 | 1,445 |
| Sousa | 41 | 1,237 |
| Stuart | 68 | 949 |
| Taft | 61 | 1,161 |
| Terrell | 18 | 1,245 |
| Woodson | 0 | 1,325 |

**SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Anacostia | 625 | 646 |
| Ballou | 598 | 629 |
| Cardozo | 4 | 1,520 |
| Coolidge | 359 | 920 |
| Dunbar | 1 | 1,268 |
| Eastern | 5 | 2,381 |
| McKinley | 15 | 1,774 |
| Roosevelt | 19 | 1,319 |
| Spingarn | 0 | 1,718 |
| Western | 739 | 376 |
| Wilson | 1,366 | 4 |

**VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Bell | 47 | 410 |
| Burdick | 74 | 407 |
| Chamberlain | 241 | 360 |
| Phelps | 1 | 692 |
| Washington | 4 | 684 |

**SPECIAL SCHOOLS**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Americanization | 532 | 0 |
| Capitol Page | 61 | 1 |
| Sharoe Health | 51 | 170 |
| Veterans High Center | 14 | 430 |
| Boys' Jr.-Sr. High | 1 | 28 |
| Girls' Jr.-Sr. High | 0 | 59 |
| Visiting Instruction | 108 | 148 |

### TEACHERS

All faculties in the District school system are desegregated. No racial distinctions are made in either hiring or assigning teachers to schools. This includes Teachers College faculty.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

D.C. Teachers College is the only strictly public college in the District. The school resulted from the merger of the district's two uniracial colleges in 1954.

### LITIGATION (2)

*Bolling v. Sharpe*

Filed in 1950 to desegregate Washington, D.C., schools and included in the U.S. Supreme Court's school segregation decision in 1954. The case was settled in 1954 under the Fifth Amendment.

*Sabine v. Sharpe*

Sought an injunction against the school desegregation plan. Federal District Court for the District of Columbia awarded the defendant school board a summary judgment in 1954.

### LEGISLATION

None.

# FLORIDA

## Elementary and High Schools

67 Districts: 67 With Negroes and Whites; 16 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 964,241 | 237,871 | 1,202,112 |
| Teachers | 34,712 | 9,463 | 44,175 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

11 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 20 | 13 | 33 |
| Enrollment | 69,031 | 10,007 | 79,038 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Florida has 16 counties with desegregated schools, and Negroes attend 116 schools with whites. Six counties were under court orders to desegregate at the start of the 1963 term, four of them having begun some desegregation in 1962. All counties with some desegregation, with one exception, assigned additional Negroes to white schools in 1963. Resegregation due to residential factors reduced desegregation in Broward County by almost one half. The first school district to desegregate in the state, Dade County (Miami), acted voluntarily in 1959 in advance of a court order. Estimated enrollments in desegregated districts for 1963–64 are:

| County | Enrollment* White | Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Biracial Schools | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Broward | 69,574 | 10,916 | 50 | 6 | 1961-V |
| Charlotte | 1,208 | 176 | 6 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Dade | 163,720 | 38,220 | 3,012 | 41 | 1959-V |
| Duval | 90,225 | 19,814 | 12 | 5 | 1963-C |
| Escambia | 39,139 | 7,049 | 50 | 11 | 1962-C |
| Hillsborough | 82,323 | 12,904 | 94 | 7 | 1961-V |
| Leon | 12,198 | 2,284 | 4 | 2 | 1963-C |
| Monroe | 8,439 | 1,030 | 100 | 5 | 1962-V |
| Okaloosa | 4,127 | 1,771 | 14 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Orange | 54,408 | 11,249 | 37 | 5 | 1962-V |
| Palm Beach | 47,590 | 7,224 | 61 | 12 | 1961-C |
| Pinellas | 57,124 | 10,197 | 118 | 10 | 1962-V |
| Saint Johns | 2,914 | 1,382 | 6 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Santa Rosa | 2,818 | 1,294 | 14 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Sarasota | 7,225 | 985 | 39 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Volusia | 26,343 | 4,172 | 33 | 2 | 1961-V |
| TOTALS | 669,375 | 130,667 | 3,650 | 116 | |

*Estimated

### TEACHERS

Two counties, Dade and Sarasota have desegregated teaching staffs—Sarasota at one school and Dade at "several." Dade has formally notified all teaching and administrative staff that they will be assigned without regard to race. Desegregation orders by a federal court for Volusia and Duval counties included instructions to begin teacher desegregation.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

The first Negro to attend the University of Florida, George H. Starke, enrolled in the Law School in September, 1958, by a court order in *Hawkins v. Board of Control*. The university enrolled its first Negro undergraduates for 1962–63. Negroes have been attending summer classes at the University of Florida and Florida State University. The University of South Florida has had some Negro students since it was opened in 1960. The 29 junior colleges are operated under the county school boards and most have separate campuses for white and Negro students. Dade Junior College is completely desegregated. Three others have some Negro students. The 1963–64 college enrollments are:

| | Enrollment White | Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predominantly White Senior Colleges** | | | |
| Fla. State Univ. | 11,102 | 5 | 1962-V |
| Univ. of Fla. | 14,624 | 2 | 1958-C |
| Univ. of S. Fla. | 4,584 | 6 | 1960-V |
| TOTALS | 30,310 | 13 | |
| **Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges** | | | |
| Florida A&M Univ.* | 0 | 2,884 | 1963-V |
| 29 Junior Colleges | 38,721 | 7,110 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 69,031 | 10,007 | |

*Desegregated in policy although no whites have attended.

Individual enrollment figures for the junior colleges this year were unavailable and the following figures are for 1962–63:

| Junior Colleges | White | Negro | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bay County | | | |
| Gulf Coast | 922 | 0 | |
| Rosenwald | 0 | 106 | |
| Brevard County | | | |
| Brevard | 2,478 | Some** | 1963-V |
| Carver | 0 | 130 | |
| Broward County | | | |
| Broward | 1,741 | 100** | 1962-V |
| Columbia County | | | |
| Lake City | 377 | 0 | |
| Dade County | | | |
| Dade | 6,114 | 812 | 1960-V |
| Escambia County | | | |
| Pensacola | 3,128 | 0 | |
| Washington | 0 | 179 | |
| Jackson County | | | |
| Chipola | 1,078 | 0 | |
| Jackson | 0 | 77 | |
| Lake County | | | |
| Lake-Sumter | 361 | 0 | |
| Johnson | 0 | 133 | |
| Lee County | | | |
| Edison | 563 | 0 | |
| Madison County | | | |
| North Florida | 467 | 0 | |
| Suwanee River | 0 | 132 | |
| Manatee County | | | |
| Manatee | 2,059 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Marion County | | | |
| Central Florida | 1,189 | 0 | |
| Hampton | 0 | 349 | |
| Palm Beach County | | | |
| Palm Beach | 2,505 | 19** | 1961-V |
| Roosevelt | 0 | 188 | |
| Pinellas County | | | |
| St. Petersburg | 4,397 | 18** | 1961-V |
| Gibbs | 0 | 636 | |
| Putnam County | | | |
| St. Johns River | 855 | 0 | |
| Collier-Blocker | 0 | 74 | |
| St. Lucie County | | | |
| Indian River | 1,157 | 0 | |
| Lincoln | 0 | 162 | |
| Volusia County | | | |
| Daytona Beach | 3,396 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Volusia County | 0 | 2,344 | |
| TOTALS | 32,787 | 5,224 | |

**Negroes reported attending in 1963–64.

### FACULTIES

Dade County Junior College has about 10 Negro faculty members and Gibbs County Junior College in Pinellas County, which is all-Negro, has had some white faculty members.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Two state industrial schools for boys and two for girls are segregated. The two schools for boys have duplicated facilities separated by a street. The girls institutions have two duplicated facilities in the same towns. The Florida School for Deaf and Blind at St. Augustine has no duplicated facilities but keeps the races separate. The segregation is contested in *Singleton et al v. Board of Commissioners of Public Welfare et al.*

### ETHNIC GROUPS

All Indians go to regular white schools except those attending two federally operated schools on federal reservations at Dania and Brighton.

### LITIGATION (24)

*Anderson et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Polk County*

Filed in U.S District Court in August, 1963, for complete desegregation of Polk County schools. Pending.

*Augustus et al v. Board of Public Instruction*

U.S. District Judge Harrold Carswell on March 17, 1961, ordered Escambia County to produce a desegregation plan for September, 1961. With court approval, the school board began the desegregation in Pensacola and county schools in September, 1962. On July 24, 1962, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered elimination of dual districts for grades one and two in September, 1963, and for a grade a year thereafter. The court ordered the District Court to consider the request for teacher desegregation. In December, 1962, Judge Carswell ordered a speedup of Escambia desegregation, beginning in September, 1963.

*Braxton et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County*

Class suit filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court seeking desegregation at all school levels. The court rejected a petition by a group of whites who wanted to intervene as defendants. On Aug. 12, 1962, U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson ordered the county to submit a complete desegregation plan, including teachers. The county board has proposed to begin with the first grade in September, 1963, but requested more time to plan teacher desegregation. On May 8, 1963, the court approved a grade-a-year plan, which began in September.

*Ellis v. Kipp*

Filed in U.S. District Court on April 6, 1962, for complete school desegregation of Orange County schools. Preliminary arguments and motions have been heard. County desegregated voluntarily in September, 1962.

*Florida v. Special School Tax District No. 1 of Dade County*

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1955 case with racial aspect.

*Gibson et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Dade County*

U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1959 ruled pupil assignment was not good faith compliance, ordered Dade County to proceed with desegregation. County school board already had ordered Negroes admitted to one school and since has assigned Negroes to others. U.S. District Court refused to reopen case on appeal of Negro group in 1962. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on Dec. 11, 1962, denied the Negro petition for a writ of mandamus.

*Gibson et al v. Florida Legislative Investigating Committee*

Florida Supreme Court upheld committee power to subpoena NAACP membership lists in 1960. Rev. Theodore Gibson sentenced to jail for contempt for failure to comply with order. U.S. Supreme Court vacated the sentence in June, 1962.

*Hall et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Broward County.*

Suit filed in August, 1961, in U.S. District Court to desegregate school system. School board voted to assign Negro children to white schools.

*Hammond v. University of Tampa*

Two Negroes filed suit in U.S. District Court in March, 1963, requesting a desegregation on the basis that the private school received tax funds.

*Hawkins v. Board of Control*

Five Negroes sought admission to the University of Florida in a suit filed in 1949 in a state court. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1956 that Hawkins should be admitted forthwith but the Florida Supreme Court refused to accept the mandate. In 1957, by a consent decree, the Board of Control agreed to accept all qualified students regardless of race while plaintiff Virgil O. Hawkins agreed not to contest further the board's finding that he was ineligible because of a low score on admission tests. Negro students have been admitted to the University of Florida, the first in 1958.

*Hendrix v. Florida State Cabinet*

William Hendrix, long-time Ku Klux Klan leader, filed suit in 1960 in Leon Circuit Court to compel the governor and members of his cabinet to hold a statewide referendum on maintaining segregated schools. The court granted a motion to dismiss on grounds that such a referendum, even if held, would be of no force or effect.

*Holland et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Palm Beach County*

Filed in 1955 to compel acceptance of one Negro boy in a white school. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the board to proceed with desegregation. Compliance delayed by Holland's appeals to local and state school boards and a dispute over school district lines. Under a consent decree in September, 1961, Palm Beach desegregated the high schools. In May, 1962, U.S. District Judge Emmett C. Choate ordered all students admitted to high school nearest their home, without regard to race or academic achievement. Children of Negro lawyer, W. M. Holland, on June 16, 1963, were ordered admitted to schools with whites.

*Manatee County Board of Public Instruction v. State*

Florida Supreme Court validated school bonds in 1957 case with racial aspect.

*Mannings et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Hillsborough County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1959 for complete desegregation of county schools. The county desegregated its first school in the fall, 1961. On Aug. 21, 1962, U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson ordered the county to submit a complete desegregation plan. The county proposed to desegregate the first grade in 1963, and grade a year thereafter. The District Court approved the plan May 25, 1963.

*Mays et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Sarasota County*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Oct. 12, 1961, on behalf of seven Negroes seeking to desegregate schools. Two schools desegregated voluntarily in 1962. District Court in 1963 ordered grade-a-year to begin in the junior high grades, since elementary grades already had desegregated. Issue of teacher desegregation held in abeyance.

*Milledge et al v. State Board of Control*

Filed in 1963 in Leon County Circuit Court to enjoin state from financial support of graduate law school at Florida A&M University as an excessive burden on taxpayers to support segregated school. Petition denied in August, 1963, on grounds that segregation was not proven. Appeals pending.

*Scott et al v. Board of Public Instruction of St. Johns County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in April 6, 1962, to desegregate schools. District voluntarily began desegregation in September, 1963, while suit in progress.

*Sears et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Lee County*

Filed in Lee County Circuit Court in October, 1962, opposing construction of new Negro school, contending white schools have facilities for Negroes. Petition denied.

*Singleton et al v. Board of Commissioners of State Institutions et al*

Filed in U.S District Court on Nov. 12, 1963, by the NAACP on behalf of four juveniles arrested in St. Augustine sit-in demonstrations, the suit asked desegregation of Florida's training schools for juvenile delinquents.

*State v. Lake County Board of Public Instruction*

State Circuit Judge T. G. Futch refused to validate $5.6 million county bond issue for seven Negro schools, holding desegregation was ignored. Florida Supreme Court reversed the ruling, which State School Supt. Bailey had said would jeopardize entire state school building program.

*Steele et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Leon County*

Filed in U.S. District Court on March 2, 1962, for complete desegregation of students and teachers. U.S. District Judge denied motion to strike that portion of the suit relating to teachers, but said no testimony would be heard on this point when the trial began. District Judge G. Harrold Carswell in March, 1963, ordered desegregation, beginning in September, 1963, and on April 22, 1963, he approved a grade-a-year pupil-assignment plan. Schools in the county, seat of the state capital, began desegregation as scheduled.

*Tillman et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1960 for complete desegregation. County voluntarily desegregated in 1961. U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson on Aug. 21, 1962, ordered plan of complete desegregation, including teachers. County proposed desegregating first grade in 1963, with one grade a year thereafter, but asked more time on teacher desegregation. Judge Simpson approved the school desegregation plan on May 8, 1963.

*U.S. v. Bay County Board of Public Instruction*

Filed in U.S. District Court in November, 1963, by U.S. Department of Justice to force desegregation of public schools on grounds that federal authorities had received written assurances there would be no discrimination against children of federal employes covered by federal grants-in-aid.

*Weaver et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Brevard County*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Oct. 13, 1961, on behalf of 59 Negroes to desegregate schools. Motions and arguments heard; pending.

**LEGISLATION (25)**

**1955**

*Ch. 29746*—Granted county school boards authority for pupil assignment and authorized counsel in litigation.

**1956**

**(Extra Session)**

*SCR17XX*—Evoked doctrine of interposition.

*Ch. 31380*—Established pupil assignment criteria. Amended by *Ch. 428* of 1959 to include wording taken from similar Alabama law, approved "on its face" by federal courts.

*Ch. 31389*—Conferred additional powers on governor to quell public disturbances.

*Ch. 31390*—Conferred additional powers on governor to prevent and subdue violence.

*Ch. 31391*—Provided for selection and dismissal of teachers without regard to prior contractual agreements, on basis of educational, sociological and psychological criteria.

*Ch. 31498*—Created committee to investigate organizations advocating violence or violation of state laws.

**1957**

*HCR 61*—Commended special Fabisinski committee studying ways to preserve public schools.

*HCR 174*—Invoked doctrine of interposition.

*SCR 116*—Proposed constitutional amendment to vest U.S. Senate with appellate jurisdiction in U.S. Supreme Court decisions in cases involving jurisdiction of states.

*S. Mem. 19X*—Urged Congress to censure President's use of troops at Little Rock, Ark.

*S. Mem. 530*—Proposed amending 10th Amendment to state that maintenance of "harmonious race relations" be included in state's police powers.

*Ch. 125*—Extended committee created by *Ch. 31498* of 1956.

*Ch. 1975*—Authorized closing schools when troops used.

**1959**

*Ch. 113*—Regulated establishment of private schools.

*Ch. 138*—Provided separation of students by sex.

*Ch. 428*—Amended pupil assignment law *(Ch. 31380* of Negro children as part of state plan for public education.

*Ch. 230*—Provided automatic closing and suspension of schools in event national guard or federal troops used on state property.

*Ch. 247*—Created State Board of Private Education.

*Ch. 412*—Amended compulsory attendance law to prevent forced attendance at biracial schools.

*Ch. 428*—Amended pupil assignment law *(Ch. 31380* of 1956) to incorporate wording taken from similar Alabama law, approved by federal courts.

*Ch. 623*—Established private school corporation law.

*Ch. 822*—Provided maximum 20 years imprisonment for malicious injury to buildings and structures by gunpowder.

*Ch. 876*—Made it unlawful to wear hoods or conceal face in public.

*Ch. 955*—Included requirement that white and Negro inmates at Florida School for Boys be in "separate buildings, not nearer than one-fourth mile to each other."

# GEORGIA

## Elementary and High Schools

197 Districts: 181 With Negroes and Whites; Four Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 689,323 | 337,534 | 1,026,857 |
| Teachers | 24,432 | 10,899 | 35,331 |

## Colleges and Universities

Eight Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 16 | 3 | 19 |
| Enrollment | 40,804 | 3,488 | 44,292 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Georgia has four desegrated school districts, with 95,731 whites and 77,599 Negroes enrolled. Atlanta, the first to desegregate, admitted Negroes to the 11th and 12th grades in four formerly all-white high schools on Aug. 30, 1961, under a U.S. District Court order in *Calhoun v. Latimer*. Dougherty County (Albany) is under order in *Gaines et al v. Dougherty County Board of Education et al* to desegregate and the U.S. District Court has approved a grade-a-year plan to begin with the first grade in September, 1964, but the case is on appeal. Muscogee County (Columbus) Board of Education has a committee to formulate plans to desegregate the public schools, but no date has been announced. The desegregated districts are:

| District | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schls. | Grades | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Atlanta | 58,041* | 55,764* | 145 | 12 | 9-12 | 1961-C |
| Chatham Co. | 24,013 | 15,336 | 21 | 2 | High | 1963-C |
| Clarke Co | 5,927 | 3,194 | 5 | 3 | 3,7,11 | 1963-V |
| Glynn Co. | 7,750 | 3,305 | 6 | 1 | High | 1963-V |
| TOTALS | 95,731 | 77,599 | 177 | 18 | | |

*Estimated

### TEACHERS

Segregation is maintained.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Georgia has eight desegregated, eight all-white and three all-Negro public colleges and universities. The University of Georgia was the first to desegregate. In January, 1961, the school admitted two Negroes under court order in *Holmes v. Danner*, briefly suspended them because of disorders on the campus, then readmitted them under court order. In 1959, a U.S. District Court had prohibited consideration on the basis of race for admission to Georgia State College, although the plaintiffs in the case (*Hunt v. Arnold*) were not ordered admitted. Georgia State voluntarily accepted its first Negro student in the summer, 1962. Although West Georgia College desegregated voluntarily in the summer, 1963, no Negroes enrolled for the following fall quarter. The college enrollments are:

| | White | Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predominantly White** | | | |
| Abraham Baldwin Agri. | 835 | 0 | |
| Armstrong | 783 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Augusta | 1,204 | 0 | |
| Columbus | 786 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Georgia Southern | 2,381 | 0 | |
| Georgia Southwestern | 593 | 0 | |
| Georgia State | 4,503 | 6 | 1962-V |
| Georgia Inst. of Tech. | 6,299 | 10 | 1961-V |
| Southern Tech. Inst. | 992 | 0 | |
| Evening School | 1,371 | 0 | |
| Medical College of Ga. | 371 | 0 | |
| Allied Medical Sciences | 61 | 0 | |
| School of Nursing | 103 | 0 | |
| Middle Georgia | 771 | 0 | |
| North Georgia | 960 | 0 | |
| South Georgia | 675 | 0 | |
| University of Georgia | 11,016 | 15 | 1961-C |
| Continuing Education Center | 3,641 | 0 | |
| Valdosta State | 1,144 | 2 | 1963-V |
| West Georgia | 1,268 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Women's College of Georgia | 1,012 | 0 | |
| TOTALS | 40,769 | 35 | |
| **Predominantly Negro** | | | |
| Albany State | 0 | 1,024 | |
| Columbus Center | 0 | 67 | |
| Ft. Valley State | 0 | 1,246 | |
| Savannah State | 1 | 1,150 | 1963-V |
| TOTALS | 1 | 3,487 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 40,770 | 3,522 | |

### FACULTIES

In higher education, all white college and university units have white teachers and Negro units have Negro teachers.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Complete segregation is maintained in the state's special schools for blind, deaf, mute, mentally retarded and delinquent children. Four Negroes were admitted to the former all-white Dekalb Area Technical School near Atlanta in October, 1963. One Negro was accepted at the Bibb County Vocational School in Macon in June, 1963. The Coosa Valley Vocational School near Rome has announced a desegregation policy for September, 1964.

### LITIGATION (16)

*Aiken v. O'Callahan*

Filed on Oct. 17, 1961, seeking a tuition grant for a private school student. Fulton Superior Court ordered the grant paid, Dec. 22, 1961.

*Bivins et al. v. Board of Public Education of Bibb County et al*

Filed Aug. 14, 1963, in Middle Georgia District U.S. Court by 44 Negro children and parents seeking desegregation of Bibb County schools. Board of Education has asked court for permission to present desegregation plan.

*Board of Public Education for Bibb County v. Evans et al*

Board sought in 1963 to obtain from Bibb County Superior Court ruling on whether board charter would be valid if schools were desegregated. Court ruled that charter section requiring separate schools was unconstitutional, but other sections of charter remained valid.

*Calhoun v. Latimer*

Filed Jan. 11, 1958, in U.S. District Court. U.S. District Court ordered desegregation of Atlanta schools May 1, 1961. Court order declaring segregation unconstitutional in Atlanta school system entered July 9, 1958. Final approval of defendants' proposed plan of desegregation given Jan. 20, 1960, with effective date of plan set for May 1, 1961. Desegregation began Sept., 1961. On a separate issue, a white girl, Sandra Melkild, applied for a transfer from a desegregated to a segregated school, and the request was refused by the Atlanta school board but granted on appeal to the State Board of Education. The U.S. District Court on Dec. 12, 1961, enjoined the state board from granting the transfer and the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed on Nov. 16, 1962. On the main issue of Atlanta's desegregation, a group of Negro parents on April 30, 1962, asked the court to stop use of the pupil placement plan and to order complete desegregation. On Nov. 15, 1962, the District Court disapproved the two requests. On Oct. 2, 1963, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the plan and the pace at which it was proceeding.

*Emory University et al v. Nash et al*

Filed in DeKalb County Superior Court in 1962. The court held that Emory would lose its tax exemption if it admitted Negroes. The Georgia Supreme Court decided on Sept. 14, 1962, that Emory could desegregate without losing its tax-exempt status.

*Gaines et al v. Dougherty County Board of Education et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court on April 5, 1963, by 19 Negro children seeking desegregation of Dougherty County (Albany) schools. U.S. District Judge J. Robert Elliott on July 13, 1963, ordered a desegregation plan, and on August 28, 1963 approved a plan for desegregation by September, 1964. Appealed to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

*Gibson et al v. Glynn County Board of Education et al*

Filed by seven white students and five parents on August 27, 1963, asking temporary injunction against voluntary desegregation of Glynn County (Brunswick) schools. U.S. District Judge Frank Scarlett granted the injunction, but the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on September 22, 1963, reversed his action and the district desegregated.

*Harris et al v. Glynn County Board of Education et al*

Filed by six Negro students on Aug. 31, 1963, asking U.S. District Court intervention in *Gibson* injunction suit (above). Court ordered board to submit desegregation plan. On September 12, 1963, U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed district court's injunction and district desegregated.

*Holmes v. Danner*

Initial complaint filed August, 1960. U.S. District Court ordered desegregation of University of Georgia Jan. 6, 1961.

*Hunt v. Arnold*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Sept. 28, 1956. U.S. District Court issued an order against further discrimination on basis of race for admission at Georgia State College of Business Administration in 1959, although plaintiffs in this particular case were not ordered admitted.

*Johnson et al v. Georgia State Board for Vocational Education et al*

Filed on October 2, 1963, by two Negroes seeking desegregation of Coosa Valley Vocational School near Rome. On same day, school director announced desegregation would be in effect at beginning of next enrollment term (September, 1964).

*NAACP v. Pye*

Sought to appeal contempt citation against organization. Pending.

*Peters v. Boggs*

Filed in state court in the summer, 1961, seeking to prohibit the use of public funds by four desegregated Atlanta high schools. State Supreme Court threw out the case on Nov. 21, 1961.

*Stell v. McCormac*

Filed Jan. 18, 1962, in U.S. District Court to desegregate the schools in Chatham County (Savannah). Parents of 36 Negro children sought to enjoin the board from operating a compulsory dual school system, assigning teachers and pupils by race, and approving budgets designed to perpetuate separate schools. On March 29, 1963, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett permitted intervention in the suit by a group of white parents who questioned the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 decision and contended that desegregation would cause psychological damage to white students forced to attend schools with Negroes. On May 13, 1963, Judge Scarlett refused the desegregation injunction. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeal on May 24, 1963, rebuked Scarlett and ordered a desegregation plan by July to begin in September. The District Court approved a grade-a-year plan starting with the 12th grade.

*Ward v. University System Board of Regents*

Filed June 23, 1952, in U.S. District Court. Admission to University of Georgia denied by U.S. District Court in 1957 on grounds that plaintiff did not pursue all administrative remedies.

*Williams v. NAACP*

Fulton Superior Court in 1957 cited NAACP for contempt for denying access to records. Georgia Court of Appeals in 1957 ruled against NAACP bill of exceptions.

**LEGISLATION (44)**

**1953**

*Act 156*—Proposed state amendment authorizing tuition grants. Adopted in 1954 general election.

**1955**

*Act 82*—Forbade state or local funds for schools expecting to desegregate. Repealed in 1961.

*HR 23-54A*—Urged constitutional amendment giving states sole power over schools.

*HR 31-84A*—Urged constitutional amendment denying federal authority over schools.

**1956**

*SR 32*—Defined duties and authority of Georgia Education Commission. Georgia Education Commission replaced by Georgia Commission on Constitutional Government in 1959.

*HR 37*—Urged other states to oppose federal aid.

*HR 185*—Interposition.

*Act 11*—Provided tuition grants and allowed closing of schools. Repealed in 1961.

*Act 12*—Forbade trespassing on closed school property.

*Act 13*—Permitted lease of school property for private schools.

*Act 14*—Authorized School Building Authority to sublease facilities for private schools.

*Act 15*—Extended retirement benefits to teachers in non-public schools.

*Act 16*—Required fire inspection of private schools.

*Act 197*—Forfeited retirement benefits of officers failing to enforce school segregation. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

*Act 383*—Defined duties of state law officers regarding school segregation laws. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

*Act 454*—Included in General Appropriations Act a provision withholding funds from desegregated schools.

**1957**

*HR 8-7A*—Permitted Georgia Education Commission to hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, etc. Commission deactivated 1959.

*HR 11-7D*—Authorized Georgia Education Commission to air pro-segregation views. Commission deactivated 1959.

*HR 174-554D*—Asked impeachment of six U.S. justices.

*HR 179*—Commended Atlanta Teachers Association for rejecting desegregation demand.

*Act 7*—Protected retirement benefits of teachers transferring to private schools. Not specifically repealed by 1961 legislature but considered made invalid.

*Act 60*—Gave governor extraordinary powers to suppress violence.

*Act 139*—Authorized governor to suspend compulsory school attendance laws. Modified in 1958 by *Act 289*.

*Act 514*—Redefined barratry law. Amended by *Act 910*, 1960.

**1958**

*HR 305*—Censured President's use of troops at Little Rock.

*Act 289*—Empowered governor to suspend compulsory school attendance law. Amended *Act 139* of 1957.

**1959**

*Act 2*—Created Governor's Commission on Constitutional Government.

*Act 3*—Allowed state income tax credits for private schools under certain conditions.

*Act 7*—Permitted governor to close single school in a system ordered to desegregate. Repealed in 1961.

*Act 9*—Allowed special legal counsel for state expenses in school cases.

*Act 10*—Set age limit of 21 years for initial enrollment for undergraduate studies at state colleges and universities, and 25 years for graduate work. Legislature repealed in 1961 but Gov. Ernest Vandiver vetoed the repeal. In 1962, the legislature passed *Act 847* to repeal the law and Gov. Vandiver signed the bill.

*Act 212*—Banned ad valorem taxes for desegregated schools. Repealed in 1961.

*Act 382*—Assured pay of teachers if public schools closed.

**1960**

*HR 360*—Created school study (Sibley) commission to test public sentiment on desegregation and report back to legislature.

*Act 504*—Prohibited levying taxes for desegregated schools and authorized taxes for payment of debts contracted prior to change. Repealed in 1961.

*Act 910*—Stiffened penalties for barratry (*Act 514 of 1957*).

**1961**

*SR 51*—Established an Educational Rights Commission.

*HR 69-174*—Proposed a constitutional amendment to preserve freedom from compulsory association at all levels of public education. Adopted in November, 1962, general election.

*Act 13*—Set up local option procedures for closing and reopening public schools in desegregation crises.

*Act 14*—Provided grants of state and local funds for children from 6 to 19 years of age who choose private rather than public schools. Amended by *Act 870*, 1962, and *Act 418*, 1963.

*Act 15*—Revised procedures on appeals from local boards on pupil placement.

**1962**

*Act 847*—Repealed *Act 10* of 1959.

*Act 870*—Amended *Act 14* of 1961, specifically describing the procedure for requesting and receiving grants of state and local tuition grants. Provided that the State Board of Education prescribe regulations for implementation of the act.

**1963**

*Act 418*—Amended tuition grant law (*Act 14, 1961*) to place burden on local officials for determining need of grants and provided that part of grant must be from local funds.

# KENTUCKY

## Elementary and High Schools

204 Districts: 165 With Negroes and Whites; 163 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 611,126 | 54,874 | 666,000 |
| Teachers | 25,021 | 1,502 | 26,523 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

All Eight Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Enrollment | 36,702 | 924 | 37,626 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Desegregation began June 6, 1955, when a Negro girl entered a summer school in Fayette County. On July 18, 1955, six Negro children entered Wayne County's Griffin School. By October, 1955, 30 other districts had voluntarily desegregated. The voluntary and peaceful desegregation of all grades in the Louisville public schools in September, 1956, won national and international recognition. Desegregation in the state has continued to the present, spurred in some cases by lawsuits and in the past two years by pressure and persuasion from the State Department of Education. Data available in the fall of 1963 indicated that of 165 districts with Negroes and white pupils enrolled, 163 were desegregated in practice or policy. Another biracial district, Shelby County, has announced that a free-choice policy of desegregation will take effect in the fall of 1964. This left Graves County as apparently the only biracial district lacking any known policy of desegregation. Several all-white districts have experienced desegregation in the past when enrollment was biracial. Of the 163 desegregated districts, 10 had policies only and 153 had actual biracial classes at 620 schools. About 29,855 Negroes attend biracial schools with about 288,360 whites; this indicated that about 54.4 percent of Negro pupils were in biracial schools. Total enrollment in the desegregated districts is estimated at 492,701 whites and 54,874 Negroes. Enrollment figures in the listing below are from the 1963-64 state survey:

| County Districts (120) | Biracial School Enrollment White | Negro | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Adair | 1,871 | 140 | 5 | 1956-C |
| Allen | 1,600 | 18 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Anderson | 390 | 22 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Ballard | 1,581 | 41 | 7 | 1962-V |
| Barren | 3,246 | 102 | 9 | 1956-V |
| Bath | 1,587 | 106 | 4 | 1963-V |
| Bell | 250 | 6 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Boone | 2,682 | 9 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Bourbon | 2,272 | 164 | 9 | 1960-V |
| Boyd (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Boyle | 513 | 12 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Bracken | 531 | 7 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Breathitt | 1,380 | 3 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Breckinridge | 2,102 | 188 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Bullitt | 3,819 | 39 | 7 | 1956-V |
| Butler | 1,442 | 10 | 2 | 1959-V |
| Caldwell | 715 | 41 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Calloway | 984 | 7 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Campbell (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Carlisle | 576 | 15 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Carroll | 810 | 29 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Carter | 1,551 | 4 | 3 | 1955-V |
| Casey | 1,400 | 3 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Christian | 2,432 | 33 | 4 | 1961-V |
| Clark | 3,127 | 157 | 8 | 1956-V |
| Clay | 981 | 27 | 1 | 1961-V |
| Clinton | 51 | 3 | 1 | 1955-V |
| Crittenden | 559 | 6 | 1 | 1955-V |
| Cumberland | 393 | 20 | 1 | 1959-V |
| Daviess | 5,452 | 91 | 12 | 1956-V |
| Edmondson | 990 | 22 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Elliott (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Estill (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Fayette | 12,848 | 690 | 19 | 1955-V |
| Fleming | 1,702 | 86 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Floyd | 1,606 | 30 | 5 | 1955-V |
| Franklin | 3,431 | 106 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Fulton | 340 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Gallatin | 228 | 11 | 1 | 1957-V |
| Garrard* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1956-V |
| Grant | 637 | 8 | 2 | 1959-V |
| Graves | 0 | 0 | 0 | Seg. |
| Grayson (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Green | 731 | 43 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Greenup* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Hancock | 1,013 | 35 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Hardin | 3,881 | 57 | 9 | 1956-V |
| Harlan | 4,843 | 448 | 16 | 1960-V |
| Harrison | 2,007 | 116 | 6 | 1956-V |
| Hart | 566 | 66 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Henderson | 2,877 | 40 | 6 | 1956-V |
| Henry | 1,577 | 74 | 5 | 1957-V |
| Hickman | 324 | 34 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Hopkins | 3,612 | 93 | 7 | 1957-C |
| Jackson (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Jefferson | 38,839 | 1,374 | 35 | 1956-V |
| Jessamine | 2,966 | 308 | 6 | 1963-V |
| Johnson (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1955-V |
| Kenton | 978 | 4 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Knott | 981 | 51 | 3 | 1955-V |
| Knox | 1,371 | 31 | 2 | 1959-V |
| LaRue | 2,191 | 90 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Laurel | 607 | 6 | 1 | 1960-V |
| Lawrence | 1,441 | 8 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Lee | 603 | 1 | 1 | 1961-V |
| Leslie (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Letcher | 43 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Lewis | 206 | 4 | 1 | 1959-V |
| Lincoln | 1,470 | 46 | 5 | 1961-V |
| Livingston | 476 | 4 | 1 | 1961-V |
| Logan | 758 | 73 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Lyon | 891 | 22 | 2 | 1962-V |
| McCracken | 3,279 | 29 | 5 | 1956-C |
| McCreary (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| McLean | 1,089 | 17 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Madison | 4,251 | 152 | 8 | 1956-V |
| Magoffin (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Marion | 2,231 | 176 | 6 | 1955-V |
| Marshall (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Martin (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Mason | 2,058 | 213 | 7 | 1956-V |
| Meade | 2,351 | 128 | 5 | 1956-V |
| Menifee (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Mercer | 1,341 | 34 | 5 | 1956-V |
| Metcalfe | 335 | 13 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Monroe | 1,195 | 33 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Montgomery* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Morgan | 16 | 3 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Muhlenberg | 400 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Nelson | 1,753 | 73 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Nicholas | 875 | 57 | 4 | 1961-V |
| Ohio | 1,727 | 73 | 5 | 1962-V |
| Oldham | 2,275 | 223 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Owen | 1,293 | 101 | 4 | 1958-C |
| Owsley (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1955-V |
| Pendleton | 803 | 5 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Perry | 3,175 | 73 | 7 | 1955-V |
| Pike | 1,984 | 56 | 5 | 1956-V |
| Powell | 1,413 | 18 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Pulaski | 529 | 7 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Robertson | 457 | 5 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Rockcastle (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Rowan | 516 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Russell | 1,486 | 21 | 3 | 1955-V |
| Scott | 2,003 | 255 | 5 | 1956-C |
| Shelby** | 0 | 0 | 0 | Seg. |
| Simpson | 1,153 | 24 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Spencer | 1,076 | 19 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Taylor | 1,753 | 128 | 2 | 1961-V |
| Todd | 575 | 67 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Trigg | 427 | 76 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Trimble (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1962-V |
| Union | 1,095 | 99 | 2 | 1957-C |
| Warren | 3,515 | 344 | 12 | 1963-V |
| Washington | 1,637 | 209 | 7 | 1961-V |
| Wayne | 2,163 | 59 | 5 | 1955-V |
| Webster | 558 | 2 | 1 | 1959-C |
| Whitley (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Wolfe (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1956-V |
| Woodford | 2,279 | 426 | 8 | 1956-V |
| COUNTY TOTALS | 196,397 | 8,508 | 402 | |
| **Independent Districts (84)** | | | | |
| Anchorage† | 0 | 0 | | 1962-V |
| Ashland | 3,851 | 208 | 6 | 1955-V |
| Augusta | 149 | 3 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Barbourville | 551 | 24 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Bardstown | 872 | 161 | 2 | 1958-V |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beechwood (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Bellevue (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Benton (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Berea | 549 | 9 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Bowling Green | 3,817 | 198 | 6 | 1963-C |
| Burgin | 323 | 47 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Campbellsville | 385 | 30 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Carrollton | 928 | 33 | 2 | 1961-V |
| Cattlettsburg (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1958-V |
| Caverna | 760 | 133 | 3 | 1957-V |
| Central City | 471 | 46 | 1 | 1958-V |
| Cloverport* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1958-V |
| Corbin (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Covington | 6,523 | 255 | 11 | 1956-V |
| Danville | 600 | 22 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Dawson Springs (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | 1963-V |
| Dayton (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Earlington* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1963-V |
| East Bernstadt* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1956-V |
| Elizabethton | 1,659 | 328 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Eminence | 133 | 33 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Erlanger-Elsmere | 1,860 | 77 | 3 | 1955-V |
| Fairview (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Falmouth | 523 | 20 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Ferguson* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Fort Thomas (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Frankfort | 1,026 | 224 | 5 | 1956-V |
| Fulton | 191 | 23 | 1 | 1958-V |
| Georgetown | 888 | 199 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Glasgow* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Greenup | 465 | 45 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Greenville | 450 | 20 | 1 | 1961-V |
| Harlan | 370 | 63 | 1 | 1959-V |
| Harrodsburg | 1,226 | 148 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Hazard | 1,859 | 223 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Henderson | 2,333 | 341 | 6 | 1957-V |
| Hopkinsville | 1,205 | 56 | 3 | 1958-V |
| Irvine | 598 | 6 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Jackson | 178 | 4 | 1 | 1955-V |
| Jenkins* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Leitchfield | 821 | 22 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Lexington | 4,704 | 138 | 7 | 1955-V |
| Liberty | 567 | 4 | 2 | 1958-V |
| London | 1,102 | 36 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Louisville | 25,780 | 15,713 | 58 | 1956-V |
| Ludlow (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Lynch | 222 | 72 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Mayfield | 1,739 | 70 | 5 | 1956-V |
| Maysville | 1,247 | 284 | 7 | 1956-V |
| Middlesboro | 880 | 67 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Monticello | 798 | 47 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Mt. Sterling* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Murray | 1,156 | 40 | 4 | 1956-V |
| Newport | 2,530 | 138 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Owensboro | 3,532 | 368 | 7 | 1955-V |
| Paducah | 3,687 | 201 | 9 | 1955-V |
| Paintsville (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Paris | 1,116 | 106 | 4 | 1960-V |
| Pikeville | 398 | 10 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Pineville | 662 | 55 | 2 | 1956-V |
| Providence | 200 | 42 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Raceland (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Ravenna (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Richmond | 886 | 483 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Russell (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Russellville | 314 | 41 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Science Hill (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Scottsville | 559 | 54 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Shelbyville | 1,243 | 87 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Silver Grove (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Somerset | 731 | 43 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Southgate (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| South Portsmouth (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Stanford | 656 | 175 | 2 | 1958-V |
| Van Lear (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| Walton-Verona | 628 | 23 | 3 | 1956-V |
| West Point | 204 | 16 | 1 | 1956-V |
| Williamsburg | 858 | 33 | 2 | 1955 V |
| Williamstown (all-white) | 0 | 0 | | |
| TOTALS | 91,963 | 21,347 | 218 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 288,360 | 29,855 | 620 | |

*Desegregated in policy.
**Desegregation scheduled for 1964-65.
†No school-age population.

## TEACHERS

In 1954-5, there were 1,279 teachers in the 312 Negro-only schools, putting the proportion of Negro teachers at about 6.4 percent of a total professional staff of about 20,000. By 1963-64 the total staff had grown to 26,523. The number of Negro teachers increased less proportionately, to 1,502 or 5.7 percent of the total. Of the Negro teachers, 507 were in desegregated schools and about 995 in some 129 remaining Negro-only schools. The State Commission on Human Rights reported in 1962 that biracial faculties were increasing and were said to be working well. However, the commission concluded that the employment outlook for Negro teachers was not bright because many superintendents, even those expressing satisfaction with Negroes serving on biracial faculties, did not plan to hire more Negroes. In 1957, the Kentucky Teachers Association, a Negro group, merged with the Kentucky Education Association.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

All eight tax-supported colleges and universities are desegregated in practice. Only the University of Kentucky and Paducah Junior College desegregated under court order. The university first admitted Negroes to the graduate schools in June, 1949. The school's undergraduate divisions were opened to Negroes voluntarily in 1954. All the university community colleges have biracial enrollments. In April and May, 1963, the university Board of Athletics made Negroes eligible to play on intercollegiate teams. (The school is a Southeastern Conference member.) Paducah Junior College accepted Negroes under court order in June, 1953. The following table includes 1963-64 enrollments. Racial breakdowns were estimated by school officials except for Murray State, where the estimate of Negroes was based on a 1960-61 figure of 75 given by school officials.

| | Enrollment | | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Predominantly White | White | Negro | Deseg. |
| Eastern Ky. State | 4,675 | 40 | 1956-V |
| Morehead State | 3,209 | 29 | 1956-V |
| Murray State | 3,829 | 100 | 1955-V |
| Paducah Junior | 771 | 20 | 1953-C |
| Univ. of Ky. | | | |
| Lexington | 9,107 | 125 | 1949-C |
| Ashland | 372 | 5 | |
| Covington | 624 | 2 | |
| Cumberland | 181 | 12 | |
| Fort Knox | 245 | 15 | |
| Henderson | 279 | 5 | |
| Univ. of Louisville | 6,845 | 280 | 1950-V |
| Western Ky. State | 5,836 | 96 | 1956-V |
| TOTALS | 35,973 | 729 | |
| Predominantly Negro | | | |
| Ky. State | 110* | 814 | 1954-V |
| STATE TOTALS | 36,083 | 1,543 | |

*Many, but not all, white students at Kentucky State attend the evening school operated jointly by the school and the University of Kentucky.

## FACULTIES

Among tax-supported institutions, only the University of Louisville and the predominantly Negro Kentucky State College report having both white and Negro faculty members. The university reported three Negroes on a total faculty of 935; Kentucky State reported four whites on a total faculty of 55. Morehead State College said it has tried without success to find a qualified Negro woman to work in the library.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Thirteen state-supported vocational schools are open to Negroes. On March 6, 1963, the State Board of Business Schools adopted an anti-discrimination regulation aimed at opening all business schools in the state to Negroes. In September, 1961, the state accepted five Negroes at the previously all-white Kentucky Children's Home at Lyndon. In the past, the state had provided care for dependent Negro children in foster homes.

## LITIGATION (19)

*Cunningham v. House*

Filed on July 26, 1962, in U.S. District Court. Court ordered 11 Negro children admitted to a Madison County grade school in 1962 and gave the Board of Education one year to complete grade-school desegregation. (High-school level already was desegregated.)

*Dishman v. Archer*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Scott County schools desegregated.

*Garnett et al v. Oakley*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Union County schools desegregated, rejecting plan of gradual desegregation.

*Gordon et al v. Collins et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered Webster County schools desegregated.

*Grimes et al v. Smith*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1957. Court ordered Owen County schools desegregated.

*Grubbs v. Chandler*

Failed to get mandamus to enforce school segregation laws.

*Johnson v. Board of Trustees*

The University of Kentucky was ordered by U.S. District Court on April 27, 1949, to open its graduate schools to Negroes.

*Lawrence v. Bowling Green Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Jan. 9, 1963, to desegregate students, staff and teachers. District Judge Max Swinford on April 8, 1963, ordered desegregation of all grade levels in September, 1963, and ordered staff and teacher desegregation.

*Mack v. Frankfort Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Sept. 21, 1962, seeking to speedup desegregation. District Judge H. Church Ford ordered board to submit plan for desegregation of elementary schools and of faculty. On July 3, 1963, after rejecting two plans in June, the court approved one calling for immediate desegregation at all levels without transfer options.

*Mason v. Jessamine County Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Sept. 19, 1962, seeking desegregation of students and personnel. District Judge H. Church Ford on Jan. 29, 1963, ordered board to submit plan for intial desegregation of all grades and faculty. On July 16, 1963, after having rejected a plan containing an optional transfer provision, the court approved a revised plan, which began in September, 1963.

*Mitchell et al v. Pollock*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered desegregation of Hopkins County schools, overruling plan of gradual desegregation.

*Ray v. Matheson*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1950. Court ordered desegregation of Paducah Junior College.

*Rimbert v. Knott County Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Aug. 6, 1963, seeking further desegregation. On Sept. 11, 1963, District Judge Mac Swinford ordered an immediate end to all segregation.

*Senters et al v. Mayfield Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court in September, 1962, by four Negro couples asking desegregation of elementary grades. (The high school already was desegregated.) On Oct. 31, 1962, Judge Roy M. Shelbourne ordered the board to submit a plan for elementary school desegregation. The plan was accepted and the board was permanently enjoined from maintaining segregated schools.

*Walker v. Richmond Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on May 17, 1962, for elementary and junior-high student desegregation. (High school already was desegregated.) The suit also asked faculty desegregation. District Judge H. Church Ford on June 13, 1963, ordered the board to submit a plan for student and faculty desegregation. One plan was rejected and on July 23, 1963, another plan was given only tentative approval because the plaintiffs said a transfer option, even though avowedly non-racial, might perpetuate segregation.

*White et al v. Singleton et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1960. Court in 1961 ordered all Knox County schools desegregated.

*Wilburn v. Holland*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1956. Court ordered McCracken County schools desegregated.

*Willis v. Walker*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1955. Court ordered Adair County schools desegregated.

*Wilson v. Matheson*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1949. Resulted in declaratory judgment that qualified Negroes had right to attend Paducah Junior College.

## LEGISLATION (2)

**1960**

*KRS 19.010*—Established State Commission on Human Rights to serve as research and study agency.

**1962**

*KRS 82.210-82.250*—Authorized cities to establish local human rights commissions and to forbid by ordinance any discrimination in places of public accommodation.

## EXECUTIVE ACTION

Gov. Bert T. Combs on June 26, 1963, issued an executive order banning racial discrimination by firms and professions licensed by the state. He speculated that the order might be used against school districts practicing racial segregation. No attempt was made to enforce the order pending a court determination of its legality.

# LOUISIANA

## Elementary and High Schools

67 Districts: 67 With Negroes and Whites; Two Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 460,589 | 301,433 | 762,022 |
| Teachers* | 19,193 | 10,585 | 29,778 |

*1962-63

## Colleges and Universities

Six Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Enrollment | 44,391 | 9,528 | 53,919 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Louisiana has two desegregated school districts, Orleans Parish (New Orleans) and East Baton Rouge Parish (Baton Rouge), operating under grade-a-year plans. The two desegregated districts have enrollments totalling 68,700 whites and 79,077 Negroes. Orleans Parish was the first to desegregate, complying on Nov. 14, 1960, with a court order. Of the 64 regular public schools in Orleans Parish, 28 have biracial enrollments totalling 10,901 whites and 1,786 Negroes this year: 26 formerly all-white elementary schools have 10,461 whites and 333 Negroes in grade 1-4; one predominantly white special high school for superior students, 439 whites and 14 Negroes; and one predominantly Negro elementary school, one white and 1,439 Negroes. The 53 East Baton Rouge Parish schools include four desegregated high schools with 5,380 whites and 28 Negro seniors. St. Helena Parish is under federal court order to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." Terrebonne Parish is under order to desegregate all white and Indian schools by Aug. 1, 1964. The desegregated districts are:

| Parish | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brel. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| E. Baton Rouge | 31,600 | 21,000 | 28 | 4 | 1963-C |
| Orleans | 37,100 | 58,077 | 1,786* | 28 | 1960-C |
| TOTALS | 68,700 | 79,077 | 1,814 | 32 | |

*Includes 1,439 Negroes in school attended by one white.

### TEACHERS

Teaching staffs remain completely segregated.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Six of Louisiana's 10 predominantly white colleges and universities have desegregated under court order, and include 31,365 whites and 848 Negroes in their enrollments. The state's three Negro institutions remain segregated. Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge began admitting Negro graduate students in 1950 by a court order in *Wilson v. LSU Board of Supervisors*, but enrolls no Negro undergraduates on the main campus. The colleges and universities are:

| Predominantly White | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Louisiana State University | | | |
| Main Campus | 13,098 | 60* | 1950-C |
| Medical & Nursing Schools | 606 | 0 | |
| LSU, Alexandria | 451 | 0 | |
| LSU, New Orleans | 4,149 | 339 | 1958-C |
| La. Polytechnic Institute | 4,379 | 0 | |
| McNeese State | 2,664 | 163 | 1954-C |
| Nicholls State | 1,564 | 21 | 1963-C |
| Northeast La. State | 3,639 | 0 | |
| Northwestern State | 3,709 | 0 | |
| Southeastern La. | 3,500 | 29 | 1954-C |
| Univ. of Southwestern La. | 5,784 | 236 | 1954-C |
| TOTALS | 43,543 | 848 | |
| **Predominantly Negro** | | | |
| Grambling | 0 | 3,225 | |
| Southern Univ., Baton Rouge | 0 | 5,224 | |
| Southern Univ., New Orleans | 0 | 1,079 | |
| TOTALS | 0 | 9,528 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 43,543 | 10,376 | |

*Estimated.

### FACULTIES

Teaching staffs remain segregated.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Louisiana operates 23 trade and vocational schools for whites and four for Negroes. Another trade school, largely supported by the state, is operated by an independent board. Federal district courts have ordered desegregation of six of the all-white schools, and in response to court orders the State Board of Education on Sept. 18, 1962, directed that applications be processed without regard to race. Several Negroes have attended certain classes at the Sowela Technical Institute in Lake Charles.

### ETHNIC GROUPS

In Terrebonne Parish, certain schools (four elementary, one high school) have been designated for children of Indian descent. U.S. District Court, on Aug. 28, 1963, enjoined the school board from denying the Indian children admission to all white schools and ordered enrollment of Indian children immediately in the 11th and 12th grades. (See *Naguin v. Terrebonne Parish School Board.*)

### LITIGATION (30)

*Allen et al v. State Board of Education*

Shreveport trade school, state-supported, ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" by U.S. District Court in 1960. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld decision in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date set for desegregation.

*Angel et al v. State Board of Education*

Five state trade schools ordered to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" by U.S. District Court in 1960. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld decision in February, 1961. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. Schools affected are at Crowley, Natchitoches, Opelousas, Greenburg and Lake Charles. Ten state education officials were relieved of threatened contempt citations Sept. 19, 1962, after the State Board of Education announced a policy of non-discrimination in processing applications. In June, 1963, U.S. Department of Justice again asked that Rex Smelser, director of Sowela Technical Institute at Lake Charles, be cited for contempt. U.S. District Court jury on Nov. 22, 1963, acquitted Smelser of contempt charges.

*Baker v. Nicholls State College*

Filed Sept. 9, 1963, on behalf of eight Negro plaintiffs. U.S. District Judge Robert Ainsworth Jr. on Sept. 17, enjoined college from discriminating and ordered plaintiffs admitted. School complied but filed notice of appeal.

*Bailey v. State Board of Education**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to University of Southwestern Louisiana (formerly SLI) declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

*Barthe v. City of New Orleans*

Three-judge U.S. District Court in July, 1963, ordered desegregation of recreational facilities operated by New Orleans Recreation Department, some of which are used in school athletic programs. Appeal taken to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to determine jurisdiction of the constitutional court and to the U.S. Supreme Court on the facts of the case.

*Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*
*U.S. v. Louisiana*
*Williams v. Davis*

Desegregation of New Orleans public schools begun in November, 1960, after three-judge U.S. District Court declared as unconstitutional *Act* 555 of 1954; *319* of 1956; *256* of 1958; and *333, 495, 496,* and *542* of 1960, and after three-judge U.S. District Court restrained or enjoined the state from use of all segregation acts of the 1960 first extraordinary session. On April 3, 1962, U.S. District Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered all elementary grades desegregated and stopped use of the pupil placement program as long as a dual school system existed. Judge Frank Ellis, Wright's successor, on May 23, 1962, modified the order and directed a full grade-a-year desegregation program to begin in September, 1962, but Ellis affirmed the ban on pupil placement provisions. On Aug. 6, 1962, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered a compromise between the two District Court rulings: Desegregation of the first three grades in 1962; abolition of dual districts in grades one and two in 1963, and through the fifth grade in 1964; application of the pupil placement law only without regard to race. On April 26, 1963, District Judge Ellis ordered the school board to register first and second grade pupils for 1963-64 on basis of single, non-racial zones. On May 17, 1963, the court approved the re-zoning plan offered by the board and ordered desegregation of a high school for superior students.

*Combre et al v. McNeese State College*

McNeese ordered to admit Negroes in September, 1954, by U.S. District Court.

*Constantine et al v. Southwestern Louisiana Institute*

SLI, now the University of Southwestern Louisiana, was ordered to admit Negroes in September, 1954, by U.S. District Court.

*Davis v. East Baton Rouge Parish School Board*

U.S. District Court in 1960 ordered desegregation "with all deliberate speed." U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed decision in February, 1961, and U.S. Supreme Court refused to review. On March 1, 1963, District Court ordered school board to present a plan of desegregation by July 5. On July 17, 1963, the court approved the grade-a-year desegregation plan offered by the parish school board, and it began in September, 1963.

*Dorsey v. Louisiana State Athletic Commission*

U.S. Supreme Court, in 1959 upheld U.S. District Court decision that declared invalid the sports segregation law (*Act 579* of 1956) prohibiting whites and Negroes from competing with one another in athletic contests.

*Guillory et al v. Administrators, Tulane Education Fund*

Filed in U.S. District Court by two Negro women seeking to enter graduate division. Judge J. Skelly Wright on March 28, 1962, in a summary judgment, ordered Tulane desegregated on the grounds that the private institution received state tax benefits. Wright's successor, Judge Frank Ellis, on May 7, 1962, set aside the order and scheduled the case for trial. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed Ellis' ruling on July 21, 1962. On Dec. 5, 1963, Judge Ellis ruled that Tulane is a private institution without sufficient governmental involvement to bring it under the scope of the 14th Amendment. But, he said, the restrictive clauses in the university's endowments were unenforceable in law and the institution could desegregate voluntarily. An appeal by the plaintiffs was dismissed and Tulane voluntarily accepted them in February, 1963.

*Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board*

U.S. District Court in 1960 ordered schools to desegregate "with all deliberate speed" and the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld ruling in February, 1961. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review. No date for desegregation has been set. On Aug. 30, 1961, three-judge federal court invalidated *Act 2* of the second extraordinary legislative session, 1961, which permitted local option school closings. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review on Feb. 19, 1962.

*Harris v. St. John the Baptist Parish School Board*

Filed March 1, 1963, in U.S. District Court, on behalf of 277 Negro plaintiffs.

*Henley v. LSU Board of Supervisors*

U.S. District Court ordered Louisiana State University in New Orleans, a branch of LSU of Baton Rouge, to admit Negroes in September, 1958, when it opened.

*Klein v. Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission*

Filed in March, 1963, in U.S. District Court, attacking the constitutionality of the state grant-in-aid program. Withdrawn by the plaintiff on April 10, 1963.

*Lark v. State Board of Education**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to Southeastern Louisiana College declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

*Louisiana ex rel LeBlanc v. Lewis*

Nineteenth Judicial District Court of Louisiana in April, 1956, enjoined NAACP operations in the state. The decision was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in April, 1961.

*Ludley v. LSU Board of Supervisors**

Louisiana law requiring certificates of good moral character for admission to LSU declared invalid by U.S. District Court in 1956.

*Morial v. Orleans Parish School Board*

Filed, Aug. 30, 1963, in U.S. District Court to attack the constitutionality of *Act 252* of 1956, which prohibits New Orleans public school teachers from advocating desegregation or belonging to organizations that advocate desegregation. Request for a three-judge court to hear the case has been denied. (See *Ludley v. LSU Board of Supervisors).*

*Naguin et al v. Terrebonne Parish School Board*

Filed in U.S. District Court March 29, 1963, on behalf of 56 Indian children. District Judge Herbert W. Christenberry on Aug. 28, 1963, enjoined school board from denying plaintiffs equal access to white schools, ordered them admitted immediately to 11th and 12th grades, ordered a study of feasibility of admitting them to the 10th grade within a month, and ordered school board to prepare a plan to desegregate white and Indian schools in all remaining grades by Aug. 1, 1964.

*Nweze v. LSU Board of Supervisors*

U.S. District Court at New Orleans on June 12, 1963, ordered a Nigerian exchange student admitted to summer session at LSU in New Orleans.

*Singlemann v. Davis*

A friendly suit filed in December, 1960, to test validity of Act 2 of Second Special Session of Louisiana Legislature of 1960, an act which created a new school board for Orleans Parish. Three judge federal court nullified the act even as the Legislature passed a new act in third special session doing the same thing.

*Tureaud v. LSU Board of Supervisors*

U.S. District Court in 1952 ordered desegregation of Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, at the undergraduate level but the Negro admitted stayed only eight weeks.

*U.S. v. Bossier Parish School Board*

Filed Jan. 18, 1963, in U.S. District Court by U.S. Department of Justice asking desegregation of public schools receiving federal aid to "impacted" areas. Case dismissed Aug. 20, 1963, by District Judge Ben C. Dawkins.

*U. S. v. St. Bernard Parish School Board*

Filed in U. S. District Court at New Orleans in the fall, 1961, by the U. S. attorney general to enjoin the board from conducting a segregated school in the parish for students from adjacent Orleans Parish, who boycotted desegregated facilities. The suit became moot when the students transferred to a private school in Orleans Parish.

*Wagner v. Redmond*

Emile F. Wagner Jr., a member of the Orleans Parish school board, asked the parish civil district court in the fall, 1960, for a writ of mandamus ordering the superintendent, James F. Redmond, to furnish names and addresses of students enrolled in the two desegregated schools. On Dec. 2, 1960, the court issued the writ. On appeal, the State Fourth Circuit Court of Appeal affirmed on March 13, 1961.

*Williams et al v. Northwestern Louisiana College at Natchitoches*

Sought desegregation of state-supported Northwestern College but died in court when Negroes failed to press the case.

*Wilson v. LSU Board of Supervisors*

Louisiana State University ordered to admit its first Negro (to the law school) in September, 1950, by U.S. District Court.

*(The Bailey, Lark and Ludley cases all involved court rulings of invalidity of *Acts 15* and *249* of the 1956 Legislature, which required certificates of good character from educators for students to attend state colleges but at the same time ordered removal of teachers doing anything to promote desegregation.)

**LEGISLATION (99)**

**1954**

*Act 555*—Required separate schools under state police powers. U.S. District Court of three judges declared unconstitutional in 1960, *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 9*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 556*—Gave broad powers to local superintendents in pupil assignments.

*Act 752*—Constitutional amendment required segregation. Ruled unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish.*

**1956**

*HCR 10*—Interposition. Subsequently, legislature in first special session of 1960 passed act of Interposition, ruled unconstitutional by U.S. District Court in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* on Nov. 30, 1960.

*Act 15*—Required that pupils entering public-supported colleges and universities be certified as to good moral character by principal and superintendent, who would be removed if aiding desegregation. Ruled unconstitutional by U.S. District Court, *Ludley v. Louisiana State University Board of Supervisors*, 1956.

*Act 28*—Lifted compulsory attendance in desegregated districts. This act amended by *Act 27*, first special session of 1960, and ruled unconstitutional in 1960 by three-judge U.S. District Court in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, Williams v. Davis*, and *U.S. v. State of Louisiana.*

*Act 248*—Provided dismissal of pro-integration school bus operators.

*Act 249*—Provided dismissal of teachers advocating integration. Ruled unconstitutional in 1956 in *Bailey, Lark* and *Ludley* cases.

*Act 250*—Provided dismissal of any state employe advocating integration.

*Act 252*—Provided dismissal of permanent teachers in Orleans Parish advocating integration.

*Act 319*—Classified schools as white or Negro in Orleans Parish. Three-judge U.S. District Court in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 3*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 579*—Banned interracial sports, social activities. U.S. District Court in 1959 ruled unconstitutional in *Dorsey v. Louisiana State Athletic Commission.*

*Act 613*—Proposed constitutional amendment to withdraw state consent for state or local school officials to be sued. Approved in Nov. 6, 1956, referendum.

**1958**

*Act 187*—Ensured teacher salaries for time lost as a result of desegregation.

*Act 256*—Authorized closing of desegregated schools and transferring property to private, nonsectarian schools. U.S. District Court of three-judges in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 7*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 257*—Authorized private schools under educational cooperatives.

*Act 258*—Authorized tuition grants for private education.

*Act 259*—Provided system of pupil placement. Amended by *Act 492* of 1960.

*Act 557*—Proposed amendment for state control of public, private schools. Incorporated into *Art. 12* of Louisiana Constitution. (Regular Session)

**1960**

*Act 18*—Created State Sovereignty Commission.

*Act 333*—Prohibited granting of school funds to desegregated schools. U.S. District Court of three judges in 1960 declared unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 8*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 492*—Revised pupil placement. Louisiana *Act 259* of 1958 revised and refined to coincide with Alabama law ruled constitutional.

*Act 495*—Authorized school closing by governor and sale of school property to private interests. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act. 6*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 496*—Permitted racial classification of schools. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in 1960 in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 5*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 542*—Authorized governor to close schools in event of disorder. U.S. District Court of three judges ruled unconstitutional in 1960 in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* and *Williams v. Davis*. Repealed by *Act 4*, First Extraordinary Session, 1960.

*Act 579*—Provided for closing trade schools in the event of disorder.

*Act 580*—Classified trade schools as to race.

*Act 581*—Prohibited free textbooks, supplies or funds to any desegregated trade school.

*Act 582*—Provided for the closing of any trade school in the interest of the people and selling them to private interests.

**1960**

**(First Extraordinary Session)**

The following acts and concurrent resolutions of the 1960 First Extraordinary Session were declared unconstitutional by a three-judge U.S. District Court at New Orleans on Nov. 30, 1960, in the combined *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, Williams v. Davis*, and *U.S. v. State of Louisiana.*

*HCR 10*—Provided creation of an eight member legislative committee to run the Orleans Parish public schools under *Act 17* below.

*HCR 17*—Changed powers of committee created by *HCR 10* so as to limit committee to investigative duties.

*HCR 19*—Appointed sergeants at arms to enforce in New Orleans the provisions of the interposition act and other acts and resolutions of the first special session.

*HCR 23*—Removed from office the four members of the Orleans Parish school board who complied Nov. 14 with desegregation order of federal court.

*Act 2*—Interposed the powers of the state, declaring the state alone had jurisdiction in public schools.

*Act 10*—Provided governor could close schools where disorder occurred or was threatened.

*Act 11*—Provided governor could close desegregated schools.

*Act 12*—Provided governor could close schools permanently.

*Act 13*—Prohibited state aid to any desegregated school.

*Act 14*—Provided schools could be operated under state police powers.

*Act 16*—Provided additional powers for state police officers.

*Act 17*—Permitted legislature to assume power of Orleans Parish school board. Removed powers and duties of the Orleans Parish school board.

*Act 18*—Named three member board of trustees to handle funds of any school board abolished.

*Act 19*—Repealed law designating Orleans Parish superintendent as treasurer of the school board.

*Act 20*—Permitted accrediting of all schools except those not operated in accordance with state laws. Prohibited State Board of Education approval or accreditation of desegregated schools.

*Act 21*—Prohibited school boards from carrying on any functions after being ordered to desegregate.

*Act 22*—Provided that any desegregated school would be closed as unfit.

*Act 23*—Revoked teaching certificates of public school teachers who instructed in desegregated classrooms.

*Act 24*—Required pupils be denied promotion and graduation if they attended desegregated classrooms.

*Act 25*—Repealed law under which Orleans Parish school board was elected.

*Act 26*—Forbade transfers of pupils from one school to another after the 21st day of the 1960-61 school term.

*Act 27*—Repealed the compulsory state school attendance law.

Several acts and resolutions of the 1960 First Extraordinary Session were not included in the litigation, which knocked out the above acts and resolutions. Among the acts passed and unaffected by the litigation were:

*Act 28*—Provided for revocation of teacher certificates of teachers in desegregated trade schools.

*Act 29*—Provided for closing desegregated trade schools.

**1960**

**(Second Extraordinary Session)**

*SCR 1*—Commended parents who took their children out of desegregated schools. (Same resolution passed by House as *HCR 1.*)

*HCR 2*—Warned banks and businesses not to do business with the Orleans Parish school board.

*HCR 3*—Accused U.S. District Judge J. Skelly Wright of bias and prejudice in the handling of school desegregation cases.

*HCR 6*—Requested Judge Wright to remove himself from desegregation cases.

*HCR 10*—Condemned the U.S. contempt citation against State Education Supt. Shelby M. Jackson.

*Act 2*—Provided for the creation of a new school board for Orleans Parish; subsequently repealed by another such bill voided by U.S. District Court.

*Act 3*—Provided for a system of education expense grants for children attending non-profit, non-secretarian, non-public schools. Amended by *Act 147*, 1962.

*Act 4*—Required officers of educational cooperatives to furnish bonds when handling or controlling funds.

*Act 5*—Provided that the attorney general shall be the counsel for school boards within the state and for other subdivisions of government.

*Act 6*—Made it a misdemeanor to obstruct court orders or judicial process.

*Act 7*—Provided that property of school boards may be disposed of in cases where public schools have been closed. Redefined by *Act 11* of second 1961 session.

**1960**

**(Third Extraordinary Session)**

*SCR 7*—Addressed Dr. James F. Redmond out of office as superintendent of Orleans Parish public schools. State enjoined by U.S. District Court from carrying out Dr. Redmond's removal. U.S. Supreme Court declined to review.

*HCR 8*—Praised Lt. Gov. C. C. Aycock, House Speaker J. Thomas Jewell, and State Education Supt. Shelby M. Jackson for their actions in refusing to make money available to desegregated Orleans Parish schools. Condemned the U.S. District Court at New Orleans for citing the three officials for contempt.

*HCR 9*—Declared intent of the legislature to pay operating cost of Orleans schools.

*HCR 15*—Authorized pay for employes of Orleans public schools except those at desegregated William Frantz and McDonogh No. 19 schools.

*HCR 21*—Asked the Louisiana School Boards Association not to recognize the memberships in the association of the four Orleans school board members who complied with federal desegregation order Nov. 14. The four Orleans members were dropped from the association roles.

*Act 2*—Amended and re-enacted *Act 18*, Regular Session, 1960.

*Act 3*—Provided penalties for persons usurping public office and directed at school officials who hold office despite actions of legislature to remove them.

*Act 4*—Created appointed school board to replace the Orleans Parish elected board of five members. State enjoined by U.S. District Court from use of act. U.S. Supreme Court upheld the action. Still in litigation in state courts on question of elected board's power to expend tax funds.

**1961**

**(First Extraordinary Session)**

*Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4*—Commended the Louisiana School Boards Association for refusing to recognize the association memberships of Orleans Parish school board members who complied with federal desegregation order.

**1961**

**(Second Extraordinary Session)**

*HCR 22*—Condemned contempt proceedings against state officials by U.S. government.

*HCR 28*—Created committee for investigation of the operation of parish school boards.

*Act 2*—Provided that Louisiana school boards may call elections to determine whether voters would rather close public schools than have them desegregated. Ruled unconstitutional in *Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board*.

*Act 3*—Made it a bribery offense to offer anything to parents of school children to get them to attend schools in violation of state laws. Three-judge federal court on May 4, 1961, held the law unconstitutional. U.S. Supreme Court upheld ruling in October, 1961.

*Act 4*—Permitted educational cooperatives to enter into contracts of employment with teachers and restricted cooperatives to paying school personnel what they were paid under public school program.

*Act 5*—Prohibited persons from encouraging child to attend desegregated schools and provided that fines imposed on violators of the act be paid to informers who pinpoint the violation. Three-judge federal court on May 4, 1961, held the law unconstitutional. U.S. Supreme Court upheld the decision in October, 1961.

*Act 7*—Added four members to the seven member East Baton Rouge Parish school board. Amended by *Act 14*. 1962.

*Act 9*—Transferred $2.5 million from the welfare department to the grant-in-aid school fund.

*Act 10*—Provided $200,000 a month from sales tax be placed in the grant-in-aid school fund.

*Act 11*—Provided for the sale or lease of school properties no longer needed by public school system. A redefinition of *Act 7* of the Second Extraordinary Session of 1960.

1962

*HCR 113*—Authorized Rep. Risley Triche to issue warrants and checks against the Louisiana Legislature School Account No. One for payment of "any and all valid obligations of the Orleans Parish School System and reimbursement payments to said system."

*HCR 114*—Authorized Supt. of Education Shelby Jackson to draw on the Louisiana Legislature School Account No. 1 for "funds which may be available, due and payable for the benefit of the Orleans Parish public school system for the fiscal year July 1, 1962, to June 30, 1963."

*Act 6*—Transferred $4 million from the educational expense grant fund to the general fund.

*Act 14*—Clarified *Act 7*, Second Extraordinary Session, 1961, enlarging the East Baton Rouge Parish School Board from seven to 11 members and setting six-year terms.

*Act 67*—Amended Section 51 of Title 17, LRS, 1950, to authorize parish school boards to sue and be sued to enforce contracts without the necessity of further legislative authorization, and prohibited any other suits against parish school boards without prior legislative authorization.

*Act 128*—Repealed Section 221 of Title 17, LRS, 1950, the compulsory attendance law, which required parents and guardians of children between ages 7 and 16 to send child to public or private school.

*Act 147*—Amended *Act 31*, Second Extraordinary Session, 1960 pertaining to financial assistance for pupils attending private, non-sectarian schools; vested this function in the Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission, set qualifications for assistance, established hearing procedures, transfered $200,000 per month to educational expense grant fund, and set a penalty for fraudulent application for grants.

*Act 148*—Amended Section 318 of Title 47, LRS, 1950, to provide for payment by the collector of revenue of the first $200,000 from collection of state sales tax each month to the Louisiana Financial Assistance Fund, which replaced the education expense grant fund.

*Act 196*—Provided that no child shall be compelled to attend any school in which his race constitutes less than half of the total registration.

*Act. 206*—Amended Section 416 of Title 17, LRS, 1950, relative to discipline in the public schools and specified causes therefor: wilful disobedience; intentional disrespect; unfounded charges; immoral or vicious practices; use of tobacco or alcohol; defacing property; obscene language, writing or drawing; carrying weapons.

*Act 342*—Appropriated $100,000 from the general fund to reimburse St. Bernard Parish school board for expense of providing educational facilities for pupils not residents of the parish.

*Act 543*—Proposed to amend Section One of Article XXI of the state constitution to authorize the legislature to designate and provide for special elections at which propositions to amend Article XII (dealing with public education) may be submitted to the electorate. This is to be in addition to provisions already on the books designating congressional and legislative elections for amendment referendums. Approved in November, 1962, general election.

*Act 544*—Proposed to amend Section 13, Article XII of the state constitution, prohibiting appropriation of public funds to private or sectarian schools; continued authority of the legislature to authorize state-supported institutions of higher learning to engage in interstate and intrastate education agreements with other states. Approved in November, 1962, general election.

*Act 545*—Proposed to amend Article VI of the state constitution, ratifying and confirming creation of Louisiana Financial Assistance Commission, authorizing the commission to borrow money to provide assistance and to issue bonds secured by a pledge of two per cent of the present sales tax. Rejected in November, 1962, general election.

*Act 546*—Proposed to amend Section One of Article XII of the state constitution, providing for financial assistance directly to pupils for attendance at private non-sectarian schools. Approved in November, 1962, general election.

1963

*Act 27*—Amended Sec. 318 of Title 47 of Louisiana Revised Statutes of 1950 to provide that $300,000 per month from the state sales tax be deposited in the Louisiana Financial Assistance Fund for distribution in grants-in-aid tuition program for children attending private, non-sectarian schools.

# MARYLAND

## Elementary and High Schools

24 Districts: 23 With Negroes and Whites; 23 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 540,667 | 160,946 | 701,613 |
| Teachers | NA | NA | 28,767 |

*Sept.-Oct., 1963

## Colleges and Universities

All 20 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 16 | 4 | 20 |
| Enrollment | 32,944 | 4,224 | 37,168 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

All of Maryland's 23 biracial school districts are desegregated, but three are desegregated in policy only. One of the three in 1962-63 had a Negro who graduated from a predominantly white school. The 23 desegregated districts have a combined enrollment of 535,691 whites and 160,946 Negroes. Baltimore was the first district to desegregate: In 1952-53 a small number of Negroes were permitted to attend an advanced high school, but the district did not officially begin desegration until September, 1954, when 1,376 Negroes entered 50 formerly all-white schools. All districts were desegregated in principle by 1957-58. Desegregation was voluntary in all instances but court cases were a factor in three districts. On Jan. 30, 1962, the Maryland Board of Education re-emphasized its state desegregation policy with a statement calling upon local school boards to guarantee transfers, transportation, and assignments "without regard to race." The school districts are:

| District | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schs. | Date Deseg.** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allegany | 16,635 | 289 | 289 | 18 | 1955 |
| Anne Arundel | 43,543 | 7,684 | 1,972 | 43 | 1956 |
| Baltimore City | 79,718 | 104,898 | 65,169 | 128 | 1954 |
| Baltimore Co. | 97,802 | 4,182 | 2,077 | 83 | 1955 |
| Calvert | 2,412 | 2,583 | 6 | 1 | 1962 |
| Caroline | 3,600 | 1,188 | 15 | 3 | 1962 |
| Carroll | 11,472 | 511 | 209 | 18 | 1955 |
| Cecil | 9,888 | 715 | 292 | 17 | 1955 |
| Charles | 4,669 | 3,856 | 53 | 4 | 1956 |
| Dorchester | 3,692 | 2,518 | 24 | 5 | 1962 |
| Frederick | 14,381 | 1,452 | 1,402 | 21 | 1956 |
| Garrett | 4,976 | 0 | — | — | — |
| Harford | 17,383 | 2,189 | 543 | 25 | 1956 |
| Howard | 8,572 | 1,221 | 198 | 11 | 1956 |
| Kent | 2,515 | 957 | 0† | 0 | 1962 |
| Montgomery | 94,010 | 3,610 | 3,610 | 120 | 1955 |
| Prince George's | 79,835 | 10,209 | 1,225 | 72 | 1955 |
| Queen Anne's | 2,787 | 1,256 | 0 | 0 | — |
| St. Mary's | 5,439 | 1,932 | 89 | 4 | 1958 |
| Somerset | 2,441 | 2,070 | 4 | 1 | 1963 |
| Talbot | 2,976 | 1,481 | 48 | 5 | 1956 |
| Washington | 19,990 | 456 | 456†† | 22 | 1955 |
| Wicomico | 8,230 | 3,250 | 134 | 8 | 1962 |
| Worcester | 3,440 | 2,439 | 0 | 0 | — |
| TOTALS | 540,667 | 160,946 | 77,816 | 609 | |

*Enrollment and desegregation data supplied in October, 1963, by individual districts.

**Desegregation date is first year Negroes attended schools with whites.

†Previously had a Negro in a biracial school but none this year.

††132 Negroes remain in four all-Negro classes at one desegregated school pending conversion of former Negro structure to biracial use.

### TEACHERS

No teachers have been discharged because of desegregation, but complaints have arisen in a few districts that qualified Negro applicants are not hired as readily as white teachers. The following districts in October, 1963, reported Negro teachers in desegregated positions: Allegany, 5; Baltimore City, about 1,337; Baltimore County, 65; Calvert, 1 (a supervisor); Carroll, 2; Cecil, 1; Frederick, 34; Howard, 3; Montgomery, 160; Prince George's, 17; and Washington, 11 (including one supervisor). Anne Arundel in 1962 reported 19. Total: about 1,655.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

All eight public senior colleges (four predominantly white; four predominantly Negro) and 12 public junior colleges are desegregated. All currently have biracial enrollments except one, which previously has had both white and Negro students. The University of Maryland was the first of the white colleges to become desegregated, admitting a Negro to its School of Law in 1936 by court order. All others have desegregated voluntarily. Two of the Negro institutions have been desegregated in policy since their founding but only recently have been consistently biracial. The state's colleges are:

| Predominantly White Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Enrollment Negroes* | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frostburg State | 1,834 | 4 | 1955-V |
| Salisbury State | 564 | 1 | 1955-V |
| Towson State | 2,100 | 30-40 | 1955-V |
| University of Maryland | 19,069 | 450 | 1936-C |
| **Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Allegany Community | 267 | 3 | 1961-V† |
| Anne Arundel Community | 487 | 3 | 1961-V† |
| Baltimore Junior | 2,200 | 220 | 1954-V |
| Catonsville Community | 631 | 0†† | 1957-V† |
| Charles County Community | 234 | 25 | 1958-V† |
| Essex Community | 422 | 1 | 1957-V† |
| Frederick Community | 335 | 11 | 1957-V† |
| Hagerstown Junior | 560 | 3 | 1946-V† |
| Harford Junior | 451 | 12 | 1957-V† |
| Montgomery Junior | 2,664 | 15-20 | 1955-V |
| Prince George's Community | 855 | 50 | 1958-V† |
| St. Mary's Seminary Junior | 271 | 5 | 1955-V |
| TOTAL | 32,944 | 833-848 | |

| Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Enrollment Negroes | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bowie State | 435 | 85 | 1955-V |
| Coppin State | 428 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Maryland State | 542 | 23 | 1886-V† |
| Morgan State | 2,819 | 180** | 1867-V† |
| TOTAL | 4,224 | 290 | |

*Estimated; race not part of college records.

**Non-Negro population at Morgan includes many foreign students.

†Year of founding.

††Previously has had a Negro student.

### FACULTIES

Negroes serve as faculty members at the University of Maryland and three of the two-year colleges: Baltimore, Essex and Frederick. Towson State College had two Negroes on its 1963 summer faculty but none currently. All four predominantly Negro colleges have some white faculty members.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The four state training schools for delinquent youths (two for boys and two for girls) were desegregated in 1961 following a state court ruling that continued segregation would be unconstitutional. The Maryland School for the Blind desegregated voluntarily in 1954, as did the Maryland School for the Deaf. The Rosewood Training School for mentally retarded children admitted Negroes voluntarily (a court suit to stop desegregation failed) in 1954. The

Esther Loring Richards Children's Center for emotionally disturbed children opened in 1958 as a desegregated institution, as did the Jacob E. Finesinger Unit, also for disturbed children, in 1961. Racial statistics are not available.

**LITIGATION (14)**

*Burr v. Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore*

Filed in the Superior Court of Baltimore in September, 1954, to halt desegregation of city schools. Demurrer of defendants sustained in October, 1954, in finding that school commissioners "exercised their discretion legally and in accordance with a final and enforceable holding and decision of the Supreme Court."

*Ex parte Howard*

Baltimore County Board of Education in October, 1955, filed petition in county Juvenile Court advising that Howards were keeping their two daughters out of desegregated school. Howards sought jury trial, which juvenile courts in Maryland do not provide. Case turned over to state's attorney's office, which presented a criminal information to county grand jury. Grand jury in March, 1956, declined to indict.

*Groves v. Board of Education of St. Mary's County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in April, 1958, to obtain desegregation of grades above those opened to Negro transfers under county plan. While approving the general plans, District Court ruled in August, 1958, that exception should be made for one child in absence of administrative problems. Ruling affirmed by U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in November, 1958.

*Hart v. Board of Education of St. Mary's County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in June, 1958, to permit Negro boy enrolled at desegregated school to ride the white school bus. Declared moot in August, 1958, when county school officials provided the desired transportation.

*Heintz v. Howard County Board of Education*

Filed in Circuit Court for Howard County in August, 1956, along with identical petitions in Carroll, Anne Arundel and Talbot county courts, to have school desegregation declared unconstitutional. All were dismissed in September, 1956, on ground that lower courts could not overrule the Supreme Court.

*Mitchell v. Connellee*

Filed in January, 1955, in U.S. District Court to desegregate school on military base operated by Cecil County Board of Education. Declared moot in December, 1955, following the opening of new school off the base on a desegregated basis.

*Moore v. Board of Education of Harford County* (Civil Action No. 8615)

Filed in U.S. District Court in November, 1955, to desegregate Harford County schools. Suit dropped in March, 1956, following adoption of desegregation resolution by County Board of Education.

*Moore v. Board of Education of Harford County* (Civil Action No. 9105)

Filed in U.S. District Court in August, 1956, on behalf of pupils whose transfer requests had been denied under county desegregation plan. After several hearings, a new plan to desegregate all schools by 1963 was approved by a District Court judgment in June, 1957.

*Myers v. State Board of Public Welfare*

A Negro boy adjudged delinquent by the juvenile division of a state circuit court in Baltimore filed a class action in the same court in February, 1960, to have declared unconstitutional the state law requiring racial segregation in the state's four training schools. On July 6, 1960, the court held that the statutes violated the 14th Amendment. On appeal by the state board, the Court of Appeals of Maryland on Feb. 7, 1961, upheld the earlier decision, ruling that the Supreme Court's school desegregation decisions applied to all educational facilities offered by the state "without regard to the type of school."

*Pearson v. Murray*

The Maryland Court of Appeals in 1936 held that the state must afford equal educational opportunities in its own institutions. Donald Murray, a Negro, enrolled at the University of Maryland law school under court order.

*Pettit v. Board of Education of Harford County*

Filed in U.S. District Court in February, 1960, to obtain Negro transfer to white high school. Court ruled in May, 1960, that Negro boy, despite county screening process, had prior right under separate-but-equal doctrine to be admitted to academic course offered white students.

*Robinson v. St. Mary's County Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court in March, 1956, to desegregate schools of St. Mary's County. Petition dismissed in July, 1956, on ground that administrative remedies had not been exhausted.

*Slade v. Board of Education of Harford County*

Filed in U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in July, 1957, to obtain speedier desegregation than the schedule approved in the Moore case above. Appellate judges upheld District Court judgment in February, 1958. The Supreme Court declined to review in June, 1958.

*West v. Prince George's County Board of Education*

First filed in U.S. District Court in January, 1956, to collect damages for alleged discrimination in salaries of white and Negro teachers. Dismissed on technicality in March, 1956; refiled and heard in September, 1958. Court ruled in latter month that suit came too late under applicable Maryland statutes and that "there is no evidence of any present discrimination against Negro teachers" in county.

**LEGISLATION (2)**

The Maryland General Assembly in 1959 ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution under which the School Segregation decisions of 1954 were made. The 1951 Assembly established a Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations.

# MISSISSIPPI

## Elementary and High Schools

**150 Districts: 150 With Negroes and Whites; None Desegregated**

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 304,226 | 291,971 | 596,197 |
| Teachers* | 11,994 | 8,449 | 20,443 |

*1962-63

## Colleges and Universities

**One Desegregated**

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 19 | 6 | 25 |
| Enrollment* | 33,955 | 5,296 | 39,251 |

*1962-63

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**Segregation is maintained at all grade levels.**

### TEACHERS

**Complete segregation is maintained.**

### HIGHER EDUCATION

**The University of Mississippi at Oxford was desegregated on Oct. 1, 1962, when a Negro transfer student, James Meredith, enrolled by court order in *Meredith v. Fair*. Riots occurred on the campus when Meredith arrived on the campus a day earlier, accompanied by a force of federal marshals. President Kennedy sent in regular troops and called part of the Mississippi National Guard to active duty to restore order. Meredith was graduated in June, 1963, still under protection of federal marshals. In June, 1963, Cleve McDowell became the second known Negro to enroll in the University of Mississippi, under a federal court order in *McDowell* admitting him to the School of Law. On September 24, 1963, he was expelled after found guilty by the Student Judicial Council of carrying a concealed weapon on the campus in violation of an administrative order. McDowell's expulsion returned the University of Mississippi to its former all-white status. Recently, Meredith announced he would seek admission next June to the university School of Law. No official action has been taken on his petition. Enrollments at the state schools are:**

| | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **White Sr. Colleges** | | | |
| Delta State | 1,467 | 0 | |
| Miss. State Coll. for Women | 2,426 | 0 | |
| Miss. State Univ. | 5,796 | 0 | |
| Univ. of Miss** | 6,142 | 0 | 1962-C |
| Univ. of Southern Miss. | 6,761 | 0 | |
| **Negro Sr. Colleges** | | | |
| Alcorn A & M | 0 | 1,433 | |
| Jackson State | 0 | 1,600 | |
| Miss. Vocational | 0 | 1,235 | |
| TOTALS | 22,592 | 4,268 | |
| **White Jr. Colleges** | | | |
| Copiah-Lincoln | 511 | 0 | |
| East Central | 556 | 0 | |
| East Mississippi | 293 | 0 | |
| Hinds | 1,612 | 0 | |
| Holmes | 483 | 0 | |
| Itawamba | 625 | 0 | |
| Jones | 1,488 | 0 | |
| Meridian | 1,090 | 0 | |
| Miss. Delta | 513 | 0 | |
| Northeast | 1,197 | 0 | |
| Northwest | 813 | 0 | |
| Pearl River | 684 | 0 | |
| Perkinston | 1,119 | 0 | |
| Southwest | 379 | 0 | |
| **Negro Jr. Colleges** | | | |
| Coahoma | 0 | 411 | |
| Harris | 0 | 200 | |
| Utica | 0 | 417 | |
| TOTALS | 11,363 | 1,028 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 33,955 | 5,296 | |

*1962-63

**Includes Medical College, Jackson.

### FACULTIES

**Complete segregation is maintained.**

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

**Complete segregation is maintained.**

### ETHNIC GROUPS

**The state has no separate schools for Indians or other such groups, but the federal government has a school for Indians in Neshoba County.**

### LITIGATION (7)

***Evers et al v. Jackson Municipal Separate School District Board et al.***

**Filed in U.S. District Court on March 4, 1963, to desegregate public schools of city of Jackson. U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize dismissed the suit on June 24, 1963, on grounds appellants had not exhausted all administrative remedies. Appealed to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.**

***Hudson v. Leake County School Board et al.***

**Filed in U.S. District Court on March 7, 1963, to desegregate public schools of Leake County. District Judge Sidney Mize dismissed the suit June 24, 1963, on grounds appellants had not exhausted all administrative remedies. Appealed to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.**

***Mason et al v. Biloxi Municipal Separate School District Board et al***

**Filed in U.S. District Court in June, 1963, to desegregate public schools in Biloxi. District Judge Sidney Mize dismissed the suit on July 5, 1963, on grounds appellants had not exhausted all administrative remedies. Appealed to U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.**

***Meredith v. Fair et al***

**Filed in U.S. District Court on May 31, 1961, to desegregate the University of Mississippi. U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize on Dec. 13, 1961, ruled that the university's rejection was not based on race or color. The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals on Jan. 12, 1962, upheld Mize but ordered a hearing without delay. On Feb. 3, Judge Mize refused to order Meredith's admission, holding that the school was "not a racially segregated institution." The circuit court on Feb. 12, 1962, refused to order an injunction for immediate admission, but on June 25, 1962, the court held that university officials had rejected Meredith "solely because he was a Negro." On July 17, 1962, the circuit court directed Judge Mize to issue an order for admission. In July and August, the circuit court set aside three decrees by U.S. Circuit Judge Ben F. Cameron to stay the admission order. After Cameron's fourth stay, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black set aside the stay. Meredith entered the school on Oct. 1, accompanied by federal marshals, after Gov. Ross Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson personally intervened to stop the admission attempt. Contempt proceedings against the two officials are in the federal courts. Meredith graduated in June, 1963, and the last of the federal marshals withdrew.**

***McDowell v. Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning***

Filed in U.S. District Court in May, 1963, for admission to Law School of the University of Mississippi. U.S. District Judge Sidney Mize on May 27, 1963, ordered McDowell's admission, which was accomplished June 5 without incident. University of Mississippi School of Law officials had issued McDowell a certificate of admission before the case was called and it was the basis of Judge Mize's order since it showed that he had met all requirements and was acceptable. McDowell was expelled in September, 1963, when he violated an administrative order against carrying concealed weapons on the university campus. Charles Evers, NAACP field secretary, said McDowell received a fair hearing by the Student Judicial Council. McDowell has appealed to the Dean of Admissions and also to the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning. No hearing date set.

***U.S. v. Biloxi Municipal Separate School District Board et al***

***U.S. v. Gulfport Municipal Separate School District Board et al***

Filed in U.S. District Court, January 18, 1963, as one suit seeking desegregation of schools for children of federal government personnel in both "impacted" areas. District Judge Sidney Mize separated the suits on April 22. On May 16, 1963, he dismissed the Gulfport suit on grounds that the United States had no contract with the school district and also that the government lacked authority to bring such a suit. Mize dismissed the Biloxi suit on June 17, 1963, on the same grounds.

**LEGISLATION (38)**

**1954**

*Ch. 260*—Established pupil assignment.

*Ch. 420*—Created Mississippi Legal Educational Advisory Committee.

**1954**
**(Extra Session)**

*Ch. 5*—Appropriated $50,000 for MLEAC operations.

*Ch. 39*—Proposed amendment to state constitution of 1890 to permit abolishing public schools and disposal of the property. Ratified in 1954 special election.

*Ch. 44*—Extended activities of MLEAC.

**1955**
**(Extra Session)**

*Ch. 43*—Banned white and Negro attendance at same school.

*Ch. 132*—Expanded school closing amendment.

*Ch. 134*—Enlarged MLEAC activities.

*Ch. 139*—Asked Congress to limit courts' jurisdiction.

*Ch. 155*—Banned speeches at state institutions by advocates of anti-state action.

**1956**

*Ch. 253*—Prohibited fomenting litigation or soliciting funds for filing suits.

*Ch. 254*—Directed officials to follow interposition doctrine of *Ch. 465*, and prohibited compliance with desegregation rulings.

*Ch. 255*—Named state bar requirements.

*Ch. 256*—Banned public disturbances.

*Ch. 261*—Banned telephone threats.

*Ch. 265*—Required school personnel to list memberships.

*Ch. 288*—Repealed compulsory attendance.

*Ch. 289*—Required pre-school-age census.

*Ch. 365*—Created State Sovereignty Commission.

*Ch. 439*—Created committee to draft interposition resolution.

*Ch. 466*—Stated doctrine of interposition.

*Ch. 468*—Sought federal constitutional admendment granting state control of schools.

*Ch. 475*—Commended Judge T. P. Brady for prosegregation efforts and his book, "Black Monday."

**1958**

*Ch. 311*—Authorized governor to close public schools and colleges.

**1960**

*SCR 115*—Commended William J. Simmons, editor of the Citizens Council newspaper and officer of the state and national council.

*SCR 143*—Proposed constitutional amendment to remove mandatory provision that legislature provide for free public schools. Ratified in 1960 general election.

*HB 1019*—Increase biennial appropriation for State Sovereignty Commission from $150,000 to $350,000.

*SB 1923*—Authorized local school trustees to close public schools.

**1962**

*SCR 158*—Memorialized State Board of Education to include in state course of study the book "Race and Reason" by Carleton Putnam.

*HB 124*—Eliminated word "Negro" from statute authorizing Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning to provide qualified students instruction in graduate and professional schools outside the state.

*HB 530*—Defined legal residence of persons enrolling for colleges.

*HB 907*—Authorized attorney general to employ three additional full-time assistants to defend any suit against the state, any of its agencies or officials.

*HB 1117*—Appropriated $250,000 for the State Sovereignty Commission for 1962-64 (reduced from previous $350,000).

*SB 1710*—Authorized campus police to enforce all laws on university or college grounds.

*SB 1712*—Modernized business corporation act to provide that no foreign nonprofit nonshare, or nonprofit or nonshare corporation can do business in the state until it has been domesticated. Violators of the law face injunction in Hinds County Chancery Court. Provision was designed to force the NAACP to qualify in the state.

**1962**
**(Extraordinary Session)**

*HCR 18*—Called for redress of grievances, including the removal of James H. Meredith, a Negro student, from the University of Mississippi, and the removal of all federal marshals and troops.

*SB 1501*—Provided that no person shall be eligible for admission to any state institution of higher learning if he has a criminal charge of moral turpitude pending against him in any Mississippi state or federal court. A U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, ruling in *Meredith v. Fair*, said that the effect of the bill was "to punish James Howard Meredith should he seek enrollment in the University of Mississippi."

*HB 2*—Provided that all acts, words and conduct performed by any state officer in keeping Mississippi institutions of higher learning segregated were adopted as acts of the state and not the individuals.

# MISSOURI

## Elementary and High Schools

1,597 District: Est. 212 with Negroes and Whites; Est. 203 Desegregated.

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 793,000 | 95,000 | 888,000 |
| Teachers* | 33,421 | 2,759 | 36,180 |

*Totals are official estimates of the Missouri Department of Education as of June 30, 1963. Racial breakdown is based on unofficial estimates.

## Colleges and Universities

All 15 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 14 | 1 | 15 |
| Enrollment* | 53,419 | 1,582 | 55,001 |

*Totals are official estimates of the Missouri State Department of Education. Racial breakdown is based on unofficial estimates.

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Of the estimated 212 school districts having both whites and Negroes within their boundaries, 203 with an estimated 90,000 Negro pupils are believed to be desegregated. An estimated 40,000 Negroes attend school with whites. Official figures are not available since the Missouri Department of Education keeps no data on race and this policy is reflected in local school districts. Most of Missouri's Negroes are concentrated in the two major urban areas—St. Louis and Kansas City. In 1962 the St. Louis public schools had 49,154 white and 60,109 Negro students. In October, 1963, the Kansas City public schools had 50,163 white and 26,442 Negro students. These two urban systems account for 86,123 of the approximately 95,000 Negroes estimated to be attending Missouri public schools. The estimate as to the number of Negro children attending school with white children is based in part on information from the St. Louis and Kansas City school systems. In 1962 St. Louis had 74 elementary and 10 high schools with both white and Negro children. Kansas City in autumn, 1963, had 46 elementary and 15 high schools with white and Negro enrollees. Most Missouri school districts having biracial enrollments desegregated voluntarily, starting first in 1954 in Kansas City. In the so-called "Bootheel" area of southeast Missouri, a cotton-growing agricultural area with strong cultural ties with the South, desegregation has tended to lag. In 1962 the NAACP began court action to bring about full desegregation of southeast Missouri schools. On June 4, 1963, U.S. District Court approved a desegregation plan for all public schools at Charleston, in Mississippi County, in September, 1963. On June 26, 1963, federal court actions against two Pemiscot County districts—Wardell R-VI and Deering C-6—were settled by consent judgment. In both Pemiscot cases, the court ordered that high schools desegregated immediately, grades 7-8 in July, 1963, grades 4-6 in January, 1964, and grades 1-3 in July, 1964. Districts definitely known to have ended desegregation are listed below by counties for convenience in locating them, although the counties themselves do not constitute school districts. High school and elementary districts have not been distinguished.

Adair County
- Kirksville

Audrain County
- Mexico
- Vandalia

Bates County
- Butler

Boone County
- Centralia
- Columbia
- Sturgeon

Buchanan County
- St. Joseph

Butler County
- Neelyville
- Poplar Bluff

Callaway County
- Fulton

Cape Girardeau County
- Cape Girardeau
- Jackson

Carroll County
- Carrollton
- Norborne

Cass County
- Harrisonville
- Pleasant Hill

Chariton County
- Keytesville

Clay County
- Excelsior Springs
- Liberty

Clinton County
- Cameron
- Lathrop
- Plattsburgh

Cole County
- Jefferson City

Cooper County
- Boonville
- Pilot Grove

Dade County
- Greenfield

Daviess County
- Gallatin

Dunklin County
- Kennett
- Malden

Franklin County
- New Haven
- Pacific
- Union
- Washington

Greene County
- Springfield

Grundy County
- Trenton

Henry County
- Clinton
- Windsor

Howard County
- Fayette

Howell County
- West Plains

Iron County
- Ironton

Jackson County
- Independence
- Kansas City

Jasper County
- Carthage

Jefferson County
- De Soto
- Festus

Johnson County
- Holden
- Knob Noster
- Warrensburg

Knox County
- Edina

LaClede County
- Lebanon

Lafayette County
- Higginsville
- Lexington
- Mayview

Lawrence County
- Mt. Vernon

Lewis County
- Canton
- LaGrange
- Lemo

Lincoln County
- Troy

Linn County
- Brookfield

LaClede
- Marceline

Livingston County
- Chillicothe

Macon County
- Bevier
- Macon

Madison County
- Fredericktown

Marion County
- Hannibal
- Palmyra

Mississippi County
- Anniston
- Charleston
- East Prairie

Moniteau County
- California
- Jamestown
- Tipton

Monroe County
- Madison
- Paris

Montgomery County
- Montgomery City
- Wellsville

Morgan County
- Versailles

New Madrid County
- Gideon

Newton County
- Neosho

Nodaway County
- Pickering

Pemiscot County
- R-IV Wardell
- C-6 Deering

Perry County
- Altenburg

Pettis County
- Sedalia

Phelps County
- Rolla

Pike County
- Louisiana
- Bowling Green

Randolph County
- Moberly

Ralls County
- New London

Ray County
- Hardin

St. Charles County
- St. Charles
- Wentzville

St. Clair County
- Osceola
- Appleton City

St. Francois County
- Bonne Terre
- Farmington

St. Genevieve County
- St. Genevieve
- St. Mary's

St. Louis City

St. Louis County
- Berkeley
- Brentwood
- Clayton
- Eureka
- Ferguson
- Kirkwood
- Ladue
- Maplewood-Richmond Heights
- Normandy
- Parkway
- Pattonville
- Ritenour
- Riverview Gardens
- Webster Groves
- Wellston

Saline County
- Malta Bend
- Marshall
- Slater

Scott County
- Benton
- Morley
- Sikeston

Shelby County
- Clarence
- Hunnewell
- Shelbina

Stoddard County
- Bell City

Warren County
- Warrenton

Washington County
- Potosi

Wright County
- R-II Hartville

## TEACHERS

In September, 1961, the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights estimated that 125 to 150 Negro teachers in Missouri had lost their employment as teachers as a result of initial desegregation. Most of the loss was in smaller or rural communities. The major urban systems, St. Louis and Kansas City, have been hiring an increasing number of Negro teachers and have hired some Negro teachers dismissed in other localities. In May, 1954, the St. Louis public schools had an instruction staff totaling 2,585—1,738 whites and 847 Negroes. By 1962 the total of professional (i.e. certificated) employes was 4,041—2,245 whites and 1,796 Negroes. The Negro proportion of teachers in St. Louis increased from about 33 per cent to 44 per cent in the eight years. The Kansas City public schools in January, 1959, had a total of 2,153 teachers—1,744 whites and 409 Negroes. Kansas City's 1959 total represented an increase of 123 teachers since desegregation, and 45 of these were Negroes. By October, 1962, Kansas City had 2,856 teachers—2,193 whites and 663 Negroes. Thus from 1959 to 1962 the Negro teacher proportion in Kansas City increased from about 18 per cent to 24 per cent. And in 1962 St. Louis and Kansas City were employing a total of nearly 2,500 Negro teachers in their public schools, reflecting the steady increase in Negro urban enrollment.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

A state court opened the University of Missouri to Negroes in 1950. Except for the university, all 15 tax-supported colleges and universities desegregated voluntarily. A survey was made in autumn, 1963, to determine racial composition of faculties and student populations at Missouri institutions of higher learning. In many instances the responding institutions—particularly the five state colleges—said they kept no records on race and declined to attempt even rough estimates as to number of Negro teachers and students. Listed below are the June, 1962, enrollments (except where more recent figures are indicated), and the most recent available estimate as to number of Negro students enrolled.

| Predominantly White State Schools | Enrollment Total | Negroes | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Central Mo. State | 4,867 | 2 or more | 1954-V |
| Northeast Mo. State | 4,171 | 38 | 1953-V |
| Northwest Mo. State | 3,043 | 2 or more | 1954-V |
| Southeast Mo. State | 3,565 | 2 or more | 1954-V |
| Southwest Mo. State | 4,829 | 6 or 7 | 1954-V |
| Univ. of Missouri† | | | |
| Columbia | 15,090 | 200-300 | 1950-C |
| Rolla | 3,621 | 15-20 | 1950-C |
| Kansas City | 4,398 | some | 1958-V†† |
| St. Louis | 673 | some | 1963-V |
| TOTAL | 44,257 | 265** | |
| **Predominantly White District Colleges** | | | |
| Harris Teachers | 924 | 427 | 1954-V |
| Joplin Jr. | 692 | unknown | 1954-V |
| Jr. Coll. of Kansas City | 3,953* | 428 | 1954-V |
| Jr. Coll. of Flat River | 325* | 1 | 1957-V |
| Moberly Jr. | 176* | 3 | 1955-V |
| St. Joseph Jr. | 609* | 10 | 1955-V |
| St. Louis-St. Louis Co. Jr. | 2,386* | 300 | 1963-V |
| Trenton Jr. | 97* | 1 | 1954-V |
| TOTAL | 9,162 | 1,170** | |
| **Predominantly Negro State Schools** | | | |
| Lincoln Univ. | 1,582 | 1,028 | 1954-V |
| STATE TOTAL | 55,001 | 2,463** | |

*1963-64.
**Represents minimum.
†1963-64 total enrollment 23,050.
††Desegregated as private institution. University of Kansas City became part of state university in July, 1963.

## FACULTIES

Available information indicates that four of Missouri's 14, predominantly white, tax-supported universities and colleges have Negro faculty members: University of Missouri branch at Kansas City; St. Louis-St. Louis County Junior College (11); Harris Teachers College (15); and, the Junior College of Kansas City. Lincoln University, formerly all-Negro, has 64 Negro faculty members. The state's 15 public colleges and universities have a total faculty of about 3,132, including an estimated 92 Negroes.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Trade schools, adult education programs and special schools in Missouri are officially desegregated in most instances. In St. Louis the apprenticeship programs operated under auspices of organized labor in public school facilities have given rise to complaints of discrimination against Negroes, although some Negroes are enrolled.

## LITIGATION (9)

*Arnold et al v. Kirkwood School District R-7*

Suit for injunction brought on behalf of 39 Negro children alleging they were deprived of equal educational opportunities. Filed in U.S. District Court at St. Louis on Dec. 13, 1950. Dismissed by District Judge George H. Moore Dec. 12, 1952, on the grounds that the plaintiffs had not established that their rights had been denied them because of race or color. Case held by U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals until after 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision and returned to lower court for complying decree.

*Board of Education City of St. Louis v. St. Louis Branch NAACP*

St. Louis board filed suit in U.S. District Court Aug. 7, 1963, seeking judgment upholding legality of its bus transportation program for school children, chiefly Negroes, from crowded schools to those having classroom space. Court heard arguments Nov. 15 and took under advisement.

*Brooks et al v. The School District of the City of Moberly, Mo., et al.*

Group of Negro teachers brought action in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Missouri (St. Louis), Nov. 21, 1955, charging that failure to renew their teaching contracts resulted from racial discrimination. Court found for defendants on June 27, 1958. On Appeal, U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals (St. Louis) affirmed lower court June 17, 1959, and found plaintiffs had failed to prove school board's action resulted from racial discrimination.

*Davis et al v. Board of Education of School District of Charleston et al.*

Negro parents brought action in U.S. District Court at St. Louis on Aug. 25, 1962, seeking desegregation of all public schools in the Charleston school district in southeast Missouri's "Bootheel." Temporary injunction granted on Oct. 8, 1962, admitted seven Negroes to Charleston High School. On April 11, 1963, Judge James H. Meredith ordered a desegregation plan for all Charleston public schools in September, 1963; he approved the plan June 4, 1963.

*Gaines v. Canada*

U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1938 that the state was bound to furnish equal facilities within its borders. It ordered Leroy Gaines admitted to the University of Missouri law school since no Negro school existed. Gaines never enrolled.

*Layne v. St. Louis Board of Education*

Filed under NAACP auspices Aug. 20, 1963, in U.S. District Court, accusing St. Louis Board of Education of operating a segregated school system. Court heard arguments on motions Nov. 15, 1963, and took under advisement.

*Lewis v. Board of Education, Consolidated School District C-6, Deering*

Filed in U.S. District Court May 6, 1963, to desegregate Deering Consolidated School District, Pemiscot County, in southeast Missouri. Suit filed on behalf of eight Negro children by their parents, under NAACP auspices. On June 26, 1963, case was settled by con-

sent judgment: high school to desegregate immediately; grades 7-8, July, 1963; grades 4-6, January,

*Russell v. Board of Education of School District of Maplewood-Richmond Heights.*

Negro physician, Dr. Harold G. Russell, resident of suburban St. Louis, brought action for writ of mandamus in St. Louis County Circuit Court No. 7 at Clayton on Oct. 7, 1959, seeking admission of two Russell children to all-white public school near his home. On Feb. 24, 1961, Judge John J. Kelly Jr. granted petitioner 30 days to file amended petition, and on March 24, 1961, amended petition was filed. On April 29, 1961, the Board of Education announced it had voted to rezone the school district to permit entry of Negro children in the all-white school in September, 1961. This brought an end to litigation.

*Walls et al v. Board of Education, District R-VI, Pemiscot County*

Filed April 24, 1963, in U.S. District Court to desegregate schools. Suit brought under NAACP auspices by parents of 12 Negro children. On June 26, 1963, case was settled by consent judgement: high school to desegregate immediately; grades 7-8, July, 1963; grades 4-6, January, 1964; and grades 1-3, July, 1964.

**LEGISLATION (1)**

The Missouri General Assembly in 1957 repealed pre-1954 laws requiring school segregation, which already had been declared unenforceable by the state attorney general.

# Definition of Terms

**Desegregation**—Change from segregated to biracial or multiracial status, either in practice or principle.

**Integration**—Absence of all racial distinctions.

**Biracial Schools**—Ones attended by more than one race. Abbreviated in tables as "Brel. Schls."

**Districts With Negroes and Whites**—A district having both Negro and white students, whether the district is segregated or desegregated.

**Date Deseg.**—Abbreviation used in tables to indicate the date a school or district first desegregated in practice or policy.

**"C" and "V"**—Following dates of desegregation indicates whether the action was Voluntary or Court-ordered.

**Negroes w/Whites**—Used in tables for number of Negroes attending schools with whites.

**Predominantly White/Predominantly Negro** — Both terms used in tables on colleges and universities, to designate those schools either all-white or predominantly white/ all-Negro or predominantly Negro.

# NORTH CAROLINA

## Elementary and High Schools

171 Districts: 171 With Negroes and Whites; 40 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 802,900 | 346,746† | 1,149,646 |
| Teachers* | 31,964 | 12,381 | 44,345 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

All 17 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| Enrollment | 38,675 | 8,892 | 47,567 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The first public school desegregation in North Carolina took place in September, 1957, after Charlotte (now Charlotte-Mecklenburg), Greensboro and Winston-Salem, by prior agreement, simultaneously announced voluntary desegregation plans. Carburrus County, which faces a desegregation suit, has announced it will begin admitting Negroes to schools with whites in September, 1964.

The desegregated districts are:

| District | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alamance Co. | 9,200 | 3,070 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Asheville | 7,570 | 2,940 | 120* | 4 | 1961-V |
| Buncombe Co. | 18,390 | 400 | 12 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Burlington | 8,390 | 2,020 | 13 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Caswell Co. | 2,520 | 3,070 | 23 | 4 | 1963-C |
| Chapel Hill | 3,080 | 1,180 | 200* | 4 | 1960-V |
| Charlotte-Mecklenburg | 49,160 | 19,120 | 453† | 12 | 1957-V |
| Craven Co. | 5,590 | 2,740 | 52 | 4 | 1959-V |
| Cumberland Co. | 14,910 | 5,280 | 12 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Durham | 8,080 | 7,400 | 500* | 14 | 1959-V |
| Durham Co. | 7,640 | 3,180 | 4 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Edenton | 1,820 | 1,400 | 12 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Elkin | 1,702 | 57 | 9 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Fayetteville | 7,410 | 5,040 | 37 | 4 | 1962-V |
| Gaston Co. | 18,450 | 3,550 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Gastonia | 7,400 | 1,820 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Goldsboro | 4,620 | 3,450 | 1 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Greensboro | 17,660 | 7,310 | 160* | 11 | 1957-V |
| Guilford Co. | 20,910 | 3,660 | 6 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Henderson | 2,930 | 2,080 | 5 | 2 | 1963-V |
| High Point | 9,610 | 3,120 | 35 | 6 | 1962-V |
| Mount Airy | 2,800 | 700 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| New Hanover Co. | 11,890 | 5,620 | 1 | 1 | 1962-V |
| Orange Co. | 2,980 | 2,010 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Person Co. | 1,220 | 1,400 | 12 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Raleigh | 13,090 | 5,500 | 56* | 3 | 1960-V |
| Randolph Co. | 9,050 | 880 | 7 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Reidsville | 3,070 | 1,700 | 2 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Rocky Mount | 5,150 | 3,370 | 15 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Rowan Co. | 12,170 | 2,240 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Salisbury | 3,280 | 1,360 | 7 | 3 | 1962-V |
| Shelby | 4,030 | 1,030 | 4 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Statesville | 3,750 | 1,030 | 9 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Surry Co. | 1,702 | 57 | 9 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Thomasville | 3,420 | 930 | 7 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Transylvania Co. | 3,810 | 220 | 7 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Wake Co. | 13,800 | 7,400 | 5 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Wayne Co. | 8,010 | 4,300 | 25 | 4 | 1963-V |
| Winston-Salem-Forsyth | 34,000 | 11,500 | 26 | 3 | 1957-V |
| Yancey Co. | 3,520 | 30 | 10 | 2 | 1960-C |
| TOTALS | 367,764 | 133,164 | 1,865 | 119 | |

*Estimated.
†Includes 372 Negroes at Bethune School with 12 whites.

### TEACHERS

Faculties remain segregated.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Six desegregated public colleges have Negroes enrolled with whites. All three branches of the Consolidated University of North Carolina have been desegregated in policy since five Negro students enrolled in the university law school under a 1951 court order in *McKissick v. Carmichael*. These three, the University at Chapel Hill, North Carolina State College at Raleigh and the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, are still the principal state colleges that are desegregated. West Carolina College, East Carolina College and A&T College have had desegregated summer classes. The 1963 enrollments were:

| Predominantly White Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Enrollment Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Appalachian State Teachers | 3,186 | 8* | 1963-V |
| East Carolina | 5,930 | 22 | 1962-V |
| N.C. State | 8,207 | 25* | 1953-V |
| Pembroke** | 934 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Univ. of N.C. | | | |
| Chapel Hill | 11,297 | 60* | 1951-C |
| Greensboro | 3,737 | 80* | 1956-V |
| Western Carolina | 2,289 | 1 | 1957-V |
| **Predominantly White Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Asheville-Biltmore | 545 | 14 | 1961-V |
| Charlotte† | 1,414 | 13 | 1961-V |
| College of the Albemarle | 209 | 7 | 1963-V |
| Wilmington† | 905 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Williston Branch | 22 | 22 | |
| TOTALS | 38,675 | 254 | |
| **Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges** | | | |
| A&T College | 3,005 | 2,996 | 1957-V |
| Elizabeth City State | 885 | 884 | 1963-V |
| Fayetteville State | 1,013 | 1,011 | 1963-V |
| N.C. College | 2,609 | 2,608 | 1963-V |
| Winston-Salem | 1,160 | 1,160†† | 1963-V |
| **Predominantly Negro Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Mecklenburg | 220 | 220 | 1961-V |
| TOTALS | 8,892 | 8,879 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 47,567 | 9,133 | |

*Estimated, racial records not kept.
**Formerly all-Indian.
†In process of gradual conversion to senior college.
††Had some Negroes previously.

### FACULTIES

Winston-Salem State College, which is all-Negro, began its second year of faculty desegregation with three full-time white instructors. The college also has several white faculty members on a part-time basis. A second Negro college, North Carolina College, has employed two white professors for several years. All other college faculties are segregated.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The state operates industrial education centers throughout the state for students beyond the high school level, although some do include high school students. By policy, all are operated on a desegregated basis. Race is not a factor for entry. No exact figures are available in this area. It may be noted that in the Winston-Salem-Forsyth County area, a branch of the Industrial Education Center operated in close conjunction with the Negro Atkins High School, is run on a reverse desegregation basis with one white faculty member and several white students. The branch does not offer the same subjects as the main IEC. The Governor's School, a state summer school for advanced high school students, had a biracial student body and staff at its first session in 1963.

### ETHNIC GROUPS

A case *(Chance et al v. Harnett County Board of Education)* involving 50 Indians of the Maple Grove Indian Schools and Harnett County is now under consideration by U.S. District Court Judge Wilson Warlick. The action involves a charge by Indians that their school is not equal to schools for whites. Harnett County began desegregation of Indians in 1961 when 18 were assigned to a high school with whites. This action followed Indian protests a year earlier. Robeson County desegregated Indians in September, 1962, by enrolling seven Lumbee Indians at Lumberton Junior High. Robeson County operates separate schools for whites, Negroes, Indians and Smilings, a mixed blood group. Halifax County, Va., and Person County, N.C.,

closed a jointly operated school for Indians in September, 1962, to save money for both systems. The 85 Indians involved were assigned to schools in North Carolina. A suit filed by Sampson County Indians in 1963 in U.S. Eastern District Court was settled Sept. 8, 1963, when Sampson County and Clinton city schools accepted 14 Indians in high schools. Both systems agreed to enroll 22 Indian children in white schools in the 1964-65 school year.

**LITIGATION (31)**

*Becton v. Green County Board of Education*

Class action filed July 1, 1960, seeking to commit the board to formulate a school desegregation plan. Pending.

*Belo v. Randolph County Board of Education*

Parents of 11 Negro children filed suit Oct. 22, 1962, in U.S. District Court, charging the board with maintaining segregation in the county schools. The suit also seeks teacher desegregation. Schools desegregated Sept. 11, 1963 as result of pretrial conference Sept. 6, 1963, called by District Judge Edwin M. Stanley. School board is to submit desegregation to court Jan. 31, 1964. A pretrial conference is set for March 20, 1964.

*Cabaniss v. Shelby Board of Education*

Parents of Rayfield Cabaniss filed suit in U.S. District Court on March 16, 1963, against Shelby school board, claiming a class action and seeking son's transfer from a Negro school to a white school. On Aug. 27, 1963, the school board assigned Cabaniss and three other Negroes to previously white Shelby High School. This was also date of pretrial hearing by District Judge Wilson Warlick, who ruled the case was not a class action.

*Carson v. Warlick*
*Carson v. Board of Education of McDowell County*
*Joyner v. McDowell County Board of Education*

Of the three related cases, *Carson v. Warlick* was the deciding action. The series of cases began with *Carson v. Board of Education of McDowell County*, filed before the 1954 segregation cases were decided. Plaintiffs sought equal facilities and the right to attend school without regard to race. After the segregation cases were decided, the Western District Federal Court dismissed the suit on the ground that relief sought was then available. On appeal, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed and ordered the district court to reconsider the case in the light of North Carolina's School Placement Law. Action was subsequently brought in North Carolina State Court, *Joyner v. McDowell County Board of Education*. This action involved some of the same plaintiffs as did the original case. The North Carolina Supreme Court held in 1956 that the action was improperly brought because more than one person was party to it and the North Carolina Placement Law dealt only with an individual student's assignment. Thereafter, the plaintiff's returned to Western District Federal Court, filed a supplemental complaint and sought a declaratory judgment on the right to attend school without regard to race. District Court Judge Wilson Warlick refused to grant the relief sought on the ground that state administrative remedies had not been exhausted. Then, in *Carson v. Warlick*, the plaintiffs went to U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals for writ of mandamus to require the district court to vacate the proceedings and to permit the plaintiffs to file supplemental proceedings "as though the Pupil Enrollment Act had never been enacted." The Fourth Circuit, on Nov. 14, 1956, refused the writ and held that exhaustion by the plaintiffs of administrative remedies provided by the state was a necessary prerequisite to securing federal court action on their cases. The court held that the act was not unconstitutional on its face.

*Chance et al v. Harnett County Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Oct. 17, 1960, after Harnett County Indians refused to return to Sampson County all-Indian school. The case became moot when Harnett County granted the Indians' request for assignment to Dunn High School. Indian elementary students applied for reassignment to white schools but their request was denied. They filed suit in August, 1961. Case is now being considered by Judge Wilson Warlick of U.S. Eastern District Court.

*Conley v. Transylvania County Board of Education*

Filed Aug. 17, 1962, in U.S. District Court, seeking admission of 36 Negro children to junior and senior high schools with whites. District Judge Wilson Warlick advised both sides on March 11, 1963, to draw up a plan for desegregation and ordered desegregation of high schools during 1963-64 school year. Board complied.

*Constantian v. Anson County*

North Carolina Supreme Court on June 6, 1956, held that school bonds approved prior to 1954 and ostensibly for the purpose of maintaining segregated schools could be used for public schools nevertheless. The court held North Carolina's school segregation laws to have been invalidated by the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, but held the segregation provisions severable and ruled that the provisions for state-supported public schools were still valid.

*Covington v. Edwards*

U.S. District Court in 1956 held that no constitutional issue was presented. The court held Sept. 12, 1958, that class action, brought in 1955 against Montgomery County school officials, should be dismissed for failure to allege the exhaustion of administrative remedies. Plaintiffs had contended that passage of time since 1954 had made exhaustion of administrative remedy unnecessary in view of lack of desegregation plan by Montgomery Board of Education. Court held integration not required by 1954 School Segregation Cases.

*Du Vissette v. Cabarrus County Board of Education*

Parents of 108 Negro children filed suit Oct. 25, 1963, in U.S. District Court, seeking desegregation of Cabarrus County schools in both student body and faculty. The school board answer noted that it has set a new policy, effective during 1964-65 school year, that parents of any child may request and receive a transfer "without cause or reason." Pending.

*Felder et al v. Harnett County Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court Oct. 9, 1963, as class action, in behalf of 19 Negro children seeking permanent injunction against Harnett County Board of Education. Suit requests county set up a plan for school desegregation.

*Ford v. Cumberland County Board of Education*

Filed in July, 1963, in U.S. District Court. Horace Ford claimed his two daughters were denied constitutional rights because Cumberland County officials operated segregated school system, and asked board to set up complete desegregation plan.

*Frasier v. Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina*

Negro youths sought and obtained from a three-judge court, sitting in U.S. Middle District Court, Sept. 16, 1955, a ruling that the School Segregation Cases rule was applicable to colleges as well as primary schools.

*Gilmore et al v. High Point City Board of Education*

Filed March 13, 1963, in U.S. District Court in behalf of eight Negro children, seeking to extend desegregation of High Point school system in assignment of students, teachers and school personnel. Judge Edwin M. Stanley in a pretrial conference Sept. 6, 1963, suggested that both sides work out their differences in conference. He will hold pretrial conference March 20, 1964.

*Griffith v. Robinson et al*

Filed on Nov. 11, 1959, in U.S. District Court by Negro children seeking to enter Yancey County schools instead of traveling about 80 miles daily to schools outside the county. The county had been without schools for Negroes for two years when the suit was filed. After the first hearing, the county built a two-room elementary school. The suit was amended to challenge this. U.S. District Judge Wilson Warlick in December, 1960, ordered Negro children admitted to the two high schools but gave the county time to restudy the Negro assignments to the elementary school. Judge Warlick on Aug. 13, 1962, ruled against a Negro boy seeking a transfer from the Negro elementary to a white school, ruling that the white school was overcrowded and the other was not. Judge Warlick ruled on Sept. 26, 1963, that Yancey County must have complete desegregation of all schools, including two-room Negro Oak Crest School, by end of 1963-64 fall semester.

*Holt v. Raleigh Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1957, by Negro seeking admission to white high school nearer his home. The court held in 1958 that the plaintiff had failed to exhaust the administrative remedies under the Pupil Placement Act and it was necessary for the pupil and parents to appear at a school board hearing instead of being represented by an attorney. The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld on March 19, 1959. The U.S. Supreme Court declined to review.

*Hunter et al v. Raleigh City Board of Education*

Filed on May 31, 1961, to desegregate Raleigh schools. Raleigh had admitted its first Negro to a school with whites in 1960. The case is pending.

*In re: Applications for Reassignment*

Filed in 1957 in Superior Court by three whites to appeal assignments of Negroes to formerly all-white Greensboro schools. Court dismissed on grounds that state assignment law allowed parent to request reassignment of his own child, not to appeal assignment of other pupils. State Supreme Court affirmed on Jan. 10, 1958.

*Jeffers v. Whitley*

Negro parents of 43 school children filed suit in U.S. District Court in 1956 to desegregate the schools. The action was filed against Caswell County and state officials but the action as to the latter was dismissed on the ground that they had no authority over specific pupil assignment. On Aug. 4, 1961, the court held that five Negroes had exhausted the administrative remedies but that they could not bring a class action. On Dec. 29, 1961, U.S. District Judge Edwin M. Stanley held that two Negroes were entitled to enroll at Murphy School at the beginning of any regular semester. The Negroes did not apply but on appeal, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on Oct. 12, 1962, that the county had applied the Pupil Assignment Law unconstitutionally. Judge Stanley on Dec. 21, 1962, ordered the Caswell County school board to desegregate schools. Schools desegregated Jan. 22, 1963. On April 11, 1963, Judge Stanley refused to order special bus service for Negroes.

*McCoy v. Greensboro City Board of Education*

Filed Feb. 10, 1959, in U.S. Middle District Court, seeking admission to white schools. Admission obtained by voluntary board action, however, and then motion amended by remaining plaintiffs who contended board's action in turning former white school into all-Negro school was part of systematic pattern of segregation. Court held Jan. 14, 1960, that it could not interfere with operation of schools.

*McKissick v. Carmichael*

U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1951 ordered the University of North Carolina Law School opened to Negroes. The court stressed the prestige, reputation and high standing of the school as the determining factors in showing the disparity between it and the law school established at the North Carolina College in Durham.

*McKissick v. Durham City Board of Education*

Filed May 12, 1958, as petition for admission to white schools. Sought to have Pupil Placement Law declared unconstitutional as administered by Durham Board of Education. U.S. District Court held on Sept. 4, 1959, that plaintiffs had failed to appear at the school board hearing and had not exhausted their administrative remedies. Dismissed.

*Morrow v. Mecklenburg County Board of Education*

Filed Feb. 10, 1959, in Western District Federal Court, after 1958 and 1959 refusals by board to transfer Negro students to white schools. Judge Wilson M. Warlick ruled in June, 1961, that admission had not been denied because of race. System merged in 1960 with Charlotte, which had desegregated voluntarily earlier. Case dismissed on Aug. 31, 1961, when Judge Warlick ruled that an appeal had not been perfected in time and inadequate reason for delay had been offered.

*NAACP v. Eure, Secretary of State*

North Carolina Supreme Court held Jan. 11, 1957, that NAACP must register under General Statute Chapter 120, *Article 10*.

*Thompson et al v. Durham County Board of Education et al*

Parents of 61 Negro children filed class action July 23, 1963, in U.S. District Court seeking desegregation of Durham County schools. Pending.

*Vickers v. Chapel Hill City Board of Education*

Filed Feb. 2, 1960, in Middle District Court, after denial of transfer in 1958 and 1959. Judge Edwin M. Stanley ruled Aug. 4, 1961, that the student was entitled to attend a school that was no longer closer to his home than a Negro school because, had he been assigned without regard to race, he normally would have moved from a nearby white school to which he first sought admission to the now more distant junior high school.

*Wheeler v. Durham City Board of Education*
*Spaulding v. Durham City Board of Education*

Wheeler, filed April 29, 1960, and Spaulding, filed Sept. 12, 1960, and consolidated for argument. Involved denial of transfer requests of students in fall of 1959 and 1960. Judge Edwin M. Stanley, in Middle District Court, held that students were entitled to have the board stop using a "white" attendance map and a "Negro" attendance map in making initial assignments. On restudy before school opened in fall of 1961, board admitted six of the plaintiffs. Further reports were to be made to the court on disposition of other applications. On April 11, 1962, the District Court dismissed the case. The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled Oct. 12, 1962, that the Durham board must submit a suitable plan for ending "existing discrimination" or stop applying the State Pupil Assignment Law in "an unconstitutional manner." District Judge Stanley on Dec. 21, 1962, ordered open admission of Negroes by request to all schools except high schools. On July 7, 1963, he rejected a Durham school board plan giving freedom of choice to children not in high school during 1963-64 school year and to all children in 1964-65 school year. Board filed appeal with U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Nov. 13, 1963.

*Wynn v. Charlotte Community College System Trustees*

Filed in Mecklenburg County Superior Court on May 15, 1961, by Negroes requesting an injunction to stop construction of Carver College, one of two

community colleges. On May 22, 1961, Judge Susie Sharp refused the injunction on the grounds that no student had been barred from either school on the basis of race. The State Supreme Court affirmed the decision on Nov. 8, 1961.

*Ziglar et al v. Reidsville Board of Education*

Class action filed in U.S. District Court on Nov. 30, 1962, by parents of four Negro children charging that Reidsville operated a racially segregated school system. (Schools have begun desegregation). Judge Edwin M. Stanley on Sept. 6, 1963, advised both sides to work out their differences. He will hold a pretrial conference March 20, 1964.

**LEGISLATION (11)**

**1955**

*Res. 29*—Created Advisory Committee on Education.

*Ch. 366*—Established Pupil Placement Law. Amended by *Ch. 7, 1956.*

*Ch. 664*—Repealed teachers' continuing contract law.

*Ch. 1372*—Revised general education law to eliminate reference to race and to transfer school bus titles to counties.

**1956**

*Ch. 1*—Proposed amendment to North Carolina constitution to provide for educational expense grants and local option on closing public schools. Approved in state referendum Sept. 8, 1956.

*Ch. 2*—Provided for election to consider adoption of *Ch. 1.*

*Ch. 3*—Provided granting state funds as "education expense grants" to children whose parents object to their assignment to schools with another race. Grants available only for private nonsectarian schools.

*Ch. 4*—Provided local option on school closings.

*Ch. 5*—Amended compulsory school attendance law to provide for granting "education expense grants."

*Ch. 6*—Provided funds to implement the "education expense grants."

*Ch. 7*—Amended school placement law, *Ch. 366* of 1955.

# Analysis of Desegregation

| | First Desegregation | | Desegregated Districts | | | | | Desegregated Colleges and Universities | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grades 1-12 | Colleges | Total | Practice | Policy | Court-ord. | Vol. | Total | Practice | Policy | Court-ord. | Vol. |
| Alabama | 1963-C | 1956-C | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Arkansas | 1954-V | 1948-V | 13 | 13 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 8** | 5 | 3 | 0 | 8 |
| Florida | 1959-V | 1958-C | 16 | 16 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| Georgia | 1961-C | 1961-C | 4 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| Louisiana | 1960-C | 1950-C | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Mississippi | — | 1962-C | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 1957-V | 1951-C | 40 | 40 | 0 | 2 | 38 | 17** | 14 | 3 | 1 | 16 |
| South Carolina | 1963-C | 1963-C | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 1955-V | 1952-C | 44 | 41 | 3 | 11 | 33 | 7** | 6 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| Texas | 1953-V | 1950-C | 244 | 224* | 20* | 12 | 232 | 43 | 41 | 2 | 9 | 34 |
| Virginia | 1959-C | 1950-C | 55 | 54 | 1 | 20 | 35 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| SOUTH | | | 423 | 398 | 25 | 61 | 362 | 115 | 98 | 17 | 20 | 95 |
| Delaware | 1953-V | 1948-V | 86** | 40 | 46 | 75 | 11 | 2** | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1954-C | 1954-V | 1** | 1 | — | 1 | — | 1** | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Kentucky | 1955-V | 1949-C | 163 | 153 | 10 | 9 | 154 | 8** | 8 | 0 | 2 | 6 |
| Maryland | 1952-V | 1867-V | 23** | 20 | 3 | 0 | 23 | 20** | 19 | 1 | 1 | 19 |
| Missouri | 1954-V | 1950-C | 203* | 203* | 0 | 0 | 203* | 15** | 14 | 1 | 1 | 14 |
| Oklahoma | 1955-V | 1948-C | 197 | 190 | 7 | 4 | 193 | 23** | 17 | 6 | 1 | 22 |
| West Virginia | 1954-V | 1938-V | 44** | 44 | 0 | 5 | 39 | 11** | 10 | 1 | 0 | 11 |
| BORDER | | | 717 | 651 | 66 | 94 | 623 | 80 | 71 | 9 | 5 | 75 |
| REGION | | | 1,140 | 1,049 | 91 | 155 | 985 | 195 | 169 | 26 | 25 | 170 |

*Estimated

**Indicates all public colleges and universities of state, or all districts having both races, have desegregated.

# OKLAHOMA

## Elementary and High Schools

1,180 Districts: 241 with Negroes and Whites; 197 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 529,300 | 42,916 | 572,216 |
| Teachers | 21,645 | 1,381 | 23,026 |

*Totals are official; racial breakdowns are estimated.

## Colleges and Universities

All 23 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 22 | 1 | 23 |
| Enrollment | 57,253 | 693 | 57,946 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Oklahoma has 197 desegregated school districts but seven are desegregated in policy only. Two of the latter (Cleo Springs and Weaver) have accepted Negroes in white schools in the past. The first Oklahoma district to desegregate was Poteau, which acted voluntarily June 7, 1955. Although the state records provide no racial breakdown, an estimated 317,670 whites and 34,898 Negroes are believed enrolled in the desegregated districts. Updating of a 1961 state survey indicates 12,048 Negroes are attending 499 schools with whites. Listed below by counties are the known desegregated districts and the number of biracial schools and Negroes involved:

| County<br>Desegregated Districts | Negroes In Schools With Whites | Biracial Schools |
|---|---|---|
| Atoka | 99 | 4 |
| Atoka, Stringtown | | |
| Beckham | 155 | 9 |
| Elk City | | |
| Blaine | 131 | 13 |
| Fay, Geary, Greenfield, Watonga | | |
| Bryan | 137 | 4 |
| Achille, Bokchito, Colbert | | |
| Caddo | 276 | 24 |
| Anadarko, Apache, Binger, Cement, Fort Cobb, Gracemont, Oney, Hinton | | |
| Canadian | 34 | 2 |
| El Reno, Dependent-70 | | |
| Carter | 150 | 3 |
| Ardmore, Berwyn, Dickson (policy), Graham, Springer | | |
| Cherokee | 61 | 3 |
| Tahlequah, Norwood | | |
| Choctaw | 0 | 0 |
| Hugo (policy) | | |
| Cleveland | 21 | 4 |
| Moore, Norman, Stella | | |
| Coal | 37 | 4 |
| Coalgate, Olney | | |
| Comanche | 200 | 7 |
| Lawton | | |
| Cotton | 34 | 3 |
| Temple | | |
| Craig | 147 | 7 |
| Vinita, Whiteoak | | |
| Creek | 565 | 16 |
| Bristow, Depew, Drumright, Gypsy, Milfay, Newby, Slick, Olive, Olilton, Sapulpa | | |
| Custer | 87 | 6 |
| Clinton, Weatherford | | |
| Garfield | 209 | 14 |
| Drummond, Enid | | |
| Garvin | 185 | 12 |
| Katy, Pauls Valley, Pernell, Roady, Satterwhite, Wynnewood | | |
| Grady | 62 | 1 |
| Chickasha, Rush Springs | | |
| Greer | 80 | 3 |
| City View, Mangum | | |
| Harmon | 134 | 10 |
| Arnett, Gould, Hollis, Louis Hill, Ron | | |
| Haskell | 25 | 2 |
| Kinta | | |
| Hughes | 206 | 11 |
| Dustin, Fairview, Holdenville, Wetumka | | |
| Jackson | 102 | 12 |
| Altus, Duke, Southside (policy) | | |
| Jefferson | 17 | 5 |
| Ryan, Waurika | | |
| Johnston | 102 | 9 |
| Fillmore, Millburn, Tishomingo | | |
| Kay | 89 | 5 |
| Newkirk, Ponca City | | |
| Kingfisher | 184 | 9 |
| Dover, Kingfisher, Lacy | | |
| Kiowa | 103 | 13 |
| Gotebo (policy), Hobart, Roosevelt, Snyder | | |
| Latimer | 25 | 3 |
| Wilburton | | |
| LeFlore | 192 | 13 |
| Panama, Poteau, Spiro | | |
| Lincoln | 355 | 22 |
| Carney, Chandler, Davenport, Prague, Stroud, Wellston, White Rock | | |
| Logan | 189 | 7 |
| Coyle, Crescent, Guthrie | | |
| Love | 108 | 5 |
| Marietta | | |
| McClain | 49 | 5 |
| Blanchard, Purcell, Rosedale | | |
| McIntosh | 96 | 6 |
| Checotah, Hanna, Pierce, Stidham, Tiger Mountain | | |
| Major | 0 | 0 |
| Cleo Springs (policy) | | |
| Marshall | 72 | 3 |
| Madill | | |
| Mayes | 9 | 3 |
| Chouteau, Strang | | |
| Murray | 73 | 8 |
| Davis, Sulphur, Woodland | | |
| Muskogee | 159 | 11 |
| Boynton, Fort Gibson, Muskogee, Wainwright, Webbers Falls | | |
| Noble | 50 | 5 |
| Perry | | |
| Nowata | 132 | 10 |
| Alluwe, Lenapah, Nowata | | |
| Okfuskee | 66 | 5 |
| Bearden, Paden, Weleetka | | |
| Oklahoma | 2,856 | 18 |
| Arcadia, Jones, Luther, Oklahoma City, Midwest City | | |
| Okmulgee | 181 | 11 |
| Dewar (policy), Eram, Henryetta, Liberty, Morris, Nuyaka, Preston, Schulter | | |
| Osage | 196 | 7 |
| Fairfax, Hominy, Pawhuska | | |
| Pawnee | 71 | 8 |
| Cleveland, Pawnee, Ralston | | |
| Payne | 101 | 7 |
| Cushing, Norfolk, Perkins, Stillwater | | |
| Pittsburg | 93 | 8 |
| Alderson, Canadian, Hartshorne, McAlester | | |
| Pontotoc | 81 | 6 |
| Ada, Byng | | |
| Pottawatomie | 204 | 11 |
| Earlsboro, Harjo, Macomb, McLoud, Shawnee | | |
| Pushmataha | 58 | 5 |
| Antlers, Tuskahoma | | |
| Rogers | 25 | 2 |
| Chelsea, Claremore | | |
| Seminole | 320 | 20 |
| Cromwell, Excelsior, Konawa, New Lima, New Model, Pleasant Grove, Prairie Valley, Sasakwa, Seminole, Wewoka | | |
| Sequoyah | 346 | 15 |
| Gans, Muldrow, Roland, Sallisaw, Vian | | |
| Stephens | 55 | 2 |
| Duncan | | |
| Tillman | 3 | 2 |
| Weaver (policy), Frederick | | |
| Tulsa | 1,502 | 32 |
| Broken Arrow, Jenks, Tulsa, Union | | |
| Wagoner | 112 | 4 |
| Coweta, Hidden Valley, Porter | | |
| Washington | 132 | 6 |
| Bartlesville, Dewey | | |
| Washita | 25 | 3 |
| Sentinel | | |
| TOTALS | 12,048 | 499 |

## TEACHERS

About 28 Negro teachers are said to be on desegregated faculties in four districts: Fay, Ponca City, Arcadia and Tulsa (Burroughs Elementary). An estimated 396 Negro teachers have lost their jobs because of desegregation.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

All 23 public colleges and universities are desegregated in practice or policy. Oklahoma admitted its first Negro (G. W. McLaurin) to the University of Oklahoma graduate division in accordance with a U.S. District Court order on Oct. 6, 1948. (*McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*). U.S. Supreme Court had held Ada Lois Sipuel was entitled to a legal education by the state under the "equal protection" clause of the 14th amendment. (*Sipuel v. Board of Regents*). A June 9, 1949, legislative act permitted Negroes to attend white colleges for courses not given at Negro institutions, provided the Negro student remained segregated within the college. A three-judge U.S. District Court held Nov. 22, 1949, that the segregation within the OU graduate division did not deprive McLaurin of his rights under the 14th Amendment. This decision was reversed June 5, 1950, by the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled segregated facilities within the institution deprived McLaurin of equal protection. The State Board of Regents for Higher Education then adopted a policy of admitting Negroes to any course in a white college not offered by Langston University. On June 6, 1955, the board opened all state-owned colleges and universities to qualified undergraduates of all races. College enrollments are:

| Predominantly White Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Negro* | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Central State | 5,913 | 296 | 1955-V |
| East Central State | 2,038 | 10 | 1955-V |
| Northeastern State | 3,387 | 68 | 1955-V |
| Northwestern State | 1,283 | 0 | 1955-V |
| Oklahoma Coll. for Women | 642 | 10 | 1955-V |
| Okla. State Univ. | 15,122 | 227 | 1955-V |
| Panhandle A&M | 845 | 2 | 1955-V |
| Southeastern State | 2,337 | 12 | 1955-V |
| Southwestern State | 3,050 | 24 | 1955-V |
| Univ. of Okla. | 15,429 | 77 | 1948-C |
| TOTAL | 50,046 | 726 | |
| **State Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Cameron State Agricultural | 1,630 | 33 | 1955-V |
| Connors State Agricultural | 567 | 15 | 1955-V |
| Eastern Oklahoma A&M | 737 | 18 | 1955-V |
| Murray State Agricultural | 384 | 16 | 1955-V |
| Northeastern Okla. A&M | 1,462 | 0 | 1955-V |
| Northern Oklahoma Junior | 700 | 0 | 1955-V |
| Oklahoma Military Academy | 656 | 0 | 1955-V |
| TOTAL | 6,136 | 82 | |
| **Municipal Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Altus Junior College | 492 | 19 | 1959-V |
| El Reno Junior College | 192 | 3 | 1956-V |
| Poteau Community College | 117 | 21 | 1955-V |
| Sayre Junior College | 219 | 0** | 1954-V |
| Seminole Junior College | 51 | 0† | 1957-V |
| TOTAL | 1,071 | 43 | |
| **Predominantly Negro State Senior College** | | | |
| Langston University | 693 | 691†† | 1955-V |
| STATE TOTALS | 57,946 | 1,542 | |

*Estimated.
**Had at least one Negro from 1958 until this year.
†Only Negro withdrew mid-November.
††Has two whites.

## FACULTIES

The University of Oklahoma has one Negro on its faculty (School of Nursing), plus two or three who are graduate assistants. Langston University has one white faculty member.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Sulphur School for the Blind accepts Negroes. However, most are in the Deaf, Blind, and Orphan School for Negroes at Taft. The 1963 legislature ordered the Negro retarded children from Taft hospital transferred to the other schools for mentally retarded. Special education classes in Oklahoma City have both Negroes and white pupils.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

This has never been an issue in Oklahoma. Indians and other non-whites attend white schools. There are about nine Indian boarding schools operated by the federal government. Indians, many of whom are from out of the state, attend them as a matter of choice because room and board are free.

## LITIGATION (21)

*Appeal by Curtis L. Smith from order of county superintendent of schools, Oklahoma County, denying request for transfer from Arcadia school to Jones school*

Filed June 19, 1957, in Oklahoma County district court. (Three similar appeals also filed). Order denying transfer reversed by district court June 27, 1957.

*Appeal by Independent School District 1-5, Arcadia, from order of transfer issued by Oklahoma County superintendent of schools*

Filed June 19, 1959, in Oklahoma County district court, alleging school superintendent allowed white children to transfer out of district for "health" whereas real reason was the fact school was desegregated and had more Negro than white pupils. Court on June 29, 1959, sustained superintendent's demurrer, thus denying request that he be enjoined from allowing transfers.

*Appeal by Lunett Wilbanks from order of Oklahoma County superintendent of schools denying transfer from Arcadia school to Choctaw school*

Filed June 19, 1958, in Oklahoma County district court. (Eleven similar appeals also filed.) Order denying transfer affirmed in district court June 26, 1958.

*Bailey v. Hodge et al*

Filed March 15, 1957, in U.S. District Court (western) to restrain defendants from discriminating against plaintiff by denying her admission to Oklahoma School for the Deaf, Sulphur. Journal entry judgment filed July 31, 1957, that any Negro of proper age be admitted to school beginning Sept. 2, 1957, or any subsequent semester.

*Brown v. Long*

Intervenor petition by George Dalcour filed Aug. 25, 1958, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to gain transfer of son, Edward, from all-Negro Grayson school to biracial Morris High School. Court denied petition Oct. 10, 1958, ruling plaintiff failed to follow legal procedure by not appealing Morris board's refusal to transfer.

*Brown et al v. Long et al*

Filed March 14, 1957, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Morris High School. Court on Sept. 21, 1957, ordered Morris District to admit Negroes to high school.

*Burrough et al v. Elmer Jenkins, Superintendent of Red Bird Dependent School District et al*

Filed Sept. 26, 1955, in U.S. District Court (eastern) alleging racial discrimination by defendant in refusing to cancel transfers of 14 Negro children from Porter and Coweta to all-Negro Red Bird school. Court ruled Dec. 16, 1955, that it was a question of local fiscal policies, not of racial discrimination, and sustained defendants' motion to dismiss.

*Butler et al v. Grant Independent School District et al*

Filed June 14, 1956, in Choctaw County district court to gain admission of 35 Negroes to Grant High School; suit alleged school board fraud in transferring Negroes to Hugo's Booker T. Washington when transfers not requested. Court records show no hearing nor other disposition.

*Carr et al v. Cole et al*

Filed Jan. 10, 1957, in U.S. District Court (western), seeking admission of Negroes to public schools of Earlsboro District. Court granted permanent injunction Jan. 17, 1957, to prevent discrimination against plaintiffs on account of race or color.

*Dowell v. The Board of Education*

Filed in U.S. District Court for Western Oklahoma Oct. 9, 1961, asking that Oklahoma's pupil transfer law be declared unconstitutional and that defendants be enjoined from transferring students to schools in Oklahoma City on a basis of race and color. Three-judge court assigned Oct. 11, 1961. On July 10, 1962, the three-judge court dissolved, holding that it lacked jurisdiction and that the defendant did not discriminate against Negroes in designating schools for students to attend. Amended complaint filed Aug. 22, 1962, alleging specific acts of discrimination. U.S. District Judge Luther Bohanon denied motion to dismiss on Nov. 7, 1962. Judge Bohanon issued order July 11, 1963, banning pupil transfers based on race and requiring immediate desegregation of supervisory and teaching personnel; school board given 90 days to file plan for complete desegregation.

*Mildred King George v. Joint School District No. 5, Kingfisher County (Lacy)*

Filed June 28, 1956, Kingfisher County district court claiming breach of Negro's teacher contract. State supreme court on Nov. 14, 1957, affirmed lower court action sustaining demurrer by defendant.

*Ulysses S. Grant et al v. Paul R. Taylor et al*

Filed Sept. 24, 1954, in U.S. District Court (western) to force admission of three Negro students to El Reno Junior College. Declared moot same court Aug. 22, 1955, on grounds El Reno school board had complied with U.S. Supreme Court order by admitting Negroes to junior college.

*Hill et al v. Board of Education of New Lima School District et al*

Filed Sept. 10, 1963, in U.S. District Court to gain admission of 12 Negro children to all-white New Lima elementary school, Seminole County. Board's answer filed Sept. 30, 1963, claimed majority of Negroes want separate school. Case assigned to U.S. District Judge Fred Daugherty.

*Hole et al v. Wilson et al*

Filed Aug. 15, 1955, in Cleveland County district court to enjoin Stella school board from moving furniture and equipment from white school into Negro school building. Court granted temporary injunction Aug. 26, 1955, with stipulation school opening be allowed. Dismissed Sept. 6, 1955, by plaintiff's attorney without prejudice.

*Jefferson et al v. McCart et al*

Filed Aug. 25, 1958, U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Liberty School. Okmulgee County Court on Oct. 10, 1958, ordered Negroes admitted to the school.

*McHenry and Matlock v. Wagoner County Board of Commissioners*

Filed June, 1954, in Wagoner County district court, protesting use of $431,000 bond issue approved Feb. 9, 1954, for separate school buildings and sites. Oklahoma Supreme Court ruled February, 1955, that U.S. Supreme Court order limited only use of school property, not its construction.

*McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*

U.S. District Court on Oct. 6, 1948, ordered the admission of G. W. McLaurin to the University of Oklahoma. In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court held that McLaurin was handicapped in being taught in segregated conditions and ordered that he receive the same treatment as other races.

*Riddle et al v. Wagoner County Board of Commissioners et al*

Filed Oct. 7, 1955, in Wagoner County district court to enjoin county from delivering $431,000 in bonds and proceeding with construction of new Negro school at Wagoner and remodeling others at Coweta, Porter and Okay. Defendant's motion for new trial overruled June 16, 1956, and notice to appeal given by Max Finley, county attorney. Oklahoma Supreme Court records show no appeal filed.

*Simms et al v. Hudson et al*

Filed March 14, 1957, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to desegregate Preston High School. Court on Sept. 21, 1957, ordered Preston District to admit Negroes to high school. Granted additional time to arrange elementary desegregation, which began in August, 1958.

*Sipuel v. Board of Regents*

On Jan. 12, 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the state must provide equal facilities for one race as soon as it does another race. It ordered Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel admitted to the University of Oklahoma law school, which did not accept her until 1949, after it had admitted another Negro student by court order.

*Troullier v. Oklahoma College for Women*

Filed Oct. 8, 1954, in U.S. District Court (eastern) to require OCW to admit Negro as student in September, 1955, and to strike the Oklahoma law limiting attendance to "white female citizens" so Negroes would not be barred in the future. Court dismissed case July 29, 1955, holding legal controversy no longer existed because OCW had enrolled plaintiff.

**LEGISLATION (5)**

**1955**

*HJR 504*—Proposed constitutional ("Better Schools") amendment to substitute four-mill levy for all schools for previous three-mill operating and one-mill building taxes levied countywide for separate minority schools. Adopted at special election April 5, 1955.

*Title 70, Ch. A*—Retained definition of "separate school district" in school code but provided for support of both white and Negro schools and for pupil transfers by race.

*Title 70, Ch. A6*—Authorized schools on military reservations to conform with federal requirements.

**1963**

*SB 175*—Ordered Oklahoma Public Welfare Commission to transfer to the three state schools for mentally retarded, by July 1, 1964, the mentally retarded Negroes now at Taft State Hospital.

*SB 273*—Created state human rights commission, and prohibited discrimination in any state agency or department.

# SOUTH CAROLINA

## Elementary and High Schools

108 Districts: 108 With Negroes and Whites; One Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 368,496 | 258,955 | 627,451 |
| Teachers* | 13,495 | 8,390 | 21,885 |

*Total official; racial breakdown estimated.

## Colleges and Universities

Two Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Enrollment | 16,753 | 2,440 | 19,193 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Only one school district in South Carolina—Charleston County School District 20—has desegregated, beginning in September, 1963. Ten Negro children attend four previously all-white schools by court order. The district is under federal court order to desegregate completely in September, 1964. In the 1962-63 school term, the district had 3,108 white students and 9,539 Negro students. In addition, four schools operated by the federal government for children of military personnel (two at Marine installations near Beaufort, one at Myrtle Beach AFB, and one at Fort Jackson near Columbia) are desegregated. Clarendon County remains under federal court order to desegregate, dating from the Supreme Court's ruling of 1954.

### TEACHERS

Teaching staffs at all public schools remain segregated. The four schools maintained by the federal government noted above have desegregated faculties.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Two of South Carolina's six institutions of higher learning desegregated by court order during 1963; the others, three all white and one all Negro, remain segregated. Clemson College became the state's first biracial public college in the 20th century when it admitted Harvey Gantt peacefully but under court order in January (*Gantt v. Clemson*). A federal court ordered the University of South Carolina to enroll Henri Monteith for its term beginning in September (*Monteith v. University of South Carolina*). The school admitted her and two other Negroes and another Negro joined Gantt at Clemson. Enrollment figures for 1963-64 are:

| Predominantly White Colleges | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Citadel | 1,980 | 0 | |
| Clemson | 4,374 | 2 | 1963-C |
| Medical College of S.C. | 635 | 0 | |
| Univ. of S.C. | 7,524 | 4 | 1963-C |
| Winthrop | 2,240 | 0 | |
| TOTAL | 16,753 | 6 | |
| Predominantly Negro Colleges | | | |
| S.C. State | 0 | 2,434 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 16,753 | 2,440 | |

### FACULTIES

Faculties at all state-supported institutions are segregated.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The South Carolina Commission on Technical Education permitted its centers to operate on a local option basis in regard to race. The Richland Center (Columbia) opened in September, 1963, with nine Negroes; Greenville has eight for the 1963-64 term; and Tri-County (Pendleton) admitted three Negroes when it opened in September, 1963. Between 400 and 500 Negroes and approximately 4,000 whites were rejected at all centers because they failed to qualify. All other special schools in the state remain segregated.

### ETHNIC GROUPS

With the beginning of the 1961-62 school term, Sumter County school officials closed the last separate school operated for "Turk" children of the Dalzell Community. These dark-complexioned youngsters are part of an ethnic enclave said to comprise descendants of Turks and others of Mediterranean extraction who settled here after service with Gen. Thomas Sumter in the American Revolution. The Turks have been listed as "whites" in marriage ceremonies, military service and otherwise, but had been provided separate schools. Turks have been admitted to the Hillcrest High School for whites since 1951, and now are scattered throughout the white schools of the district and county without distinction.

### LITIGATION (12)

*Briggs v. Elliott*

Harry Briggs Jr. and 45 other Negro elementary and high school students filed suit in U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of South Carolina in December, 1950, to enjoin enforcement of provisions in the state constitution and statutory code that required segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. A three-judge district court convened in 1951 denied the requested relief. The court found that the Negro schools were inferior to the white school and ordered the defendants to begin immediately to equalize the facilities. The court sustained the validity of the contested provisions and denied the plaintiffs admission to the white schools during the equalization program. Subsequent developments were:

Jan. 28, 1952—The U.S. Supreme Court vacated the lower court decision and remanded it to obtain the District Court's views on a report filed by the defendants on the progress in the equalization program. March, 1952—The District Court considered the reports on the Clarendon County equalization program and found them "to be true and correct." The court praised the school board for having "proceeded promptly in good faith to comply with the court's decree." The court denied an injunction abolishing segregation.

May 17, 1954—The U.S. Supreme Court decided the case along with other segregation cases from Delaware, Kansas, Virginia and the District of Columbia. The court ruled in *Brown v. Topeka* that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and that the Negroes were "deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment."

May 31, 1955—The Supreme Court issued an implementing decision in the cases, ordering compliance with its earlier decision "with all deliberate speed." The justices remanded the cases to the respective lower courts.

July 15, 1955—A three-judge U.S. District Court of the Eastern District, South Carolina, set aside its previous decision and declared null and void all South Carolina laws requiring segregation in public schools. In accordance with the "all deliberate speed" decision of the Supreme Court, the court restrained

the defendants from refusing admission to school on account of race. In its decision, the district court said the Supreme Court "has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools. . . . What it has decided, and all that it has decided, is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains. . . . The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination. . . ." The court retained jurisdiction.

*Brown v. School District 20 of Charleston County*

Filed in U.S. District Court on May 28, 1962, by parents of 13 Negro children seeking desegregation of the schools. The complaint claimed that the plaintiffs had exhausted all administrative remedies under the state placement law. On Aug. 22, 1963, District Judge J. Robert Martin ordered the district to admit 11 of the plaintiffs to its white schools in September, 1963. The two other plaintiffs had moved from the district. In addition, the court ordered the district to desegregate completely in September, 1964. The district desegregated but filed notice of appeal.

*Brunson et al v. Board of Trustees of School District No. 1 of Clarendon County*

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in April, 1960, by 42 Negro petitioners seeking desegregation of white schools. (Issues essentially the same as original *Briggs v. Elliott* suit but with different set of plaintiffs). U.S. District Judge C. C. Wyche ruled on May 31, 1962, that the case could not be brought as a class action. Wyche ordered all stricken from the caption except the first, Bobby Brunson. The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals overruled the lower court on Dec. 7, 1962, and returned the case to the district court for trial on its merits. On May 27, 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review.

*Bryan et al v. Austin et al*

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, September, 1956, by Negro teachers of Elloree, in Orangeburg County, who had refused to execute questionnaires concerning NAACP membership and had not been rehired thereafter. Plaintiffs were directed by three-judge federal court in January, 1957, to proceed through state courts before seeking federal court relief. Case became moot in June, 1957, after South Carolina legislature repealed *Act 741* of 1956, which had required statement of NAACP membership.

*Byrd et al v. Gary et al*

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in April, 1960, by Negro high school students of Mayo High School at Darlington, charging the Negro school principal with depriving them of their civil rights. The federal suit was filed after a similar suit in State Court was dismissed on grounds that administrative remedies had not been exhausted. The dismissal was appealed to the State Supreme Court, which in November affirmed the lower court action. The federal court case still is pending. The plaintiffs' attorney has died and this case is not expected to be pressed because of other desegregation litigation in the county. (See *Stanley v. Darlington School District 1*)

*Gantt v. Clemson Agricultural College of S.C. et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court on July 9, 1962, for Harvey B. Gantt. The suit asked admission for Gantt and "other qualified Negro residents." U.S. District Judge C. C. Wyche denied a temporary injunction for admission on Sept. 7, 1962, and the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed this on Oct. 5, 1962, but requested a prompt trial. Judge Wyche on Dec. 21, 1962, dismissed the suit on the grounds that Gantt had not completed admission requirements. The circuit court over-ruled Judge Wyche on Jan. 16, 1963. Clemson asked both the Fourth Circuit and the U.S. Supreme Court for a stay pending appeal. On Jan. 21, both denied the request, Gantt entered Clemson Jan. 28, 1963. Clemson then appealed the class action aspects of the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which on Oct. 14, 1963, upheld the right of all qualified Negroes to enter the college.

*Hood et al v. Board of Trustees of Sumter County School District No. 2 et al*

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, August, 1953, by ethnic group of Sumter County known as "Turks," seeking injunction against the denial of their children's admission to certain white schools. Case moved back and forth between district and circuit courts until February, 1961, when school authorities announced decision to admit complainants to white schools, effective with beginning of next school year. On Oct. 17, 1961, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reaffirmed Turks' right to attend white schools.

*Johnson et al v. Marion County Board of Education*

Filed in Eastern District, U.S. Court, in September, 1960, by parents of Negro students in Marion County who contend they were denied the transfer privileges granted white students of the same school area. Suit did not seek desegregation as such but asked that Negroes be accorded same privileges to attend other (Negro) schools as were granted white students to attend other white schools. Hearing not yet held.

*Montieth v. University of South Carolina et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Oct. 31, 1962, on behalf of a Negro girl seeking to enter the university. District Judge J. Robert Martin on July 10, 1963, ruled in favor of Miss Monteith and others similarly situated. The university served notice of appeal on Aug. 19, but Miss Monteith and three other Negroes enrolled, in September, 1963.

*Randall et al v. Sumter School District No. 2 et al*

Filed Sept. 16, 1963, in U.S. District Court by 14 Negro servicemen asking that their 30 children and other Negroes be admitted to schools in the district, which includes Shaw AFB.

*Stanley et al v. Darlington County School District No. 1*

Filed in U.S. District Court on May 29, 1962, by the father of five Negro children. The complaint was similar to *Brown v. School District 20 in Charleston County.*

*Whittenberg v. School District of Greenville County et al*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Aug. 19, 1963, by the father of an 11-year-old Negro girl, seeking desegregation of the district's schools.

## LEGISLATION (34)

### 1951

*S-371*—Concurrent Resolution created a committee "to study and report on the advisable course to be pursued by the State in respect to its educational facilities in the event that the Federal Courts nullify the provisions of the State Constitution requiring the establishment of separate schools for the children of the white and colored races."

### 1952

*Act 902*—Joint Resolution proposed the repeal of the constitutional requirement that the General Assembly provide a public school system.

### 1954

*Act 653*—Ratified constitutional amendment repealing requirement for public school system.

### 1955

*Act 52*—Allowed "visiting teachers" to use persuasion in promoting school attendance upon repeal of com-

pulsory attendance law.

*Act 55*—Strengthened authority of school officials on assignments.

*Act 56*—Repealed school board authorization to set school term length.

*Act 57*—Repealed compulsory attendance law.

*Act 58*—Established regulations for transfers of pupils within and between counties.

*Act 59*—Authorized sale or lease of public school public buildings.

*Act 234 (Part II, Sec. 2)*—Denied public funds to any school involved in transfer of student pursuant to court order.

*Act 295*—Repealed law on continuing contracts for teachers.

**1956**

*Act 662*—Established revised procedural rules for appeals from local school board decisions on local controversies or pupil placement.

*Act 676*—Vested boards of school trustees with general rule-making power and the right to designate board members to hold hearings.

*Act 677*—Vested county boards of education with general rule-making power and the right to designate board members to hold hearings.

*Act 712*—Provided basis for law enforcement officers to transfer students, upon request of school authorities, to prevent civil commotion and disturbance of the peace.

*Act 741*—Barred the employment, by school districts and other public agencies, of members of the NAACP. Repealed by *Act 233* of 1957. Also contested in *Bryan v. Austin*.

*Act 813*—Specified in state appropriations act that appropriations for education be "for racially segregated schools only."

*Act 914*—Condemned and protested usurpation and encroachment on the reserved powers of the states by the U.S. Supreme Court (interposition).

*Act 920*—Created a committee to investigate NAACP activities at State College (for Negroes) at Orangeburg.

*Act 927*—Continued indefinitely and enlarged scope of special Committee created in 1951 to study advisable course to be followed in event of adverse federal court decisions concerning racial separation in public schools.

**1957**

*Act 25*—Prohibited barratry.

*Act 172*—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Abbeville County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

*Act 223*—Required applicants for school and other public jobs to list membership in associations and organizations. Repealed *Act 741* of 1956.

*Act 233*—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Florence County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations. Exception allowed by *Act 433*.

*Act 349*—Conferred additional powers upon the governor for maintenance of public peace and suppression of violence.

*Act 406*—Required the licensing of persons soliciting McCormick County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

*Act 433*—Waived provisions of *Act 233* (above) with respect to organizations under Railway Labor Act.

*Act 442*—Required the licensing of persons soliciting Kershaw County residents for membership in dues-collecting organizations.

**1958**

*Act 893*—Authorized attorney general to investigate records of foreign and domestic nonprofit corporations operating within the state.

**1959**

*Act 216*—Made it a felony to bomb any church, school, private residence or other building or to communicate threats or false information relating thereto.

**1960**

*Act 802*—Grouped into one section of State Appropriations Act requirements that appropriations for schools and state parks be "on a racially segregated basis only."

*HB 2214, bearing Ratification Number 1142*—Repealed Sec. 91 of Part 1 of General Appropriations Act cited above (*Act 802*) relating to appropriations on "racially segregated basis only." The repealing act was vetoed by Gov. E. F. Hollings at opening of 1961 session, but has not been acted on by the General Assembly.

**1961**

*H-1004*—Concurrent Resolution sought amendment to the U.S. Constitution for invalidating Supreme Court decisions that transfer state powers to the federal government.

**1962**

No acts or resolutions relating to segregation-desegregation in the public schools were passed by the 1962 session of the General Assembly. However, the State Appropriations Act, (*Act 749*) for the second consecutive year, did not contain the "on a racially segregated basis only" clause in sections dealing with public schools and parks. (See *Act 802* of 1960 above.) Some legal authorities in the state believed the deletion had the effect of abrogating Section 22-3 of the 1962 S.C. Code. This section states that since appropriations to state institutions of higher learning are made on "a racially segregated basis," they must close in the event of court-ordered desegregation. The legal authorities felt that since the premise of the law—namely that appropriations are made on a racially segregated basis—was no longer true, then the rest of the law would fall under its own weight.

**1963**

*Act 297*—Provided state scholarship grants to students desiring to attend private, non-sectarian elementary and secondary schools, required that local school district supplement the grants in the amount each district adds to the state's per pupil allotment to the public schools, and gave the State Board of Education power and duty to make rules and establish standards for private schools that accept students under the program.

The State Appropriations Act of 1963 for the third straight year did not contain the clause requiring school appropriations to be made "on a racially segregated basis only." (See 1962 note). In addition some legal authorities think that *Section 89* of the act, which provides that no institution for which the General Assembly has provided shall be discontinued, has the effect of nullifying Sections 22-3 and 21-2 of the 1962 S.C. Code. These sections require the closing of colleges and public schools in the event of court-ordered desegregation. The language of Section 89 has been included in the money measure for many years.

# TENNESSEE

## Elementary and High Schools

154 Districts: 143 With Negroes and Whites; 44 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 687,902 | 164,940 | 852,842 |
| Teachers* | 26,167 | 5,911 | 32,078 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

All Seven Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| Enrollment | 40,629 | 4,240 | 44,869 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Tennessee has 44 desegregated school districts, but three are desegregated in policy only. The desegregated districts have an estimated 374,621 whites and 119,547 Negroes enrolled. A total of 4,466 Negroes attend classes with whites in 143 schools. Oak Ridge in 1955 became the first Tennessee district to desegregate. Then under federal control, the system voluntarily desegregated all grades. Clinton High School in Anderson County, under a 1956 federal court order, was the first state-supported school in Tennessee to begin biracial classes. Federal court desegregation cases are pending against two districts, Franklin County and Madison County, which have no desegregation. Districts desegregated in policy only are Elizabethton, which voluntarily began a grade-a-year plan in 1961; Humboldt, which adopted a plan to desegregate the first three grades in the fall of 1963; and Watertown, desegregated in 1962 under federal court order. The desegregated districts are:

| District | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brch. Schs. | Grds. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Anderson Co. | 7,890 | 110 | 44 | 2 | 9-12 | 1956-C |
| Alcoa | 1,110 | 590 | 15 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Bristol | 4,117 | 283 | 1 | 1 | 1,2 | 1962-V |
| Chattanooga | 14,955 | 12,213 | 1,750** | 10 | 1-4 | 1962-C |
| Clarksville | 2,845 | 705 | 5 | 1 | 1-3 | 1963-V |
| Clay County | 1,737 | 38 | 11 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Davidson Co. | 51,744 | 2,917 | 244 | 20 | 1-7 | 1961-C |
| Dekalb Co. | 2,194 | 53 | 12 | 3 | 1-4,9,10,12 | 1963-V |
| Dickson Co. | 4,105 | 460 | 14 | 2 | 1-6 | 1962-V |
| Elizabethton | 1,629 | 145 | 0 | 0 | 1-3 | 1961-V |
| Franklin | 1,104 | 502 | 6 | 1 | 1-2 | 1962-V |
| Hamilton Co. | 26,003 | 1,300 | 15 | 2 | 1-4 | 1962-V |
| Harriman | 2,647 | 203 | 28 | 3 | 1-11 | 1963-V |
| Hawkins Co. | 6,303 | 197 | 108 | 4 | 1-12 | 1963-V |
| Henry Co. | 2,922 | 587 | 17 | 2 | 7-12 | 1962-V |
| Humboldt | 1,586 | 1,100 | 0 | 0 | 1-3 | 1963-V |
| Humphreys Co. | 2,680 | 164 | 80 | 5 | 1-12 | 1962-C |
| Jackson | 4,276 | 2,800 | 40 | 5 | 1-3,5,12 | 1962-V |
| Johnson City | 5,396 | 705 | 36 | 4 | 1-3 | 1961-V |
| Johnson Co. | 2,525 | 25 | 8 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Joint High Sch.† | 1,700 | 350 | 5 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Kingsport | 7,320 | 480 | 30 | 2 | 1-3 | 1961-V |
| Knox County | 16,412 | 100 | 48 | 3 | 1-6 | 1960-V |
| Knoxville | 35,189 | 5,662 | 229 | 13 | 1-6 | 1960-C |
| Lebanon | 2,157 | 325 | 12 | 2 | 1-6 | 1961-C |
| Manchester | 1,220 | 28 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 1963-V |
| Maryville | 1,968 | 97 | 5 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Memphis | 55,624 | 54,407 | 287 | 14 | 1-4 | 1961-V |
| Montgoery Co. | 4,950 | 831 | 2 | 1 | 1-12 | 1963-V |
| Nashville | 16,177 | 15,351 | 773 | 9 | 1-7 | 1957-C |
| Oak Ridge | 7,505 | 442 | 150 | 2 | 1-12 | 1955-V |
| Obion Co. | 3,900 | 400 | 120 | 5 | 1-12 | 1962-C |
| Overton Co. | 3,417 | 25 | 5 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Paris | 1,081 | 309 | 24 | 2 | 1-6 | 1962-V |
| Putnam Co. | 6,628 | 105 | 105 | 6 | 1-12 | 1963-V |
| Rogersville | 971 | 111 | 111 | 1 | 1-6 | 1963-V |
| Rutherford Co. | 8,128 | 1,200 | 27 | 3 | 1-12 | 1959-C |
| Sevier Co. | 5,903 | 59 | 12 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Shelby Co. | 28,084 | 13,216 | 6 | 1 | 1-6 | 1963-V |
| Washington Co. | 8,481 | 60 | 15 | 1 | 1-3 | 1961-V |
| Warren Co. | 3,612 | 60 | 7 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Watertown | 280 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1962-C |
| White Co. | 2,814 | 32 | 32 | 1 | 9-12 | 1963-V |
| Wilson Co. | 3,332 | 800 | 25 | 3 | 1,4,5,7-12 | 1962-C |
| TOTALS | 374,621 | 119,547 | 4,466 | 143 | | |

*Estimated. In some instances, no records are kept by race.

**Includes 393 Negroes enrolled with seven white students at Davenport School and 852 Negroes enrolled with 11 white students at East Fifth Street School, both in the Chattanooga District.

†Separate district that serves Clarksville and Montgomery County.

### TEACHERS

Putnam County has five Negro teachers assigned to all-white and predominantly-white classes. Oak Ridge, which has employed Negro teachers in predominantly white schools for several years, has four white teachers and staff members in the 16-teacher Scarborough Elementary School, an all-Negro school because of residential factors. Three Negro teachers lost their jobs when Humphreys County consolidated a white and Negro high school during desegregation in 1962. School officials reported that no action had been taken in connection with Negro teachers previously assigned to Swift Academy, condemned and closed at the beginning of this year, in Hawkins County which with the Rogersville district admitted former Swift students to biracial classes as they desegregated all grades. One former Swift teacher was transferred to another Negro school, while two of the remaining eight took jobs outside the district. All other regular classroom teaching staffs are segregated. There have been no reports of other Negro teachers losing their positions because of desegregation.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

All seven state-supported colleges and universities have desegregated; however, one college, Tennessee Polytechnic Institute at Cookeville, has no Negro students. The University of Tennessee was the first institution of higher learning to desegregate, admitting Negroes to graduate, professional and special levels under federal court order in 1952. Desegregation at two of the other six colleges and universities, which are governed by the State Board of Education, began in 1956 under a gradual desegregation plan later rejected by the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. In 1957, the State Board of Education adopted a policy that removed race as a factor in admissions. The state's colleges and universities are:

| | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predominantly White** | | | |
| Austin Peay State | 2,009 | 58* | 1956-V |
| East Tenn. State Univ. | 6,171 | 30* | 1956-V |
| Memphis State Univ. | 8,215 | 110** | 1959-C |
| Middle Tenn. State | 4,025 | 24* | 1957-V |
| Tenn. Polytechnic Inst. | 3,719 | 0 | 1957-V |
| Univ. of Tenn. | | | |
| Knoxville campus† | 11,846 | 122* | 1952-C |
| Martin Branch | 1,461 | 8* | |
| Memphis Branch | 1,476 | 2* | |
| Nashville Branch | 1,304 | 49* | |
| TOTALS | 40,226 | 403* | |
| **Predominantly Negro** | | | |
| Tenn. A & I University†† | 3* | 4,237 | 1956-V |
| STATE TOTALS | 40,229 | 4,640 | |

*Estimated.
**Represents an estimated minimum number of Negroes attending, based on last year's figures. Officials said, however, they believed the number was "slightly" higher this fall, but declined to make new estimate.
†Includes three centers at Tullahoma, Memphis, Oak Ridge.
††A & I officials estimated about 15 to 20 non-Negroes from foreign countries also are enrolled.

### FACULTIES

Tennessee A & I University at Nashville has two full-time white instructors and five part-time, white instructors in engineering and related courses. There has been no report of any Negro teacher losing his job as a result of desegregation.

## SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The Tennessee School for the Blind near Nashville, one of the state's four special schools, began desegregation in 1962 and now has two Negro first-grade students. The Tennessee Youth Center at Joelton, a state corrections facility for training young law offenders, is operated on a biracial basis. Some state-supported vocational programs, including training for practical nurses, also are desegregated. Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville districts have desegregated some of their special programs, such as those for the educable mentally retarded, speech and hearing, and cerebral palsy. Nashville also began a pilot kindergarten program in 1962 with some whites and Negroes attending classes together.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

Tennessee has no desegregation programs involving students other than Negroes. State education officials said some non-whites have been admitted for several years in the colleges and universities.

## LITIGATION (17)

*Charles W. Baker et al v. Joe C. Carr, Secretary of State, State of Tennessee et al*

The case, filed in 1959 in U.S. District Court at Nashville, resulted in a court injunction in 1959 against segregation at John Coleman School at Smyrna. The court denied a petition by the Negro plaintiff to apply permanent injunction to all Rutherford County schools because the schools were not yet at issue. The case was held open by the court.

*Booker v. State Board of Education*

Filed in May, 1955, in U.S. District Court at Memphis, the suit sought admission of five Negro students to Memphis State University in a case that became precedent for other state colleges and universities. The State Board of Education submitted a five-year gradual desegregation plan to have begun at the graduate level in 1956-57 for the six colleges and universities under the board's jurisdiction. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1957 refused to review the appellate court's action. A policy removing race as a factor in admissions was adopted by the State Board of Education in 1957 to become effective in the fall of 1958. The board granted Memphis State a one-year delay in desegregation and the U.S. District Court ruled that no further decision was necessary since the institution had been instructed to desegregate in the fall of 1959.

*Carethers et al v. Humphreys County Board of Education*

The suit was filed in October, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Nashville, seeking the admission of nine Negro children to all-white schools. As Judge William E. Miller began a hearing in the case on Oct. 18, the school board submitted a plan to desegregate grades one through five in January, 1962 with an additional grade to be desegregated each year thereafter. Later in the hearing, however, the board presented orally a revised plan calling for desegregation of the first five grades in January, 1962, with the remainder of the grades to be desegregated by August, 1965. Negro counsel objected to the plan and Judge Miller asked the board to present its proposal in writing. On Dec. 21, 1961, Judge Miller ordered the first five grades desegregated in January, 1962, with all other grades to be desegregated in September, 1962. He reserved decision on the teacher desegregation issue.

*Goss et al v. Knoxville Board of Education*

Filed in January, 1957, the suit sought desegregation of Knoxville city schools. U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1960 approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan to begin in the fall of 1960. The court also ordered a supplementary plan for biracial vocational high school students and, after hearings in 1961, approved a plan by the board for Negro vocational high school students to attend previously all-white classes beginning in the fall of 1961. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in April, 1962, struck down the grade-a-year plan and ordered a new plan to speed desegregation, but upheld the pupil transfer provisions also under attack by Negro lawyers. The school board filed an amended plan calling for desegregation in the third and fourth grades in September, 1962, and the plan was placed into effect pending a hearing in U.S. District Court. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals on April 3, 1962, held that the board's supplementary plan for vocational students was "too complicated" and directed U.S. District Judge Robert L. Taylor to require an amendment. On June 3, 1963, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the pupil transfer provisions because they allowed students to transfer from schools where their race was in the minority. The transfer provisions had been incorporated into numerous desegregation plans in Tennessee and the South. While the pupil transfer issue was pending before the Supreme Court, Judge Taylor approved a new plan by the board to desegregate the fifth and sixth grades in September, 1963. The court also ordered the board to file a plan simplifying provisions under which Negroes could transfer to vocational high school classes and instructed the board to make distributive education classes available to Negroes. Negro attorneys, however, appealed Judge Taylor's approval of the accelerated plan to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, where additional hearings were pending.

*Gray v. University of Tennessee*

U.S. District Court held that the plaintiff was entitled to admission to the university but refused to order an injunction, expressing the belief that university authorities would comply. The U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the case as moot in March, 1952, because the plaintiff already had been accepted as a student.

*Hill et al v. Franklin County Board of Education*

Filed July 3, 1963, in U.S. District Court by four white and four Negro families—the first Tennessee case in which plaintiffs included members of both races. District Judge Charles Neese on Oct. 1, 1963, ordered the school board to present a desegregation plan no later than Oct. 31, but rejected an application by plaintiffs for a preliminary injunction. On Oct. 31, 1963, the board filed a plan proposing to begin desegregation of students, teaching staff and other personnel along with transportation facilities at the beginning of the 1964-65 school year. Unique in Tennessee, the proposed plan establishes a timetable for beginning biracial classes in each of eight geographical zones in the district. Hearing on the merits of the plan was pending.

*Kelly et al v. Nashville Board of Education*

The suit was filed in 1955 in behalf of 21 Negroes seeking admission to previously all-white classes. U.S. District Court at Nashville in 1957 approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan, which has served as a model in many other cities. Court declared *Act 10* of 1957 unconstitutional. U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Nashville plan in 1959 after it was appealed by the Negro plaintiffs and the U.S. Supreme Court later in 1959, by a six to three vote, declined to review the case.

*Mapp et al v. Chattanooga Board of Education*

Seeking admission of Negro students to previously all-white schools, the suit was filed in 1960. U.S. District Court at Chattanooga in 1960 granted summary judgment and ordered the board to present a desegregation plan by December, 1960. The court ruled that the board's subsequent plan, which provided for desegregation in "selected" schools, was unacceptable but did not reject the plan outright. The court's rulings on the summary judgment and the proposed plan were appealed by the board to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which in 1961 upheld the rulings of the District Court and

remanded the case to it to work out a final plan for desegregation. On March 1, 1962, U.S. District Judge Frank Wilson ordered the board to desegregate the first three grades in 16 designated schools in September, 1962, and to follow a stairstep plan to include all grades by 1968. Judge Wilson also struck down transfer and admission provisions from an alternate desegregation plan, which had been filed by the school board at the court's instructions while the original plan was being appealed. While no delay in the desegregation plan was requested, both the school board and Negro plaintiffs in 1962 appealed phases of Judge Wilson's ruling to the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals. On July 8, 1963, the appeals court affirmed Wilson's ruling but left unresolved the question of assignment of teachers and principals on a non-racial basis. On another issue raised by the plaintiffs, the court said the school board was not obligated to provide "every technical course available" to Negro high school students until gradual desegregation reached their grades. The district court on Sept. 9, 1963, ordered the school board to file a desegregation plan for vocational and technical courses. The board submitted a plan for desegregation of adult classes in December, 1963, and high school technical courses in the fall of 1964 on a limited basis, which was approved by Judge Wilson Nov. 15, 1963. Judge Wilson took under advisement the teacher desegregation issue.

*Maxwell v. Board of Education of Davidson County*

Filed in September, 1960 in U.S. District Court at Nashville, the suit asked desegregation of the school system. U.S. District Court in 1960 ordered the first four grades desegregated in January, 1961, with one additional grade desegregated each fall thereafter. The court refused to rule on the desegregation of teaching and supervisory staffs but held the case open. On April 5, 1962, U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the District Court's action. On June 3, 1963, the Supreme Court struck down the pupil transfer provisions, which allowed students to transfer from schools where their race was in the minority.

*McSwain et al v. Anderson County Board of Education*

Filed in behalf of 12 Negro students in 1952, U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1956 ordered Clinton High School desegregated and enjoined interference by John Kasper and others.

*Monroe et al v. Board of Commissioners of the City of Jackson and the Madison County Board of Education et al*

Filed in 1963 by Negro plaintiffs who sought a temporary injunction and also asked desegregation of both the Jackson and Madison County districts. U.S. District Judge Bailey Brown in January, 1963, ordered the admission of four additional Negroes to biracial schools in Jackson, which had begun desegregation voluntarily during 1961-62. On June 2, 1963, Judge Brown ruled that the county school board could not submit the question of desegregation to a jury trial, as proposed by one board member, Taylor Robinson. The court ordered both school boards to submit plans for school desegregation. Judge Brown set July 20, 1963, as the deadline for the Jackson Board of Commissioners, which also serves as the school board, to submit its plan, and directed that the county board's plan be filed no later than July 15, 1963. Both boards complied with the order, proposing gradual desegregation plans, which called for desegregation of the first three grades in September, 1963. U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Paul C. Weick, however, issued a stay order on Robinson's appeal of Brown's ruling on the jury trial issue and further proceedings on the county board's portion of the suit was delayed. The Court of Appeals later rejected Robinson's petition for a writ of mandamus and the board member applied to the U.S. Supreme Court for a hearing on the issue. This question is pending before the Supreme Court. On Aug. 12, 1963, Judge Brown approved the Jackson board's desegregation plan. Negro plaintiffs who objected to transfer provisions included in the plan, filed an appeal with the Sixth Circuit, where a date for arguments on Brown's approval of the plan is pending.

*Northcross et al v. City of Memphis Board of Education*

Seeking desegregation of the Memphis city school system, the suit was filed in U.S. District Court at Memphis in 1960. In April, 1961, U.S. District Judge Marion S. Boyd at Memphis ruled that the board had announced its desire to integrate Memphis schools through compliance with the state pupil assignment law. Boyd rejected a Negro plea for immediate desegregation of the entire system. In October, 1961, 13 Negro first-graders were admitted to four previously all-white schools under provisions of the pupil assignment law. The U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled on March 23, 1962, that the assignment law could not serve as a desegregation plan and returned the case to District Court. The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the appeals court decision. Judge Boyd on July 16, 1962, ordered a new plan which the board submitted that August. The plan, placed in effect pending a hearing on Dec. 3, 1962, provided for biracial classes in the first three grades. On March 29, 1963, Boyd refused to order faculty desegregation, but on May 24, 1963, he approved the student desegregation plan. He rejected an NAACP plan for desegregation of all grades by 1965. An appeal by the Negro plaintiffs is pending before the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals.

*Robinson et al v. Shelby County Board of Education et al*

Filed June 12, 1963, in behalf of 21 Negro students, the NAACP asked desegregation of the school system and teaching staff. U.S. District Judge Marion S. Boyd refused on Aug. 30, 1963, a board request to dismiss the suit, but he removed Shelby County Court and Shelby County Commission members who also had been named defendants, as parties in the suit. On the same day, the board filed a plan to desegregate all 12 grades beginning in the fall, 1964, providing for transfers of Negro students to biracial classes in the vicinity of segregated schools to which they are assigned. A hearing on the plan is pending.

*Roy et al v. Brittain et al*

The State Supreme Court upheld in 1956 Chancery Court's denial of an injunction to forbid admission of Negroes to Clinton High School despite U.S. District Court's order in *McSwain et al v. Anderson County Board of Education*. State tribunal held invalid Tennessee's constitutional provision and statutes requiring segregation of state-financed schools.

*Sloan et al v. Wilson County Board of Education et al*

The suit originally was filed in 1961 in behalf of two Negro children "and others similarly situated," seeking their admission to McClain Elementary School at Lebanon. U.S. District Court at Nashville on Sept. 12, 1961, directed that the 10th Special School District enroll three students immediately at the previously all-white elementary school. Judge William E. Miller also ordered the 10th Special School District board, the 16th Special School District board and the Wilson County Board of Education to submit a plan for desegregation. On Oct. 23, 1961, Miller ordered complete desegregation of all public schools in Lebanon and Wilson County, effective in January, 1962. The judge rejected a joint proposal by the three boards, which govern separate school systems within the boundaries of Wilson County, to end segregation under the 1957 state pupil assignment law and declared that the law in itself is not a plan for desegregation. Miller ruled that the law could be placed in effect to transfer students from one school to another once desegregation has been accomplished. The case was the first in Tennessee against more than one school board and resulted in the first order calling for desegregation of grades 1-12 at the same time in any Tennessee school system. Miller reserved judgment on a Negro request for the desegregation of the teaching staffs. On Sept.

19, 1963, Miller ordered 12 Negroes transferred to three previously all-white schools ,and ordered a new desegregation plan submitted by May 1, 1964.

*Vick v. Obion County Board of Education*

Asking admission of three Negro students to all-white high school classes, the suit was filed in October, 1961. Two weeks later, the school board asked the U.S. District Court at Jackson to accept a grade-a-year desegregation plan to begin in the fall of 1962 and requested Judge Bailey Brown to deny a temporary injunction and a Negro request for biracial teaching assignments. On Dec. 15, 1961, Judge Brown ordered desegregation of all grades beginning in September, 1962, and instructed the board to file a new plan. On May 11, 1962, the board's revised plan calling for biracial classes in all grades and including "freedom of choice" provisions was approved by Brown and placed into effect in August, 1962.

*Ward et al v. Knoxville Board of Education*

U.S. District Court at Knoxville in 1956 dismissed the suit on technical grounds. It had sought the desegregation of Knoxville city schools.

**LEGISLATION (13)**

**1957**

*HR 1, SR 3*—Protested encroachment of states' rights, and urged amending constitution to allow desegregated schools.

*HR 9*—Condemned Supreme Court decision.

*Ch. 9*—Facilitated transfers of pupils between districts.

*Ch. 10*—Allowed bus transportation for children to nearest school of their race.

*Ch. 11*—Permitted voluntary segregation. (U.S. District Court in 1957 declared the law unconstitutional in *Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education.*)

*Ch. 12*—Authorized consolidated schools to serve two or more districts.

*Ch. 13*—Established pupil assignment. (U.S. District Court at Memphis in 1961 ruled that the Memphis Board of Education had adopted a policy of desegregation through compliance with the law in *Northcross et al v. City of Memphis Board of Education.* U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1962 reversed the ruling and held that the assignment law was inadequate as a desegregation plan. In *Sloan et al v. Wilson County Board of Education et al,* U.S. District Court at Nashville held that the law in itself did not constitute a plan for desegregation but that it could be used for the transfer of students once desegregation had been accomplished.)

*Ch. 98*—Permitted segregation by sex.

*Ch. 104*—Redefined barratry.

*Ch. 151*—Required registration for racial organizations.

*Ch. 152*—Required information on solicitors for litigation.

**1959**

*Ch. 289*—Made local school boards responsible for enforcing compulsory attendance; permitted parents to withdraw children from school for any good and substantial reason, with school board consent, and to enroll them elsewhere within 30 days.

# TEXAS

## Elementary and High Schools

1,421 Districts: 899 with Negroes and Whites; 244 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 2,045,449 | 326,409 | 2,371,858 |
| Teachers | 81,396 | 12,130 | 93,526 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

43 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 50 | 4 | 54 |
| Enrollment | 167,003 | 8,237 | 175,240 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Texas has 244 desegregated districts, but several have no actual mixing of races due to lack of applicants for the grades involved. Desegregation in the public schools began in 1953 at Friona, in West Texas, before the U.S. Supreme Court decision. In 1954 Texas courts held that the state constitution's requirement for segregation in public schools was void. More than 100 public schools desegregated by board action before the Texas legislature in 1957 required referendum approval for districts to desegregate with loss of state funds as the penalty (*Ch.* 283). This slowed desegregation. In December, 1962, then Attorney General Will Wilson declared this act unconstitutional. This resulted in a large increase in desegregation, including 61 districts starting in September, 1963. A few of these did so by court order but most were voluntary. About 1,290,000 white and 186,000 Negro pupils reside in districts that have desegregated wholly or in part. About 14,000 Negroes actually attend class with white pupils in the public schools. This is a considerable increase since 1962, but it also includes a gain through calculating the number of Negroes where non-Negroes have enrolled at former all-Negro schools. In cities with large Latin-American populations, such as El Paso and San Antonio, this desegregation of former Negro schools has been substantial. In other places, the great majority of Negroes still attend schools only for members of their race, by choice, by zoning or by "stairstep" plans. For example, 227 of Houston's 55,000 Negro students are in desegregated elementary classes, under the grade-a-year program. A federal court has under advisement a Negro request to speed up the process. Dallas' three-year-old desegregation program resulted in 182 of its 31,000 Negroes attending class with whites. Fort Worth desegregated by court order in September, 1963, after lengthy litigation, and 20 of its 15,330 Negro students enrolled with whites in the first grade. The year 1963 saw desegregation extended into "Deep East Texas," where most of the state's Negroes live. Longview acted by court order and saw seven of its 2,800 Negroes enroll in desegregated schools. Nearby Tyler, desegregating by board order, had two Negroes enroll in the first grade with white pupils, but one of the Negroes dropped out. The district has 3,550 Negro students. Several Texas school systems have announced plans to abandon segregation in September, 1964: These include Brazosport, Marlin, Marshall, Mesquite, Taylor, Lewisville, Lockhart, McKinney, and Orange, all voluntary. Desegregated districts by counties follow:

**Andrews County**
- Andrews

**Aransas County**
- Aransas ISD (Rockport)

**Atascosa County**
- Jourdanton
- Pleasanton

**Bandera County**
- Bandera

**Bee County**
- Beeville
- Pettus
- Skidmore-Tynan

**Bell County**
- Belton
- Killeen
- Temple

**Bexar County**
- Alamo Heights
- County Boys School
- East Central
- Edgewood
- Ft. Sam Houston
- Harlandale
- Judson
- Lackland
- North East
- Northside
- Randolph Field
- San Antonio
- S. San Antonio
- Southside
- Southwest

**Brazos County**
- A & M Consolidated
- Bryan

**Brewster County**
- Alpine

**Briscoe County**
- Quitaque

**Brooks County**
- Brooks ISD (Falfurrias)

**Brown County**
- Brownwood

**Burnet County**
- Bertram
- Burnet

**Caldwell County**
- Martindale

**Calhoun County**
- Calhoun ISD (Port Lavaca)

**Cameron County**
- Brownsville
- Harlingen
- La Feria
- Los Fresnos
- Point Isabel
- San Benito

**Castro County**
- Dimmit
- Hart

**Cochran County**
- Morton
- Whiteface

**Comal County**
- Comal Rural High
- New Braunfels

**Coryell County**
- Gatesville
- Mountain View School

**Culberson County**
- Culberson RHS (Van Horn)

**Dallam County**
- Dalhart

**Dallas County**
- Carrollton-Farmers Branch
- Dallas
- Garland
- Grand Prairie
- Irving

**Dawson County**
- Lamesa

**Deaf Smith County**
- Hereford

**Denton County**
- Denton

**DeWitt County**
- Cuero
- Nordheim
- Yoakum
- Yorktown

**Dickens County**
- Patton Springs

**Dimmit County**
- Carizzo Springs

**Duval County**
- Benavides

**Eastland County**
- Cisco
- Eastland
- Bangor

**Ector County**
- Ector ISD (Odessa)

**Edwards County**
- Rocksprings

**Ellis County**
- Waxahachie

**El Paso County**
- Canutillo
- Clint
- El Paso
- Fabens
- Socorro
- Ysleta

**Erath County**
- Dublin

**Floyd County**
- Lockney

**Frio County**
- Pearsall

**Gaines County**
- Seagraves
- Seminole

**Galveston County**
- Galveston
- Hitchcock
- Moody State School
- Texas City

**Garza County**
- Post

**Gillespie County**
- Fredericksburg

**Goliad County**
- Goliad

**Gonzales County**
- Gonzales
- Smiley

**Gray County**
- Pampa

**Grayson County**
- Denison
- Sherman

**Gregg County**
- Longview

**Guadalupe County**
- Marion
- Navarro
- Schertz-Cibolo
- Seguin

**Hale County**
- Cotton Center
- Hale Center

**Harris County**
- Houston
- La Porte
- Northeast Houston

**Hays County**
- Buda
- Kyle
- San Marcos

**Henderson County**
- Athens

**Hidalgo County**
- Donna
- Edinburg
- McAllen
- Mercedes
- Mission
- Pharr-San Juan-Alamo
- Weslaco

**Hockley County**
- Anton
- Pep
- Pettit

**Howard County**
- Big Spring

**Hudspeth County**
- Dell City

**Hunt County**
- Greenville

**Hutchinson County**
- Borger

**Jefferson County**
- Beaumont
- Port Arthur

**Jim Wells County**
- Alice
- Orange Grove

**Jones County**
- Anson

**Karnes County**
- Falls City
- Karnes City
- Kenedy
- Runge

**Kendall County**
- Boerne

**Kinney County**
- Brackett

**Kleberg County**
- Kingsville

**Knox County**
- Goree

**Lamb County**
- Littlefield
- Spade

**Lampasas County**
- Lampasas

**Lee County**
- Giddings

**Limestone County**
- Mexia State School

**Llano County**
- Llano

**Lubbock County**
- Frenship
- Ida Lou

Lubbock
New Deal
Roosevelt
Shallowater
Lynn County
New Home
O'Donnell
Tahoka
Wilson
Mason County
Mason
Maverick County
Eagle Pass
McCulloch County
Brady
McLennan County
Connally
La Vega
Waco
Medina County
Devine
Hondo
Natalia
Menard County
Menard
Midland County
Midland
Motley County
Roaring Springs
Nueces County
Aqua Dulce
Bishop
Calallen
Corpus Christi
Flour Bluff
Robstown
Tuloso-Midway
West Oso
Palo Pinto County
Mineral Wells
Parker County
Weatherford
Parmer County
Bovina
Farwell
Friona
Lazbuddie
Pecos County
Fort Stockton
Potter County
Amarillo
Consolidated Dist. No. 3
Reeves County
Pecos
Refugio County
Austwell-Tivoli
Refugio
Woodsboro
Runnels County
Winters
San Patricio County
Aransas Pass
Gregory-Portland
Ingleside
Mathis
Sinton
Taft
San Saba County
San Saba
Smith County
Tyler
Sterling County
Sterling City
Swisher County
Happy
Kress
Tulia
Tarrant County
Arlington
Birdville
Fort Worth
Taylor County
Abilene
Abilene State School
Terrell County
Terrell ISD (Sanderson)
Terry County
Brownfield
Meadow
Union
Wellman
Tom Green County
San Angelo
Travis County
Austin
Austin State School
Del Valle
Uvalde County
Uvalde
Val Verde County
Del Rio
San Felipe
Van Zandt County
Canton
Edgewood
Victoria County
Bloomington
Kemper City
Victoria
Ward County
Monahans-Wickett
Pyote
Webb County
Laredo
Wheeler County
Shamrock
Wichita County
Burkburnett
City View
Wichita Falls
Willacy County
Lyford
Raymondsville
Williamson County
Andice
Florence
Jarrell
Liberty Hill
Wilson County
Floresville
La Vernia
Poth
Stockdale
Winkler County
Kermit
Wink
Wise County
Decatur
Yoakum County
Denver City
Plains
Zavala County
Crystal City

## TEACHERS

Although desegregation has abolished a number of Negro teaching jobs in Texas, rising enrollment of whites and Negroes has resulted in increasing employment for teachers of both races. A surplus of Negro teachers exists, but is said to be somewhat less than three or four years ago, when 1,000 or more were reported unable to find positions as teachers. A Negro teacher association official said that all those displaced by desegregation have been able to find teaching jobs elsewhere. Some districts with large Latin-American populations are employing Negroes to teach in formerly non-Negro schools. El Paso has seven teachers in this situation; San Antonio, five; and Odessa, four. Others doubtless are unreported. Mostly, the teachers came from formerly segregated classrooms in the same school systems. School superintendents report that the quality of available Negro teachers is improving. Many experienced Negro teachers went back to college after being displaced by desegregation. Others are graduates of desegregated, formerly all-white universities. The Teachers State Association of Texas (Negro) has requested the Texas State Association (white) to discuss merger of their two organizations. The white group referred the question to its executive committee for further study in 1964. There is presently no mixing of races in the associations, although biracial faculty activity has increased on the local level. The minimum salary for public school teachers in Texas is $4,004 for nine months; the estimated pay for classroom teachers, $5,540.

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Of 54 tax-supported colleges in Texas, only 10 white and one Negro institution maintain segregation policies. The University of Texas was the first in the state to desegregate, admitting Heman Sweatt in 1950 by court order in *Sweatt v. Painter*. Prairie View A&M, the state's only college for Negroes, has announced willingness to accept white students but none has applied. Two state teachers colleges have desegregated by court order and four remain for whites only. John Tarleton College also is all-white but all other units of the Texas A&M system have dropped segregation policies. The University of Texas, which is in the Southwest Conference, announced in 1963 the desegregation of its varsity athletic programs, and Texas A&M University took the same action a short time later. Listed below are the total enrollments of the tax-supported colleges on Oct. 15, 1963, with estimated Negro enrollment. Under column "Date Desegregated" these symbols are used: S—retains segregation; V—voluntary desegregation; and C—court-ordered desegregation.

| Predominantly White Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Arlington State | 10,131 | 175* | 1962-V |
| East Texas State | 4,502 | 0 | S** |
| Lamar State | 7,306 | 249 | 1956-C |
| Midwestern Univ. | 2,513 | 61 | 1955-C |
| North Texas State | 10,802 | 175* | 1956-C |
| Pan-American | 1,573 | 15* | 1954-V |
| Sam Houston State | 5,290 | 0 | S** |
| Southwest Texas State | 3,850 | 7 | 1963-C |
| Stephen F. Austin State | 3,334 | 0 | S** |
| Sul Ross State | 1,240 | 0 | S** |
| Tarleton State | 1,419 | 0 | S† |
| Texas A&M | 8,152 | 4 | 1963-V |
| Tex. College of Arts & Ind. | 3,770 | 35* | 1957-V |
| Texas Tech | 12,036 | 45* | 1961-V |
| Texas Western | 6,154 | 300* | 1956-C |
| Texas Woman's Univ. | 3,196 | 20* | 1961-V |
| Univ. of Houston | 17,430 | 40* | 1962-V |
| Univ. of Texas | 22,196 | 175* | 1950-C |
| West Texas State | 4,202 | 40* | 1960-C |
| TOTALS | 129,096 | 1,341 | |
| **Predominantly White Junior Colleges** | | | |
| Alvin | 980 | 0 | S |
| Amarillo | 2,163 | 150* | 1950-V |
| Blinn | 709 | 0 | S |
| Cisco | 387 | 11 | 1956-V |
| Clarendon | 152 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Cooke | 575 | 7 | 1956-V |
| Del Mar | 2,595 | 25* | 1952-V |
| Frank Phillips | 620 | 10 | 1951-V |
| Henderson | 452 | 12 | 1963-V |
| Hill | 283 | 10 | 1962-V |
| Howard | 876 | 21 | 1951-V |
| Kilgore | 1,623 | 0 | S |
| Laredo | 934 | 7 | 1954-V |
| Lee | 1,462 | 30* | 1963-V |
| Navarro | 824 | 14* | 1961-V |
| Odessa | 1,829 | 20* | 1952-V |
| Panola County | 324 | 0 | S |
| Paris | 428 | 8* | 1956-V |
| Ranger | 217 | 4 | 1956-V |
| San Angelo | 1,385 | 14 | 1951-V |
| San Antonio | 8,164 | 170* | 1955-V |
| San Jacinto | 1,690 | 3 | 1962-V |
| South Plains | 803 | 12 | 1959-V |
| Southwest Texas | 524 | 13* | 1955-V |
| Temple | 814 | 18 | 1957-V |
| Texarkana | 1,239 | 22* | 1963-C |
| Texas Southmost | 691 | 5 | 1955-V |
| Tyler Junior | 2,167 | 0 | S |
| Victoria | 1,050 | 12* | 1955-V |
| Weatherford | 558 | 4 | 1962-V |
| Wharton | 1,371 | 80 | 1954-V |
| TOTALS | 37,907 | 682* | |
| STATE TOTALS | 167,003 | 2,023* | |

| Predominantly Negro Senior Colleges | Enrollment Total | Non-Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prairie View A&M | 3,000 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Texas Southern | 4,037 | 37* | 1956-C |
| TOTALS | 7,337 | 37* | |
| **Predominantly Negro Junior Colleges** | | | |
| St. Philip's†† | 697 | 120* | 1955-V |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tyler District | 221 | 0 | S |
| TOTALS | 900 | 120* | |
| STATE TOTALS | 8,237 | 157 | |

*Estimated.
**Under same board as West Texas State and Southwest Texas State, desegregated by court orders.
†Under Texas A&M board of directors; all other branches desegregated.
††St. Philip's is a branch of San Antonio College, formerly all-Negro.

**FACULTIES**

About one-fourth of Texas Southern University's faculty is white. Generally there has been no desegregation elsewhere in faculties of tax-supported colleges.

**SPECIAL SCHOOLS**

Desegregated special schools in Texas include Abilene State School (epileptics); Austin State School and Mexia State School (mentally retarded); Moody State Home (cerebral palsy); Bexar County Boys School; and Mountain View School for Boys, Coryell County. All these are accredited as independent school districts.

**ETHNIC GROUPS**

Enrollment of non-Negroes in formerly all-Negro schools in Texas is increasing, particularly in cities such as San Antonio, which have large numbers of Latin-Americans.

**LITIGATION (37)**

*Adams v. Longview ISD Board of Trustees*

Filed in state district court in September, 1962, to desegregate Longview ISD and have the state referendum law (*Ch. 283*) declared invalid. *(See Adams et al v. Matthews)*

*Adams et al v. Matthews*

Filed in U.S. District Court on Nov. 23, 1962, to desegregate Longview public schools. In June, 1963, U.S. District Judge Joe M. Sheehy ordered a desegregation plan submitted. The judge rejected a proposal for desegregation in 1964, and in August, 1963, ordered the grade-a-year plan begun in September, 1963. The board complied.

*Atkins v. Mathews*

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas. District judge ordered Negroes admitted to North Texas State College in December, 1955.

*Avery v. Wichita Falls ISD*

Suit filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Tex. Application to desegregate Wichita Falls schools dismissed by district court. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed with order to desegregate.

*Barnes v. Calvert*

State District Court in 1955 denied injunction to halt use of funds for desegregated undergraduate education at The University of Texas.

*Battle v. Wichita Falls Junior College*

Suit filed in 1951 in U.S. District Court, Northern District at Wichita Falls, to desegregate municipal junior college (now Midwestern University). District judge ordered desegregation. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed and U.S. Supreme Court denied certiorari.

*Bell v. Rippy (Boson v. Rippy)*

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas. In 1960, U.S. District Judge and Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Dallas school desegregation to commence September, 1961, on grade-a-year pattern starting in first grade.

*Brown v. Hendrix*

Filed September, 1962 in U.S. District Court to desegregate Beaumont ISD, Jefferson County. Pending.

*Butler v. Wilemon*

Filed in 1949 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas. The court ordered Waxahachie ISD to furnish substantially equal teaching facilities for Negroes as for whites.

*Carter v. Hix*

Filed in September, 1962, in U.S. District Court to desegregate Gatesville ISD. The plaintiffs were nine Negro students who refused transportation to another all-Negro school after their own school was closed. U.S. District Judge in March, 1963, ordered the schools desegregated ,and the district complied the following September.

*Cash v. Close City*

Filed in November, 1962, in state district court at Post, by white parents seeking to stop alleged discrimination in favor of Negroes on transfer policies. Pending.

*Dallas Independent School District v. J. W. Edgar*

Filed in U.S. District Court in 1958. Dismissed by district and circuit courts. Filed in State District Court in 1959. Dismissed by all state courts through Supreme Court on the holding that suits against the state cannot be maintained without consent of the legislature. The suit sought to test validity of *Ch. 283* of 1957 requiring referendum approval of desegregation, with loss of state school funds as the penalty.

*Eastland v. Wheat*

Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court to desegregate Northeast Houston ISD. Grade-a-year plan for September, 1963, approved by agreement, but no Negroes enrolled.

*Evans et al v. Brooks*

Filed at Galveston in U.S. District Court, August 1961, to desegregate public schools at Texas City. U.S. District Judge James Noel on April 10, 1962, ordered desegregation begun in September, 1963, with three high school grades, adding a grade a year.

*Flax v. Potts*

Filed in 1959 in U.S. District Court to desegregate Fort Worth public schools. District Judge Leo Brewster on Dec. 14, 1961, ordered that desegregation begin by September, 1962, but appeals by the board delayed compliance. In February, 1963, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals refused to reverse the order. Judge Brewster in April, 1963, approved a grade-a-year plan, which began in September, 1963.

*Gibbs v. Point Isabel ISD*

U.S. District Court in September, 1962, ordered immediate desegregation. The district had just one Negro family, and no appeal was taken from the trial court decision.

*Jackson v. McDonald*

U.S. District Court in 1956 ordered Lamar State College of Technology desegregated.

*Jackson v. Rawdon*

Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas at Fort Worth, seeking desegregation of Mansfield, Tex., public schools. District judge denied injunction. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, in June, 1956, overruled and ordered admissions without regard to race.

*Kreger et al v. Board of Trustees, Georgetown ISD*

Filed in State District Court at Georgetown in July, 1962, to halt spending of bonds voted to build a new, separate school for Negroes. C. J. Kreger and other taxpayers called the expenditure improper in view of the U.S. Supreme Court opinions. The trustees won a temporary injunction against the group trying to stop issuance of the $525,000 in bonds. The Third State Court of Civil Appeals ruled in May, 1963, that the district could not spend money to build segregated facilities. The State Supreme Court rejected the trustees' attempts to appeal in August, 1963.

*Liase v. Longview ISD Board of Trustees*
Filed September, 1962, in U.S. District Court, Tyler, to desegregate Longview ISD. Withdrawn same month.

*McGrue v. Williams*
Filed in U.S. District Court in November, 1962, to desegregate Waco ISD. Desegregation began September, 1963, under grade-a-year plan voluntarily adopted by school board.

*McKinney v. Blankenship*
Filed in 1955 in State District Court at Big Spring, attacking constitutionality of requirement that state funds be paid separately to schools based on white and Negro attendance. State trial and appellate courts held law unconstitutional insofar as it prohibited payments to desegregated schools (1955). Went through State Supreme Court.

*Miller v. Barnes*
Filed September, 1962, in U.S. District Court, Austin, to desegregate public schools in Georgetown, Williamson County. The attorneys agreed to work out a plan with the court's approval, and U.S. District Judge Ben Rice in July, 1963, approved the grade-a-year plan scheduled to begin in September, 1964.

*Mills v. Woods*
Filed in 1951 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas, to set aside action of school board at Euless, Tex., to discontinue separate Negro elementary school. District court issued injunction against discontinuance. U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals overruled, declaring state administrative procedure should have been exhausted before court acted.

*Rainwater v. Smith*
Filed in U.S. District Court on Nov. 8, 1962, to desegregate Carrollton ISD. U.S. District Judge Sarah T. Hughes in December, 1962, ordered "speedy termination of segregation." Desegregation began in September, 1963.

*Rice University v. Carr*
Filed in State District Court in February, 1963, against the state attorney general by university trustees seeking to construe the 1891 will of William Marsh Rice to permit racial desegregation and charging of tuition.

*Richard v. Christ*
Filed U.S. District Court, September, 1962, to desegregate Hamshire-Fannett ISD, Jefferson County. Pending.

*Robinson v. Evans*
Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas, to desegregate Galveston public schools. Court ordered desegregation to begin on grade-a-year basis in September, 1961. District desegregated.

*Ross v. Rogers*
Filed in 1956 in U.S. District Court. Judge ordered desegregation of Houston schools "with deliberate speed" and in August, 1960, ordered desegregation on grade-a-year plan to begin in first grade in September, 1960. Upheld by U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. U.S. District Judge Ben Connally in March, 1962, rejected motions to liberalize transfer provisions. In December, 1962, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals declared the "brother-sister" restriction on pupil assignment to be discriminatory.

*Sanders et al v. Ransom et al*
Filed in U.S. District Court, at Austin in November, 1961, to abolish all segregation in dormitories at the University of Texas. Some men's dormitories there are desegregated; all women's dormitories are segregated. Pending.

*Simmons v. Edwards*
Filed in 1960 in U.S. District Court, Northern District of Texas (Lubbock) to desegregate Frenship School District, Lubbock County. Voters later approved voluntary desegregation.

*Smith v. Flowers*
Filed August, 1962, in U.S. District Court, Austin, to desegregate Southwest Texas State College at San Marcos. U.S. District Judge Ben Rice ordered the school desegregated and six Negroes entered on Feb. 4, 1963.

*Sweatt v. Painter*
Filed in 1946 in U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas. U.S. Supreme Court June, 1950, ordered Heman Sweatt admitted to University Law School in first case declaring "separate, equal doctrine" would not suffice.

*Thomas v. Bowen*
Seeks to desegregate public schools at Bryan. Filed September, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Houston. U.S. District Judge Joe Ingraham in July, 1963, ordered desegregation to begin in September, 1963, and the district complied.

*Washington et al v. Reidel*
Filed August, 1961 in U.S. District Court at Houston to desegregate A&M Consolidated ISD (near Bryan). U.S. District Judge Joe Ingraham in September, 1962, ordered desegregation to begin in September, 1963. District desegregated.

*White v. Smith*
Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Western District of Texas, seeking to admit Negroes to Texas Western College. District judge held state statutes requiring segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional and void.

*Whitmore v. Stilwell*
Filed in 1955 in U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Texas. In the same year, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Texarkana Junior College desegregated. First Negro admitted in 1963.

## LEGISLATION (8)

### 1957

*HCR 5*—Urged constitutional amendment to limit federal authority on preservation of order.

*HCR 32*—Urged establishment of qualifications for federal judiciary.

*HCR 33*—Urged that preservation of order and operation of schools be left to state.

*Ch. 7*—Authorized closing schools to prevent violence and military occupation.

*Ch. 8*—Authorized attorney general to provide legal defense for school boards.

*Ch. 20*—Required registration with county clerk or judge of organizations interfering with school operations.

*Ch. 283*—Provided local option desegregation elections, requiring voter approval for a desegregated district to continue receiving state aid. Attorney General Will Wilson ruled in 1960 that state aid could be continued for districts that desegregated by court order but without voter approval. Ruled unconstitutional, in effect, in 1961 decision in Dallas case, Attorney General Wilson, in a second ruling, declared the act unconstitutional on Jan. 1, 1963, his last day in office.

*Ch. 287*—Established pupil placement requirements.

# VIRGINIA

## Elementary and High Schools

130 Districts: 128 With Negroes and Whites; 55 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment* | 728,259 | 236,386 | 964,645 |
| Teachers** | 29,050 | 8,533 | 37,583 |

*Estimated
**1962-63

## Colleges and Universities

Nine Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 19 | 2 | 21 |
| Enrollment | 37,935 | 4,130 | 42,065 |

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Virginia has 55 desegregated school districts out of the 128 districts with students of both races. The 55 districts have 486,231 whites and 145,658 Negroes enrolled. There are 3,721 Negroes actually attending classes with whites in 282 schools. One of these districts, Surry County, has no biracial schools because all the whites withdrew from the consolidated all-white school when the State Pupil Placement Board assigned Negroes there for September, 1963. The whites began attending a private school, the county closed the boycotted school, and the state board reassigned the Negroes to their all-Negro school. Prince Edward County closed its public schools in the summer, 1959, to avoid a desegregation order dating from the original School Segregation Cases before the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. The county's children attend private schools and the district remains under court orders to desegregate. Desegregation began in February, 1959, when Virginia abandoned its "massive resistance" program and four districts—Alexandria, Arlington County, Norfolk, and Warren County—accepted Negroes in schools with whites by court orders. The desegregated districts are:

| Districts | Enrollment White | Enrollment Negro | Negroes w/Whites | Brcl. Schls. | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Albemarle Co. | 4,550 | 1,450 | 26 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Alexandria | 14,000 | 2,000 | 350 | 20 | 1959-C |
| Amherst Co. | 3,240 | 1,499 | 8 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Arlington Co. | 24,536 | 2,436 | 281 | 22 | 1959-C |
| Augusta Co. | 8,928 | 408 | 10 | 3 | 1962-V |
| Charles City Co. | 392 | 1,376 | 6 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Charlottesville | 4,388 | 1,323 | 112 | 4 | 1959-C |
| Chesapeake | 23,374 | 6,267 | 26 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Chesterfield Co. | 17,414 | 2,240 | 95 | 4 | 1962-C |
| Culpeper Co. | 2,484 | 1,676 | 15 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Danville | 7,295 | 3,164 | 11 | 4 | 1963-V |
| Dinwiddie Co. | 2,000 | 4,600 | 7 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Fairfax Co. | 78,160 | 2,557 | 431 | 44 | 1960-C |
| Falls Church | 1,954 | 18 | 18 | 2 | 1961-V |
| Fauquier Co. | 3,961 | 1,889 | 3 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Floyd Co. | 2,120 | 100 | 22 | 1 | 1960-C |
| Frederick Co. | 5,457 | 96 | 6 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Fredericksburg | 1,832 | 711 | 22 | 3 | 1962-V |
| Galax | 1,344 | 94 | 24 | 1 | 1960-V |
| Grayson Co. | 3,450 | 150 | 3 | 2 | 1960-C |
| Greene Co. | 1,139 | 137 | 5 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Hampton | 17,734 | 4,999 | 73 | 10 | 1961-V |
| Hanover Co. | 5,267 | 2,027 | 8 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Henrico Co. | 26,734 | 1,666 | 58 | 13 | 1963-V |
| Hopewell | 3,663 | 897 | 28 | 2 | 1963-V |
| King George Co. | 987 | 621 | 60 | 2 | 1962-V |
| King and Queen Co. | 387 | 926 | 35 | 2 | 1963-V |
| King William Co. | 951 | 931 | 13 | 1 | 1961-C |
| Loudoun Co. | 5,280 | 1,365 | 4 | 2 | 1962-V |
| Lynchburg | 9,159 | 3,053 | 67 | 11 | 1962-C |
| Martinsville | 3,275 | 1,588 | 1 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Middlesex Co. | 728 | 808 | 13 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Montgomery Co. | 6,847 | 347 | 31 | 3 | 1961-V |
| Newport News | 16,585 | 10,660 | 97 | 9 | 1961-C |
| Norfolk | 35,641 | 20,324 | 347 | 12 | 1959-C |
| Norton | 1,192 | 95 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Petersburg | 3,508 | 4,655 | 13 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Portsmouth | 12,030 | 11,821 | 59 | 5 | 1962-V |
| Powhatan Co. | 439 | 673 | 60 | 1 | 1963-C |
| Prince George Co. | 3,632 | 1,346 | 40 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Prince William Co. | 13,487 | 1,050 | 16 | 3 | 1961-V |
| Pulaski | 6,319 | 508 | 58 | 3 | 1960-C |
| Radford | 1,780 | 216 | 2 | 1 | 1963-V |
| Richmond | 17,636 | 26,117 | 371 | 12 | 1960-C |
| Roanoke | 15,280 | 4,474 | 478 | 7 | 1960-C |
| Roanoke Co. | 15,080 | 929 | 28 | 10 | 1961-C |
| Shenandoah Co. | 4,822 | 109 | 42 | 6 | 1962-V |
| Spotsylvania Co. | 2,698 | 1,059 | 7 | 2 | 1963-V |
| Stafford Co. | 3,628 | 586 | 37 | 2 | 1961-C |
| Staunton | 3,735 | 575 | 10 | 3 | 1963-V |
| Surry Co.* | 0 | 1,250 | 0 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Virginia Beach | 25,512 | 3,821 | 90 | 11 | 1962-V |
| Warren Co. | 2,040 | 282 | 20 | 2 | 1959-C |
| Winchester | 2,893 | 367 | 16 | 4 | 1962-C |
| York Co. | 5,264 | 1,322 | 56 | 5 | 1962-C |
| TOTALS | 486,231 | 145,658 | 3,721 | 282 | |

*County closed its consolidated white school in September, 1963, when all the county's white children enrolled in a private segregated school. Surry continues to operate its consolidated Negro school.

### TEACHERS

In Arlington County, all-Negro Drew elementary school has one white teacher among about 40 Negro teachers, desegregated Wakefield High School has one Negro physics teacher among 110 whites, and all-Negro Hoffman-Boston Elementary School has one Oriental kindergarten teacher among six Negro teachers. All other districts have segregated faculties.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

Six of the 19 predominantly white public institutions now have Negroes enrolled and three others have had Negroes enrolled previously. First desegregation in higher education in Virginia was at the University of Virginia, where a Negro was admitted to the law school under court order in 1950 (*Swanson v. University of Virginia*). Desegregation of the other colleges followed, although there were no court orders at these other institutions. The schools are:

| | Enrollment* White | Enrollment* Negro | Date Deseg. |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Predominantly White Four-Year Colleges** | | | |
| University of Virginia | 5,790 | 25 | 1950-C |
| Medical College of Virginia | 1,218 | 8 | 1951-V |
| Virginia Polytechnic Inst. | 5,987 | 1 | 1953-V |
| Richmond Professional Inst. | 5,530 | 11** | 1951-V |
| William and Mary | 2,700 | 1*** | 1951-V |
| Old Dominion | 6,200 | NA† | 1963-V |
| Longwood | 1,409 | 0 | |
| Madison | 1,798 | 0 | |
| Mary Washington | 1,762 | 0 | 1962-V†† |
| Radford | 2,165 | 0 | 1963-V |
| Virginia Military Institute | 1,080 | 0 | |
| TOTALS | 35,639* | 46* | |
| **Predominantly Negro Four-Year Colleges** | | | |
| Virginia State, Petersburg | 0 | 1,600 | |
| Virginia State, Norfolk | 0 | 2,530 | |
| TOTALS | 0 | 4,130* | |
| **Predominantly White Two-Year Colleges** | | | |
| Clinch Valley | 325 | 0 | |
| VPI, Danville | 241 | 0 | |
| George Mason | 175 | 0 | |
| Bland | 419 | 0 | |
| Christopher Newport | 615 | 0 | |
| Patrick Henry | 175 | 0 | 1962-V |
| Roanoke Technical | 200 | 0 | |
| Wytheville | 100 | 0 | |
| TOTALS | 2,250* | 0 | |
| STATE TOTALS | 37,889* | 4,176 | |

*Includes some estimates.
**Plus undetermined number in evening school.
***Plus two in evening college.
†School reports Negroes enrolled in both day and night classes but number not available.
††A Negro attended the summer session, 1962, but school authorities said this did not necessarily mean a change in the policy for the winter session.
†††A Negro attended classes one day in fall, 1962, but returned to an all-Negro school when she found the classes she wanted were full.

### FACULTIES

Segregation is maintained.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

Adult vocational programs in Richmond and Washington County have desegregated.

## ETHNIC GROUPS

Four small schools are operated exclusively for Indians—one by the state on an Indian reservation and three by counties in Indian settlements. Some Indians have attended white public schools and some have attended Negro public schools in Virginia.

## LITIGATION (50)

*Abrams v. York*

Filed in U.S. District Court Aug. 31, 1962, by a Negro girl seeking admission to all-white Grafton-Bethel Elementary. On Sept. 11, 1962, U.S. District Judge Walter E. Hoffman ordered her admitted to the first grade.

*Adkins v. Newport News School Board*

Desegregation plea delayed by U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, after Newport News-Warwick merger in 1958 raised new legal issues. Negro attorneys notified court July, 1959, that no Negroes would apply in fall, 1959. Desegregation began in fall, 1961.

*Allen v. Charlottesville School Board*

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in August, 1956, ordered desegregation by fall of 1956. State's massive resistance program delayed compliance until September, 1959. The case became *Dillard v. Charlottesville* and on Sept. 17, 1962, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled invalid provision of desegregation plan that allowed any child to transfer from a school in which his race was in the minority. On June 17, 1963, U.S. Supreme Court refused to review decision striking down minority transfer provision.

*Almond v. Day*

Test case in which State Supreme Court in November, 1955, approved tuition grants *(Acts of 1954, Ch. 708)*.

*Anderson v. West Point and King William County School Boards*

Suit filed Sept. 22, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Richmond asking injunction against State Pupil Placement Board from denying 10 Negro children admission to white schools in West Point. Placement board had admitted three other Negroes to West Point High. On Aug. 2, 1962, U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner ordered 10 more admitted to the high school. On June 10, 1963, Judge Butzner struck down proposed zoning plan because it included minority transfer provision.

*Beckett v. Norfolk School Board*

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in January, 1957, held pupil placement law *(Ch. 70, Acts of 1956)* invalid "on its face" and in February, 1957, ordered Negro assignments by September, 1957. Desegregation began February, 1959.

*Bell v. Powhatan School Board*

Filed in U.S. District Court Aug. 17, 1962, by 65 Negroes seeking admission to county white schools. On Jan. 3, 1963, District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. of Richmond ordered three Negroes admitted to county schools and enjoined school board and board of supervisors from closing schools. On July 1, 1963, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the district court order enjoining Powhatan school board from closing schools but threw out reference to supervisors. The court also ordered Powhatan County to pay plaintiffs' counsel fees. On Oct. 28, 1963, Judge Butzner allowed fees of $2,100 to each of two plaintiff lawyers. *(See also Powhatan County School Board v. State Pupil Placement Board.)*

*Belton v. King George County School Board*

Filed Nov. 28, 1962, in U.S. District Court on behalf of 38 Negro children seeking admission to white or predominantly white schools. On June 27, 1963, District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. ordered the children admitted. On Sept. 23, 1963, the school board submitted a desegregation plan.

*Blackwell v. Fairfax County School Board*

Twenty-six Negroes sought admission to eight schools in suit filed in U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia. On Sept. 22, 1960, court ordered some plaintiffs admitted immediately. Desegregation began in fall, 1960. On June 14, 1963, plaintiffs filed motion contending "dual school system" was still being operated and asked injunction.

*Bradley v. Richmond School Board*

Suit filed in U.S. District Court at Richmond Sept. 5, 1961, on behalf of 11 Negro children whose applications to two predominantly white desegregated schools had been turned down by State Pupil Placement Board. Court asked to require city to adopt "a racially non-discriminatory school system." In July, 1962, U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner ordered 10 Negroes admitted to already desegregated schools. On May 10, 1963, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court ordered school board to eliminate "discriminatory" school assignment procedures.

*Braxton v. Stafford County School Board*

Suit filed in September, 1961, in U.S. District Court at Alexandria challenging the 1956 state law that conferred school assignment authority on the State Pupil Placement Board. Filed on behalf of 18 Negro children who were not among the two admitted to a county white school when desegregation began in September, 1961.

*Brooks v. Galax School Board*

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in September, 1959, ordered one Negro admitted in January, 1960, but child decided not to enter. Same court in September, 1960, ordered Negroes admitted from adjoining Grayson County. Desegregation began September, 1960.

*Brown v. Frederick County*

Filed Sept. 18, 1962, in U.S. District Court, by two Negroes seeking immediate admission to all-white James Wood High School. On Oct. 3, U.S. District Judge Thomas J. Michie denied the request pending a hearing on the case.

*Buckner v. Greene County School Board*

Filed April 26, 1963, in U.S. District Court by six Negroes seeking desegregation of county schools.

*Calloway v. Farley*

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 18, 1957, granted injunction restraining Pupil Placement Board and city from denying Negroes in Richmond enrollment in school solely because they failed to apply through the board.

*Coley v. Brewbaker*

Norfolk Circuit Court in August, 1958, denied injunction that would have prohibited local school board from making pupil assignments. Reversed three days later by two State Supreme Court justices. In September, 1958, U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, overrode State Supreme Court.

*Crisp v. Pulaski School Board*

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, on April 28, 1960, ordered 14 Negroes admitted to white schools in September, 1960.

*Dorothy E. Davis et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (Later Allen v. Prince Edward County School Board, now Griffin v. County School Board.)*

Filed in U.S. District Court on May 23, 1951, by Negro children of high school age residing in Prince Edward County to enjoin the segregation of Negroes and whites in public schools. A three-judge district court found in 1952 that the Negro school was inferior in physical plant, curricula and transporta-

tion, but denied the plaintiffs admission to a white school. The court ordered the defendants to equalize facilities "with all reasonable diligence and dispatch." The case was one of the five school segregation cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954. The court ruled on May 17 that the Negroes were "deprived of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th Amendment." On May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court issued an implementing decision in the five cases, ordering compliance with its earlier decision "with all deliberate speed." The justices remanded the case to the respective lower courts. Subsequent developments:

July 18, 1955—A three-judge federal court for the Eastern District of Virginia entered an "all deliberate speed" decree for the admission of Negroes to county schools without discrimination. It authorized a delay pending necessary arrangements. A motion was made that the constitutionality of the Virginia segregation statutes had been decided and that the three-judge court should be dissolved for the case to be considered by a single judge. The three-judge court dissolved itself on July 17, 1956, and turned over jurisdiction in the case to a single-judge court.

Jan. 23, 1957—This court denied motions by both sides. The court refused to set a requested deadline of September, 1956, for the desegregation of Prince Edward schools. It based its decision on conditions in the county—public opinion unfavorable to desegregation and the possibility of school closings. The court denied the defendants' motion for dismissal of the suit.

Nov. 11, 1957—The case appeared in the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals as *Eva Allen et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Va., et al.* The appellate court reversed the district court opinion and remanded the case with directions to enter a decree for abolition of racial discrimination in school admission policies "without further delay."

Aug. 4, 1958—The suit returned to U.S. District Court with the Negroes asking the court to set a date for desegregation. After hearing the school board testify that racial relations in the county had deteriorated, the court fixed 10 years after the 1955 Supreme Court decision as the time for compliance, reserving the right to accelerate or extend the date if necessary.

May 5, 1959—The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals again ruled on the case, now styled *Ulysses Allen, an infant, by Hal Edward Allen, his father and next friend, et al, v. the County School Board of Prince Edward County ,Va., et al.* The court reversed and remanded the District Court decision. The higher court set September, 1959, as the deadline for desegregating the high schools and ordered the elementary schools to admit pupils on a non-racial basis "at the earliest practical day."

June 26, 1959—The U.S. Supreme Court denied the school board's request for a delay. The same court denied certiorari on Oct. 12, 1959. The county had ceased operation of all its public schools in the summer of 1959.

Sept. 14, 1959—Private classes opened for the white children by the Prince Edward School Foundation.

April 22, 1960—Once again styled *Eva Allen et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Va., et al,* the case returned to District Court with Judge Albert Bryan eliminating the 1965 deadline. The judge entered an order in accordance with the appellate court's mandate of May 5, 1959.

July 18, 1960—The Board of Supervisors enacted ordinances providing for local tuition grants and tax credits.

Sept. 19, 1960—U.S. District Judge Oren Lewis agreed to hear the Negroes' request for a supplemental plea in the case. The Negroes, in a complaint endorsed by the NAACP, sought to enjoin the county from refusing to operate public schools (closed in 1959) and to bar the sale or lease of the closed schools.

October, 1960—Judge Lewis heard the defendants' request for dismissal of the supplemental complaints. Before a decision, the NAACP counsel asked permission on Jan. 13, 1961, to file other supplemental complaints. The Negroes asked for an order prohibiting spending any public funds for the direct or indirect support of any private school excluding Negroes, or for aiding or reimbursing persons for tuition to any such private schools; for forbidding the award of tax credit for contributions to private schools excluding Negroes.

April 11, 1961—Judge Lewis granted the defendants the right to file their supplemental complaints requested the previous September and January.

April 26, 1961—The attorney general of the United States petitioned the U.S. District Court at Richmond to be allowed to intervene in the Prince Edward case. He asked to be allowed to file a supplemental complaint requesting the court to enjoin the county from paying tuition grants to students attending private schools so long as public schools remained closed, and also asking the court to bar state support of any public schools in Virginia until Prince Edward schools re-opened on a desegregated basis.

June 24, 1961—Judge Lewis ruled that the attorney general had failed to sustain his motion for intervention as a matter of right, and that permissive intervention would unduly delay the case.

Aug. 23, 1961—Judge Lewis ruled that tuition grants and tax credits could not be used to support Prince Edward's private segregated system as long as public schools there remained closed.

September, 1961—The private system reopened for its third year and Prince Edward Negro children began their third year without schools. On Sept. 8, a Negro youth of Prince Edward filed suit, through his father, in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals asking for a writ of mandamus to compel the county board of supervisors to appropriate funds for public schools for 1961-62.

July 26, 1962—Judge Lewis declared in a memorandum opinion that public schools of Prince Edward County could not be closed to avoid desegregation while schools elsewhere in Virginia remained open.

Oct. 11, 1962—Judge Lewis issued a formal decree carrying out memorandum opinion but postponed enforcement pending appeal.

Dec. 31, 1962—U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals authorized U.S. Department of Justice to enter case on side of Negro plaintiffs.

May 22, 1963—Prince Edward Board of Supervisors adopted 1963-64 budget with no funds for public schools.

Aug. 12, 1963—U.S. Fourth Circuit Court overruled District Judge Lewis's order that had called for reopening of the schools. The circuit court, by a 2-to-1 vote, said federal courts should not act in a case until state courts have decided state constitutional questions.

Aug. 14, 1963—Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. announced plans for establishment of the Prince Edward Free School Association, privately financed, to operate a tuition-free school for children not receiving formal education.

Sept. 16, 1963—Free schools opened, with enrollment of about 1,500 Negroes and four whites, other white children of the county continuing to attend the private segregated classes of the Prince Edward School Foundation.

Oct. 30, 1963—Negroes petitioned U.S. Supreme Court to "dispose of in convenient haste" the legal issues relating to the closing of the county's public schools.

Dec. 2, 1963—Virginia Supreme Court ruled state constitution did not require public schools in Prince Edward County, and that county could close its schools.

*Dobbins v. Commonwealth*

State Supreme Court in January, 1957, overruled compulsory attendance law conviction of a Negro who refused to attend a remote Negro school after being denied admission to a nearby white school.

*Estes v. Farley*

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Norfolk.

*Farley v. Turner*

U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on July 28, 1960, upheld the Norfolk school board's admission of four Negroes to white schools without following state pupil placement procedures.

*Gilliam v. Hopewell School Board*

Filed in U.S. District Court Oct. 17, 1962, by nine Negroes seeking admission to white schools. On July 12, 1963, U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. ordered nine admitted to two white schools. On Sept. 11, 1963, he ordered 15 more Negroes admitted.

*Goins v. Grayson County School Board*

Eight Negroes sought admission to white high school. U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, ordered desegregation to begin immediately. Desegregation began fall 1960.

*Green v. Roanoke City School Board*

Suit filed Aug. 20, 1960, in U.S. District Court at Roanoke seeking admission of 28 Negroes to white schools. Judge Oren R. Lewis on Oct. 4, 1961, ordered one Negro admitted, told the Pupil Placement Board to reconsider rejections of others. (Earlier, PPB had admitted six Negroes to white schools in September, 1960.) On July 18, 1962 District Judge Thomas J. Michie approved a 12-year desegregation plan. On May 22, 1962, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court threw out the assignment plan as discriminatory. On June 3, 1963, Judge Michie approved Roanoke's five-year desegregation plan.

*Griffin v. Prince Edward Board of Supervisors*

Filed Sept. 18, 1961, in Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals by a Negro child petitioning for mandamus to compel county to levy taxes and appropriate funds for schools. Court ruled March 5, 1962, that state constitution did not require county to operate schools. On Aug. 31, 1962, county school board and State Board of Education asked the Richmond Circuit Court to determine whether the state must operate public schools in the county in the absence of county operation. On March 27, 1963, Richmond Circuit Court Judge John Wingo Knowles ruled that neither the state nor federal constitution requires operation of public schools in the county and also that nothing in the state constitution or law prohibits award of tuition grants there even though public schools are closed. (See *Davis et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*).

*Griffin v. Prince Edward School Board* (See *Davis et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County.*)

*Harrison v. Day*

Virginia Supreme Court in January, 1959, held that Section 129 of state constitution requiring school operation prevented closing of desegregated schools if segregated schools remained open.

*Hill v. Prince George County School Board*

On Nov. 1, 1963, parents of 24 Negro children filed desegregation suit contending they were being denied admission to certain county schools because of race.

*Howard v. Alleghany County School Board*

On Nov. 27, 1961, State Supreme Court invalidated *Chapter 68* of 1959, which permitted 10 per cent of the voters of a locality to force a referendum on sale of school property.

*Isley v. Roanoke County School Board* (Later *Marsh v. Roanoke County School Board)*

Suit filed Aug. 31, 1960, on behalf of seven Negro children. U.S. District Judge Oren R. Lewis on Oct. 4, 1961, ruled against plaintiffs. Appeal made to U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals on Nov. 1, 1961. Meanwhile, one Negro child assigned by the Pupil Placement Board entered an all-white county school in September, 1961. On July 18, 1962, U.S. District Judge Thomas J. Michie approved plan for complete desegregation in six years. On June 12, 1962, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals found the plan discriminatory and ordered county to proceed to desegregate "on an acceptable schedule."

*Jackson v. Lynchburg School Board*

Four Negro students filed suit in U.S. District Court at Lynchburg Sept. 18, 1961, in an effort to force board to admit them to all-white high school. On Nov. 14, 1961, Judge Thomas J. Michie ordered two Negro ninth-graders admitted to the all-white E. C. Glass High School on Jan. 29, 1962. On March 15, 1962, Judge Michie approved a grade-a-year desegregation plan. On July 1, 1963, U.S. Fourth Circuit Court rejected city's grade-a-year plan because too much time would be required for full desegregation, and court ruled minority race transfers invalid.

*James v. Almond*

Special three-judge U.S. District Court in January, 1959, ruled Norfolk's school closing unconstitutional.

*James v. Duckworth*

Federal District Court, Eastern Virginia, in January, 1959, enjoined Norfolk City Council from cutting off funds from secondary schools.

*Jones v. Alexandria School Board*

U.S. District Court on Feb. 4, 1959, ordered desegregation to begin Feb. 10, 1959. On Feb. 13, 1962, District Judge Oren R. Lewis ordered case stricken from docket on ground that no issues remained.

*Jordan v. Farley*

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Nansemond County.

*Kilby v. Warren County School Board*

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, in September, 1958, ordered high school desegregated same month. Stay denied Feb. 16, 1959, by Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Simon E. Sobeloff. Desegregation began in February, 1959.

*Marsh v. Roanoke County School Board* (See *Isley v. Roanoke County.*)

*McLeod v. Chesterfield County School Board*

Filed Feb. 28, 1962, on behalf of 15 Negro children seeking admission to all-white Ettrick Elementary School. On Nov. 15, 1962, U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. ordered Negroes admitted, and two enrolled.

*NAACP v. Patty* (See *NAACP v. Button*)

*NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund v. Patty* (See *NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund v. Button*)

*NAACP v. Button*, and
*NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund v. Button*

Virginia Supreme Court in September, 1960, ruled *Ch. 36, Acts of 1956*, unconstitutional, but upheld *Ch. 33*. U.S. Supreme Court in March, 1961, agreed to review. (*Ch. 36* banned inducing litigation. *Ch. 33* prohibited solicitation of business for lawyers.) On Sept. 14, 1962, Judge Edmund W. Hening in Richmond Circuit Court ruled out *Chapter 31* of 1956, requiring membership disclosure of organizations such as the NAACP, and *Chapter 35*, which defined barratry. On Jan. 14, 1963, U.S. Supreme Court by a 6-to-3 vote, invalidated *Ch. 33*.

*Pettaway v. Surry County School Board*

On Sept. 3, 1963, seven Negro children filed suit in U.S. District Court to force re-opening of county's white consolidated school, which the school board had closed on Aug. 24 after all the county's 430 white children had enrolled in the private segregated schools of the Surry Educational Foundation. (The State Pupil Placement Board earlier had assigned the seven Negroes to the white school.) On Oct. 2, 1963, U.S. District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. of Richmond, refused to order the re-opening, saying the issues involved were not significantly different from those of the Prince Edward case, and that the U.S. Fourth

Circuit Court of Appeals had said federal courts should abstain from acting in that case until state courts had acted. (See *Davis v. Prince Edward School Board.*)

*Powhatan County School Board v. State Pupil Placement Board*

Filed July 3, 1962, in Richmond Circuit Court asking decision on which of the two boards had the responsibility of verifying pupil placement applications. On May 20, 1963, Richmond Circuit Court Judge E. W. Hening Jr. held that the placement board could not require local school board to verify pupil placement applications.

*Scott v. Fredericksburg School Board*

Filed March 7, 1962, in U.S. District Court by two Negroes seeking admission to all-white James Monroe School. Desegregation began on Aug. 29, 1962, by State Pupil Placement Board assignments. On Jan. 3, 1963, District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. directed admission of six more Negroes. On July 29, 1963, the court rejected the city's grade-a-year desegregation plan.

*Shelton v. Hanover County School Board*

State Supreme Court in June, 1956, reversed Hanover Circuit Court decision that bonds approved for segregated schools in referendum could not be used for non-segregated ones.

*Thompson v. Arlington County School Board* (Later *Brooks v. Arlington County School Board*)

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in 1956 ordered elementary school desegregation by Jan. 31, 1957, and secondary school desegregation by September, 1957. State's massive resistance program delayed compliance until February, 1959. On March 1, 1962, U.S. District Judge Oren R. Lewis upheld a plan permitting children to transfer out of schools in which their race is in minority. On Oct. 31, 1963, the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ordered reinstatement of an anti-discrimination injunction against the Arlington school board, the injunction having been lifted in March, 1962, by Judge Lewis.

*U.S.A. v. Prince George County School Board*

On Sept. 17 the U. S. Justice Department filed suit in U.S. District Court seeking an end to racial segregation in Prince George County schools attended by children of federal personnel at Ft. Lee. On June 23, 1963, District Judge John D. Butzner Jr. held that the federal government could bring suit to secure desegregated schooling for the children of Ft. Lee personnel because of contract provisions under which the county received federal school aid funds.

*Walden v. Farley*

U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, Sept. 29, 1957, granted injunction against Pupil Placement Board, restraining enforcement of placement act in Suffolk.

*Walker v. Floyd County School Board*

U.S. District Court, Western Virginia, on Sept. 14, 1960, ordered 14 Negroes admitted to white high school on Jan. 25, 1960.

*Warden v. Richmond School Board*

Six Negroes sought entry to white schools in suit filed in U.S. District Court, Eastern Virginia, in 1958. Case argued (for one remaining plaintiff) March 30, 1961 and taken under advisement by court. Desegregation began fall, 1960.

*Williams v. Charlottesville and Albemarle County School Boards*

Suit filed April 26, 1963, in U.S. District Court to bar construction of a junior high school at the existing Negro high school, on grounds that the new school would delay desegregation.

*Williams v. Winchester School Board*

Filed March, 1962, in U.S. District Court by two Negroes seeking admittance to all-white Handley High School. On June 7, 1962, Judge Thomas J. Michie ordered plaintiffs admitted. On July 17, 1962, Judge Michie approved a two-grades-a-year desegregation plan. Desegregation began in first and ninth grades in September, 1962.

*Woodson v. Shenandoah County School Board*

Filed Sept. 18, 1962, in U.S. District Court, by Negroes seeking admission to white schools. Desegregation began Aug. 30, 1962, by State Pupil Placement Board assignments.

## LEGISLATION (49)

### 1955

*Ch. 2*—Proposed amendment to revise Section 141 of state constitution to permit public funds for tuition grants to students attending private nonsectarian schools. Approved in referendum Jan. 9, 1956.

### 1956

*SJR 3*—Interposition.

*Ch. 591*—Provided election of school board members by local governing body in Arlington County, replacing popular election.

### 1956

### (Extra Session)

*Ch. 31*—Prohibited solicitations for litigation. Ruled unconstitutional in September, 1962, in *NAACP v. Harrison.*

*Ch. 32*—Required registration of advocates of racial integration or segregation.

*Ch. 33*—Prohibited solicitation of business for lawyers.

*Ch. 34*—Created joint committee to study administration of justice. Repealed 1958.

*Ch. 35*—Banned barratry. Ruled unconstitutional in September, 1962, in *NAACP v. Harrison.*

*Ch. 36*—Banned inducing litigation. Declared unconstitutional by State Supreme Court on Sept. 2, 1960.

*Ch. 37*—Created joint committee to study administration of justice. Repealed 1958.

*Ch. 39*—Provided that State Board of Education shall not refuse to accredit any school for the sole reason that the school is not conducted in a building meeting requirements.

*Ch. 40*—Provided closure of any school policed by federal troops or officers. Repealed 1959.

give placement board subpoena powers, to substitute

*Ch. 56*—Provided funds for private schooling. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 57*—Authorized taxation and appropriations for tuition grants. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 58*—Included tuition grants in school budgets. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 59*—Provided no child would be required to attend desegregated school. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 60*—Relieved school boards on transportation requirements.

*Ch. 62*—Authorized tuition grants. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 63*—Provided legal defense for school boards and members.

*Ch. 64*—Extended teacher retirement benefits to private schools.

*Ch. 65*—Directed the attorney general to assist local school boards in legal cases.

*Ch. 66*—Permitted reduction in school terms.

*Ch. 67*—Permitted month-to-month school financing.

*Ch. 68*—Gave state authority over schools ordered to desegregate. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 69*—Gave governor authority to operate schools. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 70*—Created Pupil Placement Board. Held invalid in *Beckett v. Norfolk School Board* in 1957. Amended by *Ch. 500* in 1958.

*Ch. 71*—Withheld state funds from desegregated schools. Repealed 1959.

### 1958

*HJR 50*—Directed state bar to punish persons guilty of unethical or unauthorized law practice.

*Ch. 41*—Provided closure of any school policed by federal troops or officers. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 223*—Created commission on constitutional government.

*Ch. 319*—Closed all schools in a district policed by federal forces. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 373*—Created committee on offenses against administration of justice.

*Ch. 500*—Amended Pupil Placement Act (*Ch. 70*) to give placement board subpoena powers, to substitute criteria for pupil assignment, and to permit parents to sign assignment applications under protest.

*Ch. 506*—Required registration of non-profit organizations engaged in law practice.

*Ch. 540*—Required federalization of state militia be handled through governor.

*Ch. 631*—Amended school closing law. Repealed 1959.

*Ch. 642*—Limited state funds to "efficient" schools and defined "efficient" as one without racial integration. Repealed in 1959.

**1959**

*Ch. 49*—Authorized localities to provide free transportation for pupils attending nonsectarian, private schools.

*Ch. 50*—Provided for repayment of teacher scholarships by service in either private or public schools.

*Ch. 52*—Gave localities budgetary flexibility so that school appropriations may be cut off in 30 days.

*Ch. 53*—Provided state tuition grants up to $275 per year for private schooling of any child.

*Ch. 68*—Permitted 10 per cent of voters to initiate referendum for disposal of local school property. Invalidated on Nov. 27, 1961, in *Howard v. Alleghany County School Board*.

*Ch. 71*—Gave localities option of remaining under the State Pupil Placement Board or administering their own local assignment plans.

*Ch. 72*—Re-enacted compulsory attendance provisions, but left enforcement to the local school boards and authorized parents to withhold their children from school.

*Ch. 80*—Exempted private school buildings from zoning and building code laws for two years.

**1960**

*Ch. 191*—Authorized localities to permit taxpayers to deduct contributions to nonsectarian private schools from real estate and personal property tax levies.

*Ch. 443*—Revised formula for scholarship grants to children attending private or public schools other than ones to which they normally would be assigned.

*Ch. 461*—Authorized local governing bodies to spend funds for private schooling of children.

**1962**

*Ch. 183*—Permitted teachers to terminate their contracts any time the schools in which they teach become desegregated, either at the student or the faculty level.

# WEST VIRGINIA

## Elementary and High Schools

55 Districts: 44 with Negroes and Whites; 44 Desegregated

| | White | Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Enrollment | 417,595* | 21,055* | 438,650 |
| Teachers | 16,667* | 863* | 17,530 |

*Estimated

## Colleges and Universities

All 11 Desegregated

| | Predominantly White | Predominantly Negro | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Institutions | 10 | 1 | 11 |
| Enrollment | 22,681 | 637 | 23,318 |

*Estimated

## Status of Segregation-Desegregation

### PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Desegregation was first started in the Monogalia County public schools in the fall of 1954. All 44 of the state's school districts with whites and Negroes have begun or completed the desegregation process. An estimated 417,595 whites and an estimated 21,055 Negro pupils are enrolled in the desegregated districts. An estimated 18,500 Negroes are in classes with whites.

| Desegregated Counties | | | All-White Counties |
|---|---|---|---|
| Barbour | Jefferson | Morgan | |
| Berkeley | Kanawha | Ohio | |
| Boone | Lewis | Pendleton | |
| Braxton | Lincoln | Pocohontas | Doddridge |
| Brooke | Logan | Preston | Gilmer |
| Cabell | Marion | Raleigh | Jackson |
| Calhoun | Marshall | Randolph | Nicholas |
| Clay | Mason | Summers | Pleasants |
| Fayette | McDowell | Taylor | Putnam |
| Grant | Mercer | Tucker | Ritchie |
| Greenbrier | Mineral | Upshur | Roane |
| Hampshire | Mingo | Wayne | Tyler |
| Hancock | Monongalia | Wetzel | Webster |
| Hardy | Monroe | Wood | Wirt |
| Harrison | | Wyoming | |

### TEACHERS

A survey four years ago found that 58 Negro teachers had been displaced because of desegregation. Some faculties are desegregated.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

In 1938 West Virginia University voluntarily admitted Negroes to graduate schools. All 11 state-supported colleges and universities have been open to applicants without regard to race since 1954, by directives from the State Board of Education and the University Board of Governors. There have been no court cases dealing with higher education. Enrollments by school are:

| | Enrollment | | Date |
|---|---|---|---|
| Predominantly White | Total | Negro | Deseg. |
| Concord | 1,526 | 5* | 1954-V |
| Fairmont | 1,388 | 24* | 1954-V |
| Glenville | 877 | 0* | 1954-V |
| Marshall Univ. | 3,974 | 78* | 1954-V |
| Potomac | 643 | 10* | 1954-V |
| Shepherd | 910 | 29* | 1954-V |
| West Liberty | 1,425 | 6* | 1954-V |
| W. Va. State | 2,079 | 910* | 1954-V |
| W. Va. Tech | 1,203 | 27* | 1954-V |
| W. Va. Univ. | 8,656 | 135* | 1938-V |
| TOTALS | 22,681 | 1,224* | |
| Predominantly Negro | | | |
| Bluefield | 637 | 325* | 1954-V |
| STATE TOTALS | 23,318 | 1,549* | |

*Estimated.

### FACULTIES

Bluefield and West Virginia State have predominantly Negro faculties. Both institutions started hiring white instructors four years ago.

### SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The legislature removed racial restrictions for admission to the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind, and the special schools at the Boys and Girls industrial schools are desegregated. The former Negro industrial schools have been closed and the children sent to the previously all-white institutions.

### LITIGATION (9)

*Anderson v. Mercer County Board of Education*

Filed in 1953 and voluntary desegregation ordered by the second semester of the 1956-57 school year. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court. NAACP petitioned in November, 1963, to reopen case.

*Dunn v. Greenbrier County Board of Education*

Filed in 1955 and brought voluntary desegregation Jan. 18, 1956. Case still open in Southern U.S. District Court.

*Goode v. Summers County Board of Education*

Filed in 1959 and charged discriminatory practice in teacher hiring. U.S. District Judge John A. Field ruled on Sept. 3, 1963, that the board did not discriminate in failing to rehire Mrs. Edith Goode for the 1957-8 school year.

*Martin v. McDowell County Board of Education*

Filed in 1955 and brought desegregation in September, 1956. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

*Pierce v. Cabell County Board of Education*

Filed in 1955 and voluntary desegregation ordered by second semester of 1956-57 school term. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

*Shedd v. Logan County Board of Education*

Filed in 1956 and voluntary desegregation ordered by beginning of 1957-58 school year. Case still held in Southern U.S. District Court.

*Starling v. Mingo County Board of Education*

Filed in 1959 and charged discriminatory practice in teacher hiring. Court found for the defendant, but the teacher was reinstated and given a continuing contract.

*Taylor v. Raleigh County Board of Education*

Filed in 1955 and voluntary desegregation ordered by the second semester of the 1956-57 school year. NAACP in 1961 filed notice in Southern U.S. District Court to reopen case; the case now is before the court.

*Wilkinson v. Harrison County Board of Education*

Filed in 1956 and brought desegregation May 28, 1957. Case still held in Northern U.S. District Court.

### LEGISLATION (2)

The West Virginia legislature in 1957 amended statutes governing the business and educational affairs of West Virginia State College, eliminating references to it as a Negro institution. The legislature also eliminated racial restrictions for admission to the West Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind.

# Statistical Developments From 1954

Note: These tables contain the best available figures for each respective school year. The figures in these tables differ in some instances from those given in past issues of Southern School News or the Statistical Summary because of corrections to conform to a consistent policy on statistics, or substitutions of more accurate information that became available later.

## 1954-55

| State | School Districts | | | Enrollment | | In Desegregated Districts | | Negroes In Schools With Whites | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | White | Negro | White | Negro | No. | %† |
| Alabama | 111 | 111 | 0 | 471,511 | 248,967 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 423 | 228 | 2 | 306,234 | 101,144 | NA | NA | 20* | .020 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 0 | 526,232 | 150,991 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Georgia | 202 | 202 | 0 | 556,006 | 274,040 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 350,758 | 217,564 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 971 | 971 | 0 | 273,722 | 268,216 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 172 | 172 | 0 | 706,110 | 293,965 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 307,306 | 235,528 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 152 | 141 | 0 | 617,558 | 123,375 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Texas | 1,953 | 1,142 | 1 | 1,448,707 | 224,894 | NA | NA | 3 | .001 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 0 | 541,233 | 176,378 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH | 4,355 | 3,337 | 3 | 6,105,378 | 2,315,062 | NA | NA | 23 | .001 |
| Delaware | 110 | 63 | 11 | 49,989 | 10,479 | NA | NA | 200* | 1.91 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 38,768 | 68,877 | 38,768 | 68,877 | NA | NA |
| Kentucky | 224 | 180 | 41 | 526,257 | 37,289 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 1 | 325,736** | 84,592** | NA | NA | 4,332* | 5.12 |
| Missouri | 4,000* | 244 | 114 | 610,662** | 60,829** | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Oklahoma | 1,800 | 353 | 0 | 447,168 | 36,040 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 29 | 426,345 | 25,646 | NA | NA | 1,100 | 4.29 |
| BORDER | 6,214 | 907 | 156 | 2,438,611 | 323,752 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| REGION | 10,569 | 4,244 | 159 | 8,543,989 | 2,638,814 | NA | NA | NA | NA |

*Estimated. **1953-54.

## 1955-56

| State | School Districts | | | Enrollment | | In Desegregated Districts | | Negroes In Schools With Whites | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | White | Negro | White | Negro | No. | % |
| Alabama | 111 | 111 | 0 | 479,875 | 253,517 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 423 | 228 | 4 | 316,709 | 102,000 | 2,170* | 49* | 47 | .046 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 0 | 594,220 | 165,957 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Georgia | 202 | 202 | 0 | 573,463 | 278,488 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 364,778 | 227,517 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 971 | 971 | 0 | 275,744 | 270,250 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 172 | 172 | 0 | 722,461 | 301,286 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 319,670 | 243,574 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 152 | 141 | 1 | 626,781 | 128,164 | 7,500* | 250* | 85 | .066 |
| Texas | 1,802 | 714 | 73 | 1,510,693 | 234,654 | 410,000* | 21,000* | 2,650 | 1.13 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 0 | 565,396 | 182,391 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH | 4,204 | 2,909 | 78 | 6,349,790 | 2,417,798 | 419,670* | 21,299* | 2,782 | .115 |
| Delaware | 104 | 63 | 12 | 53,191 | 11,199 | NA | 5,086 | 1,230 | 11.0 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 38,768 | 68,877 | 38,768 | 68,877 | NA | NA |
| Kentucky | 224 | 180 | 38 | 526,257 | 37,006 | 55,698 | 1,309 | 313 | .846 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 11 | 325,736* | 84,592* | NA | 81,975 | 13,479* | 15.9 |
| Missouri | 3,600 | 244 | 114 | 610,662* | 60,829* | NA | 58,000* | NA | NA |
| Oklahoma | 1,646 | 353 | 118 | 489,828 | 36,390 | NA | 20,000* | NA | NA |
| West Virginia | 55 | 44 | 35 | 426,345* | 25,646* | NA | 16,000* | NA | NA |
| BORDER | 5,654 | 912 | 329 | 2,470,787 | 324,539 | NA | 251,247 | NA | NA |
| REGION | 9,858 | 3,821 | 407 | 8,820,577 | 2,742,337 | NA | 272,546 | NA | NA |

*Estimated.

## 1956-57

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 111 | 111 | 0 | 471,900* | 273,200* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 423 | 228 | 5 | 316,709** | 102,000** | 8,439 | 941 | 34 | .033 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 0 | 594,220** | 165,957** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Georgia | 200 | 196 | 0 | 644,328* | 297,672* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 375,000* | 225,000* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 827 | 827 | 0 | 273,722* | 268,216* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 172 | 172 | 0 | 724,302 | 301,161 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| South Carolina | 107 | 107 | 0 | 319,670** | 243,574** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 152 | 141 | 2 | 626,781** | 128,164** | 16,100 | 344 | 100* | .078 |
| Texas | 1,800 | 841 | 103 | 1,565,568* | 248,532* | 500,000* | 25,000* | 3,380* | 1.36 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 0 | 566,596 | 184,417 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH | 4,055 | 2,885 | 110 | 6,478,796 | 2,437,893 | 524,539 | 26,285 | 3,514 | .144 |
| Delaware | 102 | 61 | 13 | 53,904 | 11,411 | 25,706 | 5,145 | 3,248 | 28.5 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 34,758 | 73,723 | 34,758 | 73,723 | 71,500 | 97.0 |
| Kentucky | 221 | 177 | 108 | 551,771* | 38,358* | 200,000* | 22,000 | 8,017 | 20.9 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 20 | 397,417 | 109,720 | 397,417 | 89,668 | 20,936* | 19.1 |
| Missouri | 3,600 | 244 | 193* | 677,500* | 67,000* | NA | 59,000* | NA | NA |
| Oklahoma | 1,639 | 261 | 197 | 495,664 | 36,390 | 243,100* | 24,500* | 3,177 | 8.73 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 41 | 434,001* | 23,806* | 422,424 | 24,953* | NA | NA |
| BORDER | 5,642 | 810 | 573 | 2,645,015 | 360,408 | 1,323,405† | 298,989 | 106,878 | NA |
| REGION | 9,697 | 3,695 | 683 | 9,123,811 | 2,798,301 | 1,847,944† | 325,274 | 110,392†† | NA |

*Estimated. **1955-56 †Missouri not included ††Missouri and West Virginia not included

## 1957-58

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 111 | 111 | 0 | 475,500* | 279,300* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 423 | 228 | 8 | 315,806 | 104,205 | 16,469 | 1,918 | 98 | .094 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 0 | 703,800* | 196,200* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Georgia | 200 | 196 | 0 | 649,800* | 300,200* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 390,625* | 234,375* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 151 | 151 | 0 | 276,276* | 269,724* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 172 | 172 | 3 | 755,000* | 322,000* | 44,353 | 23,787 | 11 | .003 |
| South Carolina | 107 | 107 | 0 | 334,513 | 249,770 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 152 | 141 | 3 | 657,560* | 133,740* | 18,020 | 1,644 | 120* | .090 |
| Texas | 1,468 | 722 | 123 | 1,627,307* | 258,333* | 560,000 | 24,600 | 3,600* | 1.39 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 0 | 584,523 | 190,707 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SOUTH | 3,047 | 2,090 | 137 | 6,770,710 | 2,538,554 | 638,842 | 51,949 | 3,829 | .151 |
| Delaware | 102 | 61 | 18 | 56,913 | 12,429 | 25,706 | 5,145 | 4,497 | 36.2 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 32,003 | 79,111 | 32,003 | 79,111 | 70,000* | 88.5 |
| Kentucky | 216 | 170 | 113 | 551,771* | 38,358* | 218,615 | 23,500 | 10,897 | 28.4 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 21 | 417,214 | 116,275 | 387,938 | 106,930 | 25,650 | 22.1 |
| Missouri | 3,600 | 244 | 209 | 675,000* | 77,000* | NA | 60,000* | NA | 0 |
| Oklahoma | 1,469 | 271 | 216 | 495,664† | 36,390† | 247,541 | 24,817 | 6,633 | 18.2 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 428,300* | 25,834* | 402,116 | 25,834 | 10,000* | 38.7 |
| BORDER | 5,467 | 813 | 621 | 2,656,865 | 385,397 | 1,313,919†† | 325,337 | 127,677†† | NA |
| REGION | 8,514 | 2,903 | 758 | 9,427,575 | 2,923,951 | 1,952,761†† | 377,286 | 131,506†† | NA |

*Estimated. †1956-57 ††Missouri not included

## 1958-59

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 113 | 113 | 0 | 497,700* | 292,300* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 422 | 228 | 8 | 317,053 | 105,130 | 25,133 | 2,209 | 80 | .076 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 0 | 708,138 | 187,742 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Georgia | 198 | 196 | 0 | 667,781 | 310,753 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 412,563 | 261,491 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 151 | 151 | 0 | 276,326 | 268,905 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 174 | 174 | 4 | 755,282 | 319,613 | 50,029 | 27,782 | 14 | .004 |
| South Carolina | 107 | 107 | 0 | 344,893 | 255,616 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 153 | 142 | 3 | 651,900* | 143,100* | 31,794 | 11,630 | 82 | .057 |
| Texas | 1,646 | 722 | 125 | 1,702,141* | 266,168* | 575,000* | 25,000* | 3,250* | 1.22 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 4 | 605,090 | 198,629 | 70,401 | 18,873 | 30 | .015 |
| SOUTH | 3,227 | 2,095 | 144 | 6,938,867 | 2,609,447 | 752,357 | 85,494 | 3,456 | .132 |
| Delaware | 97 | 51 | 17 | 59,765 | 13,118 | 29,158 | 6,209 | 5,727 | 43.7 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 29,569 | 84,650 | 29,569 | 84,650 | 69,007 | 81.5 |
| Kentucky | 215 | 175 | 123 | 572,814* | 41,793* | 370,234 | 31,768 | 11,492 | 27.5 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 417,714 | 116,478 | 407,902 | 113,451 | 37,775 | 32.4 |
| Missouri | 2,890 | 237 | 203 | 705,600* | 78,400* | NA | 74,480 | NA | NA |
| Oklahoma | 1,365 | 250 | 186 | 485,996 | 39,405 | 258,834 | 25,843 | 8,351 | 21.2 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 440,195* | 25,127* | 413,459 | 25,127 | 10,000* | 39.8 |
| BORDER | 4,647 | 780 | 596 | 2,711,653 | 398,971 | 1,509,156† | 361,528 | 142,352† | NA |
| REGION | 7,874 | 2,875 | 740 | 9,650,520 | 3,008,418 | 2,261,513† | 447,022 | 145,808† | NA |

*Estimated †Missouri not included

## 1959-60

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 113 | 113 | 0 | 516,135 | 271,134 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 422 | 228 | 9 | 317,475 | 106,731 | 50,272 | 9,750 | 98 | .092 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 1 | 761,819 | 201,091 | 129,186* | 26,648* | 512 | .255 |
| Georgia | 198 | 196 | 0 | 682,354 | 318,405 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 0 | 422,181 | 271,021 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Mississippi | 151 | 151 | 0 | 287,781 | 278,640 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 174 | 174 | 7 | 816,682 | 302,060 | 76,608 | 43,506 | 34 | .011 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 352,164 | 257,935 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 154 | 143 | 4 | 668,300 | 146,700 | 38,325 | 13,752 | 169 | .115 |
| Texas | 1,581 | 720 | 126 | 1,783,787* | 279,374* | 632,000* | 33,000* | 3,300* | 1.18 |
| Virginia | 129 | 128 | 6 | 617,349 | 203,229 | 74,606 | 21,735 | 103 | .051 |
| SOUTH | 3,164 | 2,095 | 153 | 7,225,977 | 2,636,320 | 1,000,997 | 148,391 | 4,216 | .160 |
| Delaware | 94 | 51 | 19 | 63,088 | 14,063 | 38,898 | 7,399 | 6,196 | 44.1 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 27,136 | 89,451 | 27,136 | 89,451 | 73,290 | 81.9 |
| Kentucky | 212 | 173 | 129 | 593,494 | 41,938 | 388,000 | 32,000 | 16,329 | 38.9 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 442,244 | 130,076 | 406,286 | 114,682 | 38,053 | 29.3 |
| Missouri | 2,143 | 214* | 200* | 738,000* | 82,000* | NA | 74,480 | 35,000* | 42.7 |
| Oklahoma | 1,323 | 251 | 187 | 485,996* | 39,405* | 261,840* | 30,000* | 10,246* | 26.0 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 427,864 | 24,010 | 427,864 | 24,010 | 12,000* | 50.0 |
| BORDER | 3,852 | 756 | 602 | 2,777,822 | 420,943 | 1,550,025* | 372,022 | 191,114 | 45.4 |
| REGION | 7,016 | 2,851 | 755 | 10,003,799 | 3,057,2763 | 2,551,021† | 520,413 | 195,330 | 6.4 |

*Estimated †Missouri not included

## 1960-61

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 114 | 114 | 0 | 523,303 | 276,029 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 422 | 228 | 10 | 320,204 | 108,841 | 52,126 | 12,639 | 113 | .104 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 1 | 807,512 | 212,280 | 133,336 | 27,502 | 28 | .013 |
| Georgia | 198 | 196 | 0 | 626,377 | 295,255 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 1 | 422,181** | 271,021** | 37,490 | 51,113 | 1 | .0004 |
| Mississippi | 151 | 151 | 0 | 287,781** | 278,640** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North aCrolina | 173 | 173 | 10 | 832,200* | 307,800* | 117,404 | 54,746 | 82 | .027 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 354,227 | 258,667 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 154 | 143 | 7 | 675,648 | 152,352* | 130,953 | 21,881 | 376 | .247 |
| Texas | 1,531 | 720 | 132 | 1,840,987* | 288,553* | 800,000* | 85,000* | 3,500* | 1.21 |
| Virginia | 130 | 128 | 11 | 668,500* | 211,000* | 177,731 | 52,286 | 208 | .099 |
| SOUTH | 3,115 | 2,095 | 172 | 7,358,920 | 2,660,438 | 1,449,040 | 305,167 | 4,308 | .162 |
| Delaware | 92 | 51 | 24 | 66,630 | 14,973 | 47,932 | 8,628 | 6,738 | 45.0 |
| Dist. of oClumbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 24,697 | 96,751 | 24,697 | 96,751 | 81,392 | 84.1 |
| Kentucky | 211 | 169 | 141 | 600,000* | 41,938** | 445,000* | 32,000* | 20,000* | 47.7 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 461,206 | 136,882 | 456,410 | 136,882 | 45,943 | 33.6 |
| Missouri | 1,889 | 214* | 200* | 758,000* | 84,000* | NA | 75,000* | 35,000* | 41.7 |
| Oklahoma | 1,276 | 240 | 190 | 504,125 | 40.875 | 266,405 | 30,725 | 9,822 | 24.0 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 416,646 | 21,010 | 416,646 | 21,010 | 14,000* | 66.6 |
| BORDER | 3,548 | 744 | 611 | 2,824,798 | 436,429 | 1,657,090† | 400,996 | 212,895 | 49.0 |
| REGION | 6,663 | 2,839 | 783 | 10,183,718 | 3,096,867 | 3,106,130† | 706,163 | 217,203 | 7.0 |

*Estimated **1959-60 †Missouri not included

## 1961-62

| State | School Districts: Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment: White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts: White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites: No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 114 | 114 | 0 | 527,075 | 280,212 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 418 | 228 | 10 | 320,204** | 108,841** | 54,737 | 13,237 | 151 | .139 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 5 | 927,331 | 242,097 | 348,209 | 61,883 | 648 | .268 |
| Georgia | 198 | 196 | 1 | 641,710 | 303,005 | 59,319 | 48,963 | 8 | .003 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 1 | 450,000* | 295,000* | 38,217 | 56,095 | 12 | .004 |
| Mississippi | 150 | 150 | 0 | 297,419 | 288,089 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 173 | 173 | 11 | 787,405 | 332,962 | 130,439 | 60,044 | 203 | .061 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 363,768* | 265,076* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 154 | 143 | 17 | 663,065* | 155,000* | 225,096 | 74,524 | 1,167 | .753 |
| Texas | 1,483 | 890 | 149 | 1,892,044* | 300,867* | 805,000* | 95,700* | 4,000* | 1.33 |
| Virginia | 131 | 129 | 20 | 679,230 | 221,037 | 261,528 | 76,252 | 536 | .242 |
| SOUTH | 3,063 | 2,265 | 214 | 7,549,251 | 2,792,186 | 1,922,545 | 486,698 | 6,725 | .241 |
| Delaware | 92 | 92 | 92 | 70,249 | 15,917 | 70,249 | 15,917 | 8,540 | 53.7 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 23,462 | 103,806 | 23,462 | 103,806 | 88,881 | 85.6 |
| Kentucky | 211 | 169 | 141 | 600,000* | 43,000* | 432,996* | 34,000 | 22,021 | 51.2 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 481,276 | 143,879 | 476,473 | 143,879 | 59,729 | 41.5 |
| Missouri | 1,692 | 214* | 203* | 760,950* | 84,550* | NA | 75,000* | 35,000* | 41.4 |
| Oklahoma | 1,232 | 240 | 195 | 508,750* | 41,250* | 295,525* | 33,817* | 10,555 | 25.6 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 411,790* | 25,000* | 362,577* | 25,000* | 15,500* | 62.0 |
| BORDER | 3,307 | 782 | 698 | 2,856,477 | 457,402 | 1,661,282† | 431,419 | 240,226 | 52.5 |
| REGION | 6,370 | 3,047 | 912 | 10,405,728 | 3,249,588 | 3,583,827† | 918,117 | 246,951 | 7.6 |

*Estimated **1960-61 †Missouri not included

| 1962-63 State | School Districts Total | With Negroes & Whites | Deseg. | Enrollment White | Negro | In Desegregated Districts White | Negro | Negroes In Schools With Whites No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 114 | 114 | 0 | 539,996 | 287,414 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Arkansas | 416 | 228 | 12 | 328,023 | 112,012 | 58,998 | 13,801 | 247 | .221 |
| Florida | 67 | 67 | 10 | 956,423 | 227,291 | 559,832 | 104,322 | 1,551 | .682 |
| Georgia | 198 | 182 | 1 | 662,244 | 325,141 | 58,418* | 52,212* | 44 | .014 |
| Louisiana | 67 | 67 | 1 | 460,589 | 301,433 | 38,538 | 59,009 | 107 | .035 |
| Mississippi | 150 | 150 | 0 | 300,000* | 290,000* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| North Carolina | 173 | 173 | 18 | 800,289 | 341,352 | 171,291 | 84,185 | 879 | .258 |
| South Carolina | 108 | 108 | 0 | 365,340* | 265,288* | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Tennessee | 154 | 143 | 26 | 670,387* | 159,299* | 295,656 | 96,235 | 1,810 | 1.14 |
| Texas | 1,461 | 919 | 177 | 1,951,613* | 303,980* | 1,200,000* | 130,000* | 7,000* | 2.30 |
| Virginia | 130 | 128 | 32 | 704,725* | 229,105* | 360,000* | 105,000* | 1,230* | .537 |
| SOUTH | 3,038 | 2,279 | 277 | 7,739,629 | 2,842,315 | 2,742,728 | 644,764 | 12,868 | .453 |
| Delaware | 87 | 87 | 87 | 73,769 | 16,992 | 61,470 | 11,769 | 9,498 | 55.9 |
| Dist. of Columbia | 1 | 1 | 1 | 22,141 | 110,759 | 22,141 | 110,759 | 87,749 | 79.2 |
| Kentucky | 206 | 167 | 149 | 610,000* | 45,000* | 446,000* | 36,382* | 24,346 | 54.1 |
| Maryland | 24 | 23 | 23 | 514,313** | 153,215** | 509,489* | 153,215* | 69,147 | 45.1 |
| Missouri | 1,607 | 213* | 203* | 767,620 | 90,000* | 255,000* | 80,000* | 35,000* | 38.9 |
| Oklahoma | 1,180 | 241 | 196 | 515,200* | 44,800* | 316,441* | 34,495* | 10,557* | 23.6 |
| West Virginia | 55 | 43 | 43 | 412,878* | 25,250* | 412,878 | 25,250 | 15,500* | 61.4 |
| BORDER | 3,160 | 775 | 702 | 2,915,921 | 486,016 | 2,023,419 | 451,870 | 251,797 | 51.8 |
| REGION | 6,198 | 3,054 | 979 | 10,655,550 | 3,328,331 | 4,766,147 | 1,096,634 | 264,665 | 8.0 |

*Estimated **Racial breakdown estimated from offici

# Desegregation Planned or Ordered

| District/School | Date Effective | Cause of Action |
|---|---|---|
| Auburn University (Ala.) | January, 1964 | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Brazosport, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Carburrus County, N.C. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Clarendon County, S.C. | With all deliberate speed | U.S. Supreme Court 1954-55 |
| Dougherty Co. (Albany), Ga. | September, 1964 | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Franklin County, Tenn. | September, 1964 | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Georgetown, Tex. | September, 1964 | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Lewisville, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Lockhart, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Madison Co., Tenn. | Appeal pending | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Marlin, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Marshall, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| McKinney, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Mesquite ISD, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Muscogee Co. (Columbus), Ga. | Indefinite | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Orange ISD, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Prince Edward County, Va. | With all deliberate speed | U.S. Supreme Court, 1954-55 |
| St. Helena Parish, La. | With all deliberate speed | U.S. District Court, 1960 |
| Shelby County, Ky. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Taylor, Tex. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |
| Terrebonne Parish, La. | August, 1964 | U.S. District Court, 1963 |
| Texarkana, Ark. | September, 1964 | Board of Education, 1963 |

## Status Before 1954

When the U.S. Supreme Court first ruled in the school segregation cases on May 17, 1954, 17 Southern and border states, plus the District of Columbia, maintained complete segregation in elementary and secondary schools, except in some communities having only a few Negro children to educate from time to time, or those allowing a few Negroes to attend special courses. Twelve of the states had begun desegregation at the college level. Four states outside the region—Arizona, Kansas, New Mexico, and Wyoming—allowed varieties of local segregation. Sixteen states had laws prohibiting segregation but not all enforced them. Eleven other Northern and Western states had no laws on the subject. The "School Segregation Cases" were *Oliver Brown et al v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kan., et al; Henry Briggs Jr. et al v. R. W. Elliott et al* (Clarendon County, S.C.); *Dorothy E. Davis et al v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, Va., et al; Francis B. Gebhardt et al v. Ethel Louise Belton* (New Castle County, Del.); and *Spottswood Thomas Bolling et al v. Melvin Sharpe et al* (District of Columbia).

# Chronology of Major Desegregation Developments

*This chronology covers the major developments leading to the U.S. Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling and arising from it. Included are the most significant legal developments, the first desegregation in each state in tax-supported colleges and schools, and some of the other more important events that accompanied this major social change.*

## 1936

Donald Murray, a Negro, enrolled at the University of Maryland Law School under a court order. In *Pearson v. Murray*, the Maryland Court of Appeals held that the state must afford equal educational opportunities in its own institutions.

## 1938

The University of West Virginia graduate and professional school voluntarily admitted Negroes.

In *Gaines v. Canada*, the U.S. Supreme Court decreed that the state was bound to furnish equal facilities within its borders. It ordered Lloyd Gaines admitted to the University of Missouri law school since no Negro law school existed. Gaines never enrolled.

## 1948

The U. S. Supreme Court in February, 1948, ordered Mrs. Ada Lois Sipuel admitted to the University of Oklahoma Law School, which did not accept her until 1949. The court said one race must receive equal facilities as soon as another race *(Sipuel v. Board of Regents)*. The university admitted its first Negro, G. W. McLaurin, in October, 1948, by federal court order. *(McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents)*.

The University of Delaware announced it would admit Negroes to any graduate courses not offered at Delaware State College for Negroes.

The University of Arkansas voluntarily admitted Negroes to its professional schools.

## 1949

The University of Kentucky opened its graduate schools to Negroes under court order (*Johnson v. Board of Trustees*).

## 1950

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Sweatt v. Painter*, ordered Heman Sweatt admitted to the University of Texas Law School after ruling the law school at Texas State University for Negroes was inferior in such intangible criteria as standing in the community, tradition and prestige.

In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, the Supreme Court held that G. W. McLaurin, a Negro admitted to the University of Oklahoma Graduate School, in 1948, was handicapped in being taught in segregated conditions. The court ordered that he receive the same treatment as other races.

A U.S. District Court order opened Louisiana State University Law School to a Negro, Roy S. Wilson (*Wilson v. LSU Board of Supervisors*).

The University of Virginia Law School admitted its first Negro under court order (*Swanson v. University of Virginia*).

A state court opened the University of Missouri to Negroes.

## 1951

A federal court order in *McKissick v. Carmichael* opened the University of North Carolina law school to Negroes.

## 1952

The University of Tennessee, under court instructions in *Gray v. University of Tennessee*, admitted Negroes to its graduate, professional and special schools.

## 1953

Friona in West Texas desegregated voluntarily.

Arden and Claymont districts in Delaware voluntarily desegregated.

## 1954

May 17—The U.S. Supreme Court overruled the "separate-but-equal" doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) in the five school segregation cases titled *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* and held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Aug. 23—Charleston, Ark., admitted 11 Negroes to a formerly all-white high school.

September—District of Columbia schools and colleges desegregated. The two separate colleges merged into a biracial school a year later. Public schools also desegregated in St. Louis, Mo., Baltimore, Md., and Monongalia County, W.Va., the first in the respective states.

## 1955

May 31—The U.S. Supreme Court remanded the segregation cases to their respective district courts, for them to order Negroes admitted to the public schools "on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed . . ."

June 7—Poteau, Okla., desegregated voluntarily.

July 15—U.S. Circuit Judge John Parker, in the Clarendon County, S.C., school case *(Briggs v. Elliott)*, said the high court "has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools . . . What it has decided . . . is that a state may not deny to any person on account of race the right to attend any school that it maintains . . ."

June 6—Fayette County, Ky., became the first in the state to open on a desegregated basis.

September—Federally operated Oak Ridge, Tenn., voluntarily became the first in the state to desegregate

## 1956

Feb. 1—Autherine Lucy entered the University of Alabama under court order (*Lucy v. Adams*) and attended classes for three days amid riots. The board of trustees expelled her for charging them with conspiracy in the violence.

Feb. 22—In the first legal effort to back up the Supreme Court decision, the federal government intervened in the Hoxie, Ark., school board's appeal to enjoin interference with desegregation (*Hoxie School District v. Brewer*).

March 12—Southern Manifesto signed by 101 congressmen. On the same day, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (*Hawkins et al v. Board of Control et al*) that the possible delay allowed in its 1955 implementing decision did not involve graduate professional schools. The court ordered Virgil D. Hawkins admitted to the University of Florida. In 1957, by a consent decree, the board agreed to accept all qualified students regardless of race, and Hawkins agreed not to contest further the board's finding that he was ineligible because of a low admission test score.

September—Violence ended a brief desegregation at Mansfield, Tex. The National Guard restored order at Clinton, Tenn., after demonstrations over Negroes attending Clinton High School. Negro students were removed from Clay and Sturgis, Ky., after violence. Louisville, Ky., began its "free choice" plan without incident.

## 1957

May—Desegregation virtually stopped in Texas with the adoption of laws cutting off state funds for schools desegregating without previous approval in a referendum.

September—Greensboro, Charlotte and Winston-Salem, N.C., desegregated voluntarily. Under a court order in *Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education*, Nashville, Tenn., inaugurated a grade-a-year plan, followed by the bombing of Hattie Cotton Elementary School. Riots occurred in Little Rock, Ark., as Negroes entered Central High School under court order (*Aaron v. Cooper*). Gov. Orval Faubus called out National Guard troops to block the desegregation. U.S. troops returned the Negroes to the schools as the riots continued.

## 1958

May—U.S. troops withdrew from Little Rock.

August—The U.S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a lower court order allowing a delay in Little Rock's desegregation. The appeals court held that incidents of violence were "insufficient to constitute a legal basis for suspension of the plan to integrate the public schools in Little Rock."

September—Gov. Faubus closed the Little Rock schools after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to suspend desegregation. Virginia Gov. Lindsay Almond closed the schools under orders to desegregate in Norfolk, Front Royal and Charlottesville. The University of Florida Law School admitted a Negro, George H. Starke.

Oct. 5—Clinton, Tenn., High School was dynamited.

Nov. 24—U.S. Supreme Court held that Alabama's Pupil Placement Law was constitutional on its face (*Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Board of Education*).

Dec. 14—The Supreme Court allowed Nashville's grade-a-year plan to stand when it refused to hear an appeal in the *Kelley* case.

## 1959

Jan. 19—The Virginia Supreme Court ruled that closing schools violated the state constitution (*Harrison v. Day*). A three-judge federal court ruled the state must make public schools available to all children and not just some (*James v. Almond*).

Feb. 2—Virginia abandoned its "massive resistance" policy and seven public schools opened on a desegregated basis. The state turned to a tuition-grant program.

June—Prince Edward County, Va., school board closed its schools rather than desegregate. White citizens set up private schools.

August—Little Rock schools reopened with four Negroes in formerly white schools.

September—Dade County, Fla., voluntarily desegregated two schools.

## 1960

April 20—The U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals held that "the maintenance of a dual system of attendance areas based on race offends the constitutional rights of the plaintiffs . . ." in *Jones v. School Board of Alexandria*.

May 17—A survey on the sixth anniversary of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision showed that six per cent of the South's three million Negro students attended classes with whites.

Aug. 29—The U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals overruled Delaware's grade-a-year plan and ordered complete desegregation by September, 1961. The court noted other courts' approval of the Nashville plan but said that what constitutes "with all deliberate speed" and "reasonable start towards full compliance" could only be decided "on due consideration of all the pertinent factors and circumstances." The U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the Circuit Court order (*Buchanan v. Evans et al*).

September—The South's public schools opened without violence for the first year since the 1954 decision. Houston, Tex., the nation's largest segregated public school system, followed a court order and admitted 12 Negroes to formerly white classes. The Texas attorney general had ruled that state aid would not be cut off in cases where court orders forced school boards to desegregate. U.S. district and appellate courts held in three Virginia cases that criteria and tests could not be used in assigning Negroes unless also used for assignment of whites.

November—New Orleans, La., desegregated two schools under court order (*Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*), despite demonstrations, almost complete boycotts of the schools and repeated special laws by the legislature. A three-judge federal court, ruling that interposition was not a constitutional doctrine, blocked all attempts of the legislators to halt the Orleans Parish desegregation.

## 1961

January—The University of Georgia, under federal court order, admitted two Negro students, briefly suspended them because of disorders, then readmitted them under another court order *(Holmes v. Danner)*. The state legislature repealed its compulsory school closing laws, and adpoted local option, tuition grants and freedom-of-choice plans.

Aug. 30—Atlanta desegregated its first four schools, admitting nine Negroes without incident, under court order in *Calhoun v. Latimer*. A three-judge court at New Orleans ruled unconstitutional the state law permitting local option school closing to avoid desegregation. Later upheld by U.S. Supreme Court *(Hall v. St. Helena Parish School Board)*.

Sept. 6—Dallas, the nation's largest segregated school system, admitted 18 Negroes without incident to schools with whites. The South's public schools experienced their second school opening without violence since 1954.

Oct. 23—U.S. District Judge William E. Miller declared that the Tennessee pupil assignment law was not a plan for desegregation, but that school officials could use the law once desegregation had been accomplished *(Sloan v. Wilson County Board of Education et al)*.

## 1962

Jan. 24—U.S. District Judge Irving Kaufman of New York ruled in *Taylor et al v. New Rochelle Board of Education* that education officials are obligated to seek a racial "balance" in a school if they ever in the past deliberately created an "imbalance" by choice of school sites or designation of attendance areas.

February—The NAACP initiated a campaign against school segregation outside the South.

March 30—Abraham Ribicoff, secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, announced that in September, 1963, segregated schools would be inadequate for children whose parents both lived and worked on federal installations, which would mean the withdrawal of "impacted area" funds.

April 9—U.S. District Judge John F. Dooling in New York held in *Branche v. Board of Education of Hempstead* that a segregated education was inadequate and said: "That it is not coerced by direct action of an arm of the state cannot, alone, be decisive of the issue."

June—The South's public schools completed their first year without violence since 1954, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on school segregation.

Aug. 21—U.S. District Judge Bryan Simpson, in issuing desegregation orders for two Florida counties, Duval and Volusia, ruled that the school boards must desegregate the teachers and other personnel *(Braxton et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Duval County* and *Tillman et al v. Board of Public Instruction of Volusia County)*.

September—Threats of violence, bomb hoaxes, boycotts, gun shots, and jeering crowds accompanied the court-ordered expansion of desegregation in New Orleans public schools and the voluntary desegregation of Catholic schools in Southern Louisiana.

Oct. 1—James Meredith, a Negro enrolled at the University of Mississippi by court order in *Meredith v. Fair*. A riot broke out on the campus the night before, when Meredith arrived on campus accompanied by federal marshals. President John F. Kennedy called in federal troops to restore order, and federal marshals remained on campus until Meredith graduated in June, 1963.

Dec. 7—U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that desegregation suits may involve multiple plaintiffs and "others similarly situated"—i.e. as "class actions" *(Brunson et al v. Board of Trustees of School District No. 1 of Clarendon County)*.

## 1963

Jan. 28—Harvey Gantt enrolled, without incident, at Clemson College, S.C., as the school desegregated under court order *(Gantt v. Clemson Agricultural College)*.

May 27—The U.S. Supreme Court, for the first time since its 1954-55 decisions, commented on the pace of school desegregation under its "with all deliberate speed" order. In *Watson v. Memphis*, involving park desegregation, the court issued a sharp warning that continued delay and evasion would not meet the court's test of constitutionality. The opinion said the court "never contemplated that 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools . . ."

June 3—The U.S. Supreme Court held unconstitutional the transfer provisions permitting students to transfer from schools in which their race was in a minority *(Maxwell et al v. Davidson County Board of Education* and *Goss et al v. Knoxville Board of Education)*.

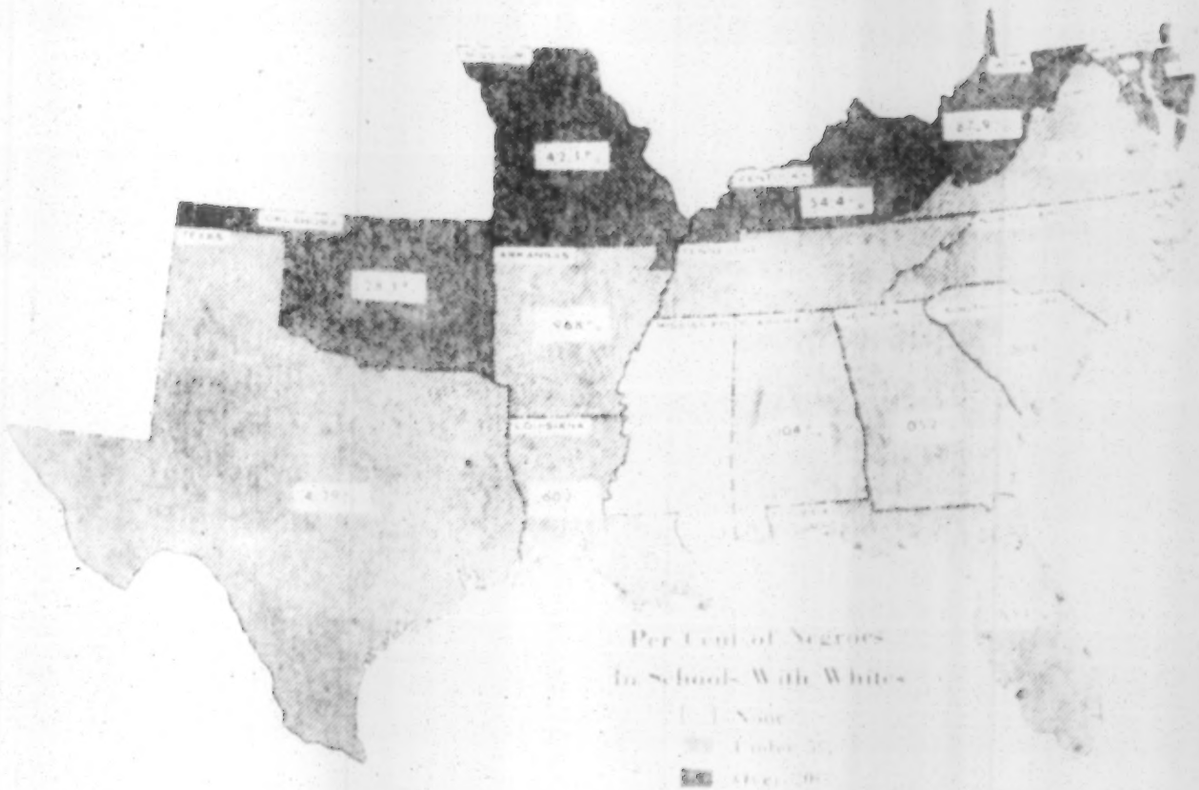
June 11—Gov. George Wallace stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama to prevent entry of two Negroes accompanied by federal officials, although a federal court injunction *(Malone v. Mate)* and a presidential proclamation had ordered him not to intervene. President John F. Kennedy federalized the state National Guard and the Negroes were registered the same afternoon.

September—The 166 school districts desegregating for the first time included the first ones at this level in Alabama and South Carolina. Charleston, S.C., admitted 10 Negroes under court order *(Brown v. School District 20 of Charleston County)*. Negroes entered schools with whites a week late in four Alabama cities—Birmingham, Huntsville, Mobile and Tuskegee—after state troopers under the orders of Gov. George Wallace had attempted to thwart their admission. The governor ceased his efforts after President John F. Kennedy federalized the state National Guard and all five U.S. District Court judges in the state issued restraining injunctions against Wallace. Violence directly connected with school openings included a midnight explosion near the home of Henri Monteith, who had won a court suit to enter the University of South Carolina; a series of gatherings outside the Birmingham schools by protesting whites and student boycotters; a fire explosion that heavily damaged a Catholic parochial school at Buras, La., which had desegregated the previous year but been completely boycotted since then by both races; and bullets fired into the home of Negro parents at Smithville, Tenn. Two newly desegregated schools experienced complete boycotts by whites: In Tuskegee, Ala., the voluntary withdrawal of whites left only 12 Negroes in the formerly all-white high school; Surry County, Va., closed its only public white school after all the whites voluntarily withdrew because the State Pupil Placement Board had assigned Negroes there; the county's Negro school remained open. In Prince Edward County, the Free School Association began operating a desegregated private school for Negroes, who had been without formal classroom instruction since the county closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid desegregation.

Nov. 1—U.S. Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Gary, Ind., school board's right to assign students to neighborhood schools, even though it might result in racial imbalance or *de facto* segregation in the schools.

# Statistical Summary

of school segregation-desegregation
in the Southern and border states



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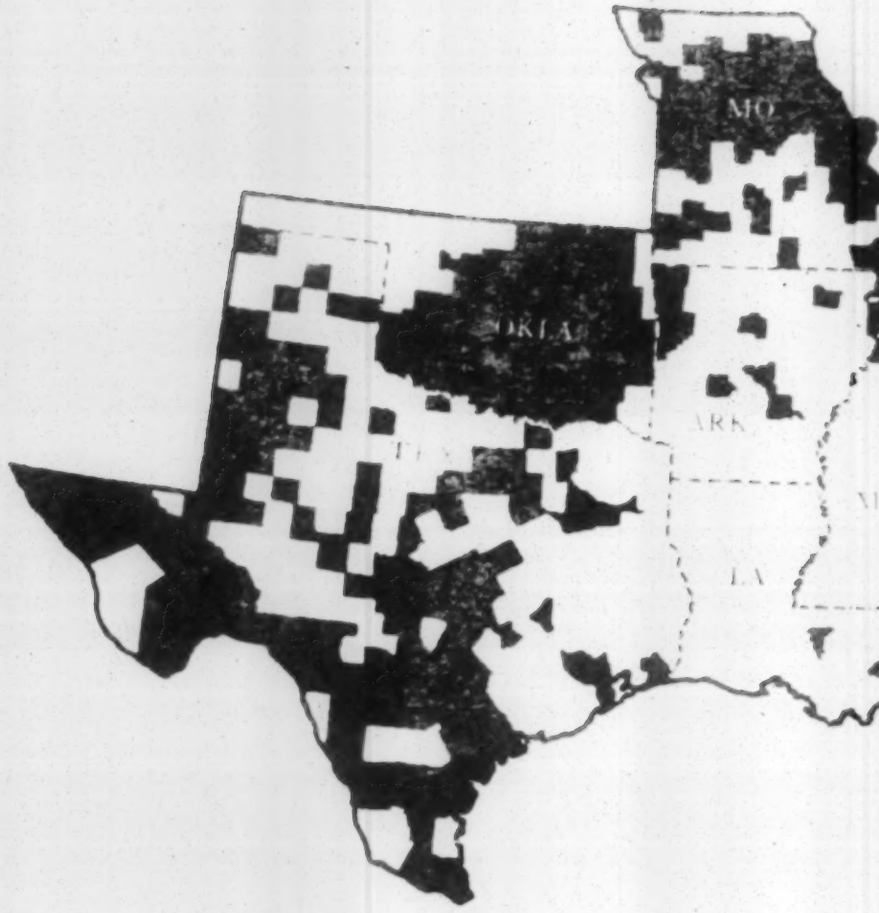
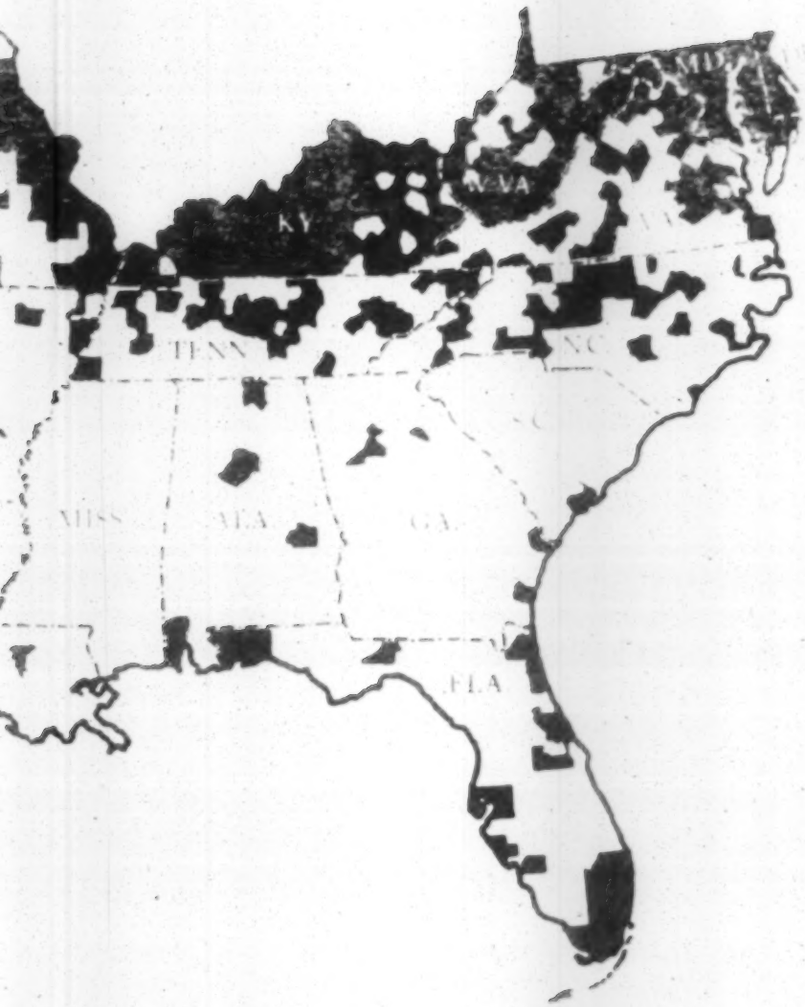



The shaded areas are the counties in the region that have at least one public




public school district with desegregation in fact or in principle.

School segregation

I am Joan Hamilton speaking for Southside CORE. We who are concerned about equal educational opportunity wish to emphasize and insist that funds which are allocated to improve the education given to disadvantaged students DO accomplish this end.

A.) Take the money spent for a 2½ man Human Relations staff, for the whole city of Chicago. This does not serve our needs. Abolish this sham. Human Relations is not an isolated function. Administrative and clerical personnel in our neighborhood schools should be chosen on the basis of a successful background in intergroup relations, and on the ability to maintain the respect of the whole community in which they work. Seek our people skilled in human relations---they can be trained in administration if necessary.

Fisk University is a good place to start; there should be brown-skinned faces in every principal's office, and these individuals should be encouraged to contribute as freely as possible to the improvement of school conditions and community relations. The principle of interracial teamwork, of professionals working openly with community people is paramount here. Oftentimes, there is a need for white prople to step back, to listen and learn. Let them not be too arrogant to do so. There are far too many instances of a kind of dictatorship of school authorities alined against responsible parent and community groups, so that sometimes our schools seem to be run like penal institutions.

Millions in tax money have gone into urban renewal in our district; some strain and tension has resulted. It is vitally important how manifestations of this that involve children of different backgrounds are handled. Hostility on the part of school administrators and too ready reliance on the police can have terribly serious consequences in this district. We all have a grave responsibility to see that minor behavior problems are not aggravated into large ones by mishandling and insult.

B) The major justification for a neighborhood school policy rests on the idea of the school as a community institution, does it not? Why, then, are not the schools permitted to become community institutions? There should be no question of funds for evening maintenance during public meetings. Communities all across the country have been developed in this manner. Citizens participate, learn of their particular educational needs, and decide how to achieve them, raise the money, etc. The Woodlawn Organization has some very sound and imaginative proposals on this. And, if this sounds like social change, well, it just might be — Chicago is probably 20 years behind the times — so let's get moving on it.

C) Spend no more money for mobiles. Some of those already bought can provide better lunch and special services space at fully used schools like Ray; another possibility is to use them for the smaller classes of handicapped and blind children. A very small portion of that money should be invested in setting up a couple of bus routes taking the grammer school children from Hyde Park High School to, say, Bradwell and other grade schools which have had high school branches, and then returning the older children from South Shore to Hyde Park High, so that this fine school may carry a full program. Segregate by age, not race.

D) Spend available monies where they DO the most— Take social center, for instance. The children at our school (Ray) who cannot go home for lunch are daily subjected to cruel and irresponsible conditions such that the noon hour is more of an ordeal that a recess. Plainly, the accepting and accommodating atmosphere now achieved only after school hours at Social Center would be a far greater help toward increasing the children's ability to learn if it were instituted in the middle of the day. Personnel from the community can be acquired for such non-teaching duties, as is already done for crossing guards.

E) Standards set for allocating funds should be determined by the end result — that all children in the public school system, no matter what the family circumstances, are to acquire whatever skills and knowledge it takes to participate fully in their American rights, including the right of pursuit of a productive and happy life, and to enable them to carry out their duties in our representative democracy, one of the most important of which is to achieve <u>real</u> representation of low-income and historically disadvantaged groups in governing bodies.

The systematic denigration of the personality and leatning potential of many thousands of non-privileged children must end. The children only fail when we have failed them. No child should become a social outcast by verdict of school administrators, and consigned to living outside the pale of the dominant for the rest of his life. Yet, look how early this process commences — Do the schoolbooks our children look at ever show dark-skinned Americans in everyday context? Millions of brown-skinned kids never see children like themselves; and equally bad, millions of caucasian youngsters never see them either.—What a telling lesson in white supremacy. This kind of identification with the learning materials is basic — order this kind of text from your publishing sources now. This fundamental realism is long past due.

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# HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE COLD WAR

by Paul Potter

The complex of relations which exists between American Universities and the institutions, conceptions and modes of operation of the Cold War is so pervasive as to be elusive; and the notion of dealing cogently and productively with these problems is challenging almost to the point of being debilitating. I am increasingly impressed with the deficiencies of analysis which have plagued attempts to chart these relationships and feel that this paper might best be devoted to an effort to develop a more adequate conceptual framework from which to view the nature of the University's entrenchment in the Cold War.

During the last few years an impressive amount of documentation has begun to appear revealing the extent to which Universities are involved officially in Cold War efforts. The bald statistics are in themselves monumental documentation of the commitment of American higher education (one might add the elite of American higher education) to the Cold War. During the current fiscal year, the Federal government will pump $1.2 billion of research and development money into American Universities and Colleges--a 450% increase since 1954. Of that money, 39.8% comes from the Department of Defense, 30.0% from the Public Health Service, 11.1% from the National Science Foundation, 8.0% from the Atmoic Energy Commission, 6.0% from the Department of Agriculture, 3.6% from the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, and 2.0% from the Office of Education. The $1.2 billion figure is twenty per cent more than the total raised by contributions of alumni, friends, foundations, corporations and religious demoninations.

There has been a marked concentration of government funds among the top Universities in the country. In 1960 68% of the money went to 25 Universities, 82% to 50, and 94% to 100. M.I.T. leads the way with appropriations of $80 million a year from the Defense Department, while its regular school budget is about one quarter that amount. The school has the dubious honor of ranking 41st among American corporations in their cut of the defense pie. In contrast, the 186 private liberal arts colleges and 55 state colleges participating in the program received 1.1% of the $1.2 billion appropriation.

The effects of these increments is summed up in the mildest of language in a recent report by the National Student Association. They are:

First, there is a high degree of concentration in federal programs. This means that certain types of institutions face competitive disadvantages. Universities with doctoral facilities have great advantages in attracting federal funds and hence in attracting able young science professors. This in turn makes it all the more unlikely that smaller, independent, non-governmental science programs will emerge from the top hundred schools.

Second, because the government owns the research facilities in many cases, and holds close the purse strings in many other, the independence of the universities benefiting from federal aid is far form assured.

Third, government funds tend to go toward defense work, or work stemming directly from our military or Cold War commitments.

Fourth, the injection of federal funds continues the downgrading of the humanities in our society.

Fifth, federal funds contribute toward the current research over teaching preference of most science professors.

Sixth, there is increasing danger that the imbalance created by federal funds earmarked for science will make it less likely that competent

students will choose to go into the humanities...
Seventh, the federal programs by their nature tend to militate against the concept of full liberal, non-specialized education.[1]

The most disturbing realities of the situation go beyond even these sobering comments. The plain fact of the matter is that the Pentagon has just bought up the nation's foremost institution of science and technology--and the sale was made with virtually no protest--indeed with virtually no public recognition of the fact that the sale was being made. It has also purchased sizeable chunks of the science faculties of the rest of our major Universities, bringing with itall the trappings of military security, team research, distortions of scientific priorities, and neglect of class-room responsibilities--not to mention the headless, unconscious nature of the entire program conception. And as Sidney Lens points out, the Universities seem to be trapped. One can make a reasonably plausible analogy between current federal support and classic examples of imperialism or neo-colonialism. The government has invested in underdeveloped, capital-starved institutions and imposed a pattern of growth and development upon them which if disrupted would lead to economic breakdown and political chaos.

Some of the critics of the current program have in fact urged a sort of colonial rebellion on the part of the Universities--enjoining them to throw off the yoke of federal domination, seize their destinities in their own hands regardless of consequences, and band together to assert their independent bargaining power. The realists in our midsts on the other hand (such as the presidents of well-endowed private Universities) have contented themselves with repreated pleasefor an understanding of the fact that a problem exists and grave warnings (never threats) of what will surely happen if recognition of that problem is not forthcoming. A much larger per centage of institutional spokesmen have devoted themselves quietly (occasionally vociferously) and assiduously to the difficult task of raking in the defense and research contracts.

Although I do not wish to underestimate the somber implications of the current federal program, I do wish to express my skepticism not only about the likelihood of disentangling the Defense Department from the Universities but, more importantly, about the imputed salutary effects such a divorce would have. True, the obvious evils outlined in the above paragraphs would be gone. <u>But that is all</u>. Our Universities would not turn into centers of agitation to find alternatives to the Cold War; our scientists would not automatically redirect their efforts toward peaceful utilization of their skills; the entrenchment of the Cold War in the American University would in fact still be ideologically intact although materially reduced; and of course the government would continue to staff its war research--most probably with scientists seduced away from institutions of higher education. In short, the implicit notion expressed in most critiques of defense spending in the Universities--that the current attitude of the federal government toward higher education is suppressing a natural effort to combat the Cold War--is in my opinion the purest of liberal mythology --a tendency on the part of some people to see a McCarthy under every bed.

The most appropriate question for our consideration at this time is not how to get rid of the defense minions in our Universities but rather to come to understand how they got to be there in the first place. In understanding that,we will understand the status quo which we might restore if they were to be ousted by some act of providential grace.

The most often-repeated and immediately plausible explanation is that the Universities accepted the Defense Department as a benefactor only because of des-

parate financial need engendered by increasing costs of higher education and rapidly rising enrollments. Although this explanation provides part of the answer, it fails to identify a more basic characteristic of the American University --one that should be immediately identifiable and easily comprehended. A most obvious manifestation of this characteristic is that there was not at the end of the Second World War and is not now any good reason why American Universities should have qualms about serving the interests of the United States through military and quasi-military research. Indeed, any dissent from such a role would raise the most cataclysmic kind of conflict between the organized University system and the government and the public in general. The notion that American Universities should be anything but elated about the opportunity of assisting this nation in its Cold War struggle is simply, plainly and demonstrably a notion totally alien to the American University tradition. It has in fact been the hallmark of the country's scholarly development to be responsive to new problem areas in the nation as a whole. Universities have considered it their responsibility to assist in whatever way possible in the solution of new problems. I would stress the word solution--not the examination of problems or the axioms or precepts which have engendered problems; there has been no suggestion that the problems themselves were somehow to be fundamentally questioned. From Ice Cream 102 at the University of Wisconsin to a 4000 man radiation laboratory at M.I.T., American Universities have been ready to assist this nation in the resolution of its felt needs.

This is not the point to launch into a discussion of the American University tradition or lack of it. Rather I wish only to make the simple and obvious observations that the Cold War is not perverting University traditions--it is simply underscoring and accentuating what has always been and bringing starkly to the fore the unconsidered nature of the relationship of the American University to American society. If this simple notion is to be of use to us in an analysis of Cold War problems it must be seen honestly in its stark contrast to the rhetoric of academic freedom, University autonomy, and University as critic and agent of change, which dominates our mythology about the relationship of institutions of higher education to the nation.

Nothing could make this point more clearly than our very academic discussions of academic freedom. We write tomes about the possible circumstances under which we might allow Communists to teach without ever coming to grips with the obvious need to expressed by partisans viewpoints which are given recognition and succor in countries representing almost half the people in the world. Such a notion is totally alien to our discussion of academic freedom because it is fundamentally in conflict with the accepted conception of the University which postulates academic freedom in the negative--as a method of protecting the rights of the majority by extending those rights to a minority--"no matter how abhorrent". Our idea of University autonomy reflects the same negative quality; autonomy in the American sense could be translated as "a little leeway to consider some problems in a slightly unorthodox fashion". We have no notion of a truly autonomous University system removed from the vagaries of nationalistic concerns, dedicated to the fundamental examination of the institutions of society rather than the truncated examination of the methods of manipulating existing institutions.

But enough. The point is clear. It should also be equally clear why it is not accepted. The ideology of liberal education prefers a notion of man as a rational being who examines ideas on the basis of their merits--mysteriously free from the inhibitions which his society has institutionally defined for him. It comforts us with the idea that we can somehow create autonomous man (free from the obvious external restraints that define his culture) who will act justly, prudently and at the same time [illegible]aculously in the best interests of the United States.

Beyond this, the fact of the University as faithful servant of the establishment is rejected because of the equally obvious fact that our Universities (especially the best ones) do demand change of their students, do challenge them, do confront them with previously unperceived problems--do in short succeed in "liberalizing" and making different men out of the people who enter the Universities. But different in what sense? Different in the sense that our best Universities train substantial per centages of their students to participate in the secular enlightenment of the American establishment. Higher education is engaged in the difficult task of creating the men who will lead the existing system and draw from it all the considerable vitality, ingenuity and strength which is demanded from it. Such men must accept to a certain extent the absurdities and contradictions of that system if they are to be effective. Compromise is demanded of them--and its character is insignificantly affected by the wistful and forlorne lament of a handful who cry out that the compromise is unconscious.

This background places the problem of the Cold War and the Universities in greater relief. From this perspective flow two fundamental conclusions: First, we must come to recognize that those of us who accept as valid the basic elements in the above critique stand in a fundamentally different tradition from the vast majority of students and professors in the country; we recognize that we cannot accept their terms of analysis, that we demand a more fundamental, systematic and humane approach to the problems of mankind. We recognize that the Universities are currently concerned with the dev lopment of none of these approaches and are in fact because of their historic commitments to the nourishment of the existing system, a commitment intensified ultimately by the Cold War, in some sense in opposition to their development. And we recognize that the only course for us is to stand outside the existing traditions and on the basis of our own intellectual, economic, political and human resources develop alternatives to the system so compelling as to obtain basic concessions from it.

Second, we must determine criteria of effectiveness which are internally structured, which will allow us to act effectively without consciously making the same compromise which we have criticized our peers for reaching unconsciously. The point is simply that we should dare to be effective.

I would like to contrast these notions with those set forth more frequently by concerned liberals, radicals, and other reformers. Their analysis of the situation is much the same as my own; they have recognized the commitment of the University to the Cold War, its intransigence on questions of basic change, but at the same time the necessity of securing whatever change is possible if we are to escape war.

These groups have proposed many plans for altering the University's commitment to the Cold War which I will grossly compress here into three generalized proposals: (1) balance; (2) counter-balance; and (3) transcendance.

The balance theory suggests that if the University is to be engaged in war planning and research, there should be at least some balancing to insure that peace research is given competitive opportunities in the University.

The second approach, counter-balance, demands that the Univerities oppose or at least constantly re-evaluate the commitments of the society and that in this respect all efforts should be directed toward an assault on the established defense policies of this country. Harold Taylor gives this idea forceful expression in saying, "The Universities and the intellectual community exist to chal-

lenge accepted truth and accepted values, to create new conceptions, to stand against the organized establishment as that part of the social organism which works as the brain and the conscience of the entire enterprise. Unless they are prepared to embrace this mission, they condemn themselves to a history of service to the establishment whatever the establishment may be."[2]

The third notion, that of transcendance, is much like the second with the exception that it views the perversion of the Universities' function as one that will continue unless scholars escape their crisis orientation to the Cold War and return to basic problems of science and the humanities--the partial solution of which may allow us to put at the service of society tools of analysis and control which will be adequate for the immense tasks that confront us. In short, they feel that our techniques of dealing with basic human problems are so crude that no possible reallocation of resources can bring about a peaceful world until there is a "breakthrough" in our understanding of man and his troubles.

All three of these approaches recommend themselves to us in certain ways. The first in that it points up the fact that there is a politically potent case to be made for expenditures for peace research in light of the infinitesimal fraction of our expenditures for war that this would represent.

The second notion of counter-balance is, as I think Taylor intends it, a goad to the conscience of those intellectuals who have forsaken their belief in a truly autonomous, intellectually and socially dedicated, University. It presses home the point that an autonomous University is not only a sound notion for a stable society but the only sane notion for a society trapped in crisis.

All this is well and good, but the critical weakness that all three systems share in common is that they are couched in terms of the established power of the society. But it is the established power that is systematically rooted in the Cold War, in illusory concepts of American beneficence and in ethnocentrically determined impressions of what is at stake in the current conflict and what is politically acceptable as a mode of resolution. A large per centage of those committed to more or less fundamental change in world relations is also committed to the mechanisms of a system which is demonstrably changeable only in superficial ways. Why the commitment? I have already reflected on some of the reasons. Paul Goodman, in his essay "The Ineffectuality of some Intelligent People", (to which this paper is greatly indebted) probes deeper.

> There is a political pathology in the essence of contemporary social theory that makes revolutionary alternatives inconceivable to the social scientists. With the best will in the world they cannot see any source of power outside the established power, so there is no point in wishing or talking in other terms even though the established power has no other raison d'etre than to wage the Cold War. The social scientists are balked by the narrowness of what they regard as admissible evidence. Contemporary social theory consists in analyzing the arrangement and possible rearrangement of units that are defined as entirely socialized to the system of society, or as deviant...
>
> It is characteristic of our social scientists never to mention the function, the satisfaction (or danger), the process, the product or the utility. This leaves out everything in terms of which we could actively change anybody's "acceptance" or "rejection"...
>
> Thus, neglecting history, animal and social nature, political philosophy,

poetry, the social scientists are left with a closed system of society in which nothing is possible but a better arrangement of the same forces.3

Now let us return to our three systems of attack on the Cold War. They are seen now as not only inadequate but also intellectually and politically debilitating.

The transcendance theory can only become viable when it not only escapes the crisis orientation of the Cold War but determines that it will also escape the limits of analysis imposed by the systems that produced the Cold War. It can only become effective when it accepts the principle that its new vision must in all probability find expression outside the current vision.

The counter-balance incentive can only become realizeable when it too dares to renounce its commitment to current institutional mechanisms which are ultimately committed and begins to create new patterns of thought and action which relate ideas to people as well as ideals.

The balance system only becomes operative when it too realizes that peace research can be as sterile and incapacitating as war research when the terms of conflict are not challenged along with the modes of conflict.

In summary, I have presented the point of view that American higher education through institutional inertia and bureaucratic agglutination, through political pressure and educational ideology is deeply, and under the pressures of the current world crisis, ultimately committed to the nourishment of a national and international system in which the Cold War is inextricably rooted. Implicit in all that I have said has been the view that the model for changing that system cannot be an adjustment model. Our problem is not that the system is not working well enough; it is rather that the current system is working entirely too well--that it is working us all into a final catastrophe.

My second major point is then that we must forsake the current adjustment model and begin to search for a revolutionary model which is dynamic enough to extricate us from the continually narrowing concentric circles which define the limits of change within the established political power structure. This does not mean that concessions should not be sought or cannot be gained. It does mean that those concessions in the vast majority of cases will be minor and will fail to provide the basis from which a revolutionary model can be developed. (Examples of "revolutionary" and "adjustment"models are appropriate here. The NAACP in attempting to bring about integration through court action and pressures upon traditional political channels is working on an adjustment model. The Southern Student Movement in employing non-violent direct action which works outside and frequently against established channels is working on a revolutionary model.)

My third point then is that in order to develop a revolutionary model, concerned faculty and students will for the most part have to move outside the University-defined spectrum of lectures, seminars and officially sanctioned research. And more importantly, that they will have to move outside the societally defined spectrum of what is relevant since relevance is defined today as that which is directed at adjusting the current power structure. It is because of this that priorities must be defined internally. Where and how this is done is the topic for another article concerning the counter-university (and perhaps the counter-politics which must accompany its construction). Suffice it to say here that throughout the country students are, in small groups to be sure, beginning to look to their own resources in attempts to redefine the issues of our time in a perspective that is intellectually more honest (if frequently less sophisticated)

than that of their Universities. These are an interesting strain of rebels (who was it that suggested that ideally education should be institutionalized, continuous, intellectual rebellion?); they have chosen, at least for the time being, in an important way to stand outside the organized system. They have chosen to be effective but they have shown the courage to define for themselves what is effective. But there is a grim analogue here. For in daring to be effective, in attempting to develop our own priorities independent of establsihed priorities, in pressing to build our own institutions independent of existing institutions, we dare also to be ineffective. We risk our small influence on the existing structure in order to stand apart from it and build a new one, recognizing full well that basic changesmay be impossible. It is on this point that American liberals and radicals have historically foundered--the only difference today is that civilization promises to founder with us.

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# LOST CHILDREN

## SCHOOL DROPOUT RATE ALARMS EDUCATORS, SOCIOLOGISTS

**The National Urban League Spotlights An Issue**

THEY ARE CONCERNED — City Human Relations Director Alfred E. Cowles, left, and Charles Sims, 28-year-old welfare department caseworker, review the study done by Sims to find out what Negro high school graduates are doing. A February graduate of Aquinas College, Sims did the survey on his own time to help keep more Negroes in high school.

The National Urban League acknowledges with warm appreciation the permission extended by THE GRAND RAPIDS PRESS to reprint this timely and significant report written by Kurt Luedtke and Margaret Moore. The concerns and action reflected in this material is typical of what can be found throughout the sixty-two urban areas of the nation served by the League, in which live 70 percent of the urban Negro population. These concerted activities focus sharply on the problems and incentives for Negro young people today. The Urban League is most pleased that, through support provided by the Carnegie Corporation, it is able to give this article wide distribution.

# Negroes Quit School At Alarming Rate

Time was, during the school-building boom of the '50's, when a popular illustration had would-be students standing before closed schoolroom doors, unable to get in because of overcrowded classrooms and inadequate facilities. "Equal opportunity" and "more schools" became battle cries and the country now is catching up with its booming school population.

Today another problem is pushing itself to the fore, causing increasing concern and consternation among educators, economists, law enforcement officials and sociologists: that of the growing number of young people who are unwilling to complete their high school education, who leave school at the legal minimum age of 16 pathetically ill-equipped to provide for themselves and to cope with the problems of American society.

For them, the door swings the other way.

The number of high school dropouts is rising each year and although any dropout is a matter of concern, that of the staggering number of Negro boys and girls who deliberately do not avail themselves of the educational opportunities for which the race has waged an unceasing fight is a unique and complicated problem with implications that are both far-reaching and dangerous.

## *Dropout Rate Much Higher Than That of White Students*

The Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission last week released a followup report on the city's 1960 and 1961 Negro graduates, who they are and what they are doing today. The entire group of nonwhite graduates for the two years was contacted. Their total number, from five city high schools, was 124—47 in 1960 and 77 in 1961.

For each of these classes, four years earlier when the age groups were 15 years old, the figures were 128 and 138 respectively. Only a little more than a third of the Negro class of 1960 and a little more than half of the class of 1961 completed high school.

For the same years, nearly 90 per cent of the white students who started the ninth grade graduated.

Somewhere between the time the students became 16 and graduation day, the school system lost more than half of the young Negroes who are optimistically being relied upon to help solve the problems of the Negro in America.

For the 16-year-old Negro lacking a diploma, the prospects are bleak. It is difficult for him to get a job; only the unskilled trades will take him. Economically, he is a liability from the moment he leaves school; socially, he is neither equipped nor inclined to accept the responsibility of improving himself and his community. Indeed, he has already been earmarked by law enforcement agencies as one of those most likely to commit a major crime during his lifetime.

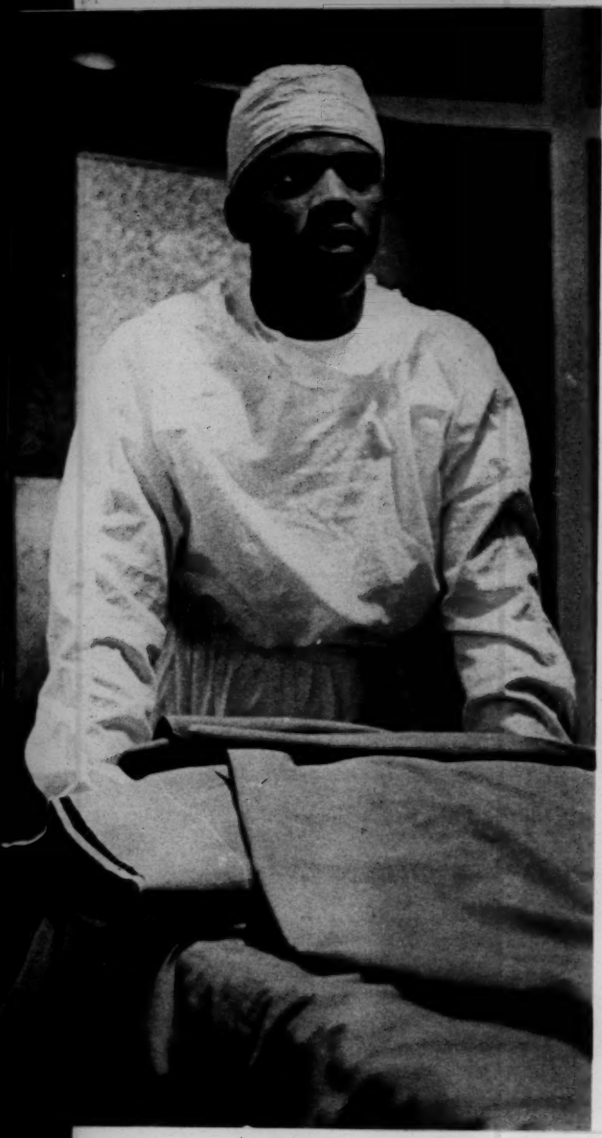
Why, then, do they leave?

## *'Youngsters Aren't Motivated To Improve Themselves'*

No single answer explains their situation. It is complicated and highly individual.

Tough-talking Paul Phillips, a Negro himself and executive secretary of the Urban League, has one answer:

"It's motivation, or rather, the lack of it, that creates this



I-don't-care-attitude. On the one hand, the youngsters are not being motivated by the Negro community to improve themselves. Many are the products of nearly illiterate homes with low economic situations and high unemployment.

"The children grow up in a state of flux, one in which goals are not defined, ambitions not encouraged. Parents who are used to discrimination, who are consciously inferior, feel 'beat.'

"On the other hand, we have the employment situation in Grand Rapids which is greatly affected by prejudice and discriminatory hiring practices. Realizing that even completing high school is not going to make things easy, too many are taking the quick way out, blaming their own lack of initiative on external conditions."

High school counselors point up other areas of difficulty.

"The simple fact is," said one, "that these kids are not happy in school. They leave to get away from social pressures which make them feel awkward, uncomfortable, unwanted.

"Many of our Negro transfer students arrive so poorly educated that they are immediately put back one, two, even three grades. They are objects of ridicule by their classmates. Much older and larger than their fellows, they cover up by telling themselves it's not important. By the time they realize it is, it's too late."

Another maintains that most parents want the children to complete high school but can find no way of providing the motivation to encourage them to do so.

There are other factors. A very few must leave school to help support large families or, as an alternative, at least to get out of an already overburdened home. And some even drop out just before graduation because they cannot afford the cost of renting cap and gown, printed announcements and other expenses considered minor by their fellow students.

## *Society Will Pay Dearly In the Decade Ahead*

Thus, at a time when many well-informed white and Negro leaders are looking to a new generation of educated Negro young people to lead the race toward a higher standard of living, better job opportunities and social responsibility, less than half in Grand Rapids are meeting educational minimums.

Society is paying for the problem already and will pay more, much more, in the decade ahead.

In unemployment compensation and welfare budgets alone, the figures grow astronomically. When they are combined with deficits from low

◀ WHY GRADUATE AT ALL?—Nolan Groce, 19, left, an orderly at Butterworth Hospital, graduated from high school and spent a year and a half at Junior College. George Lowe, 21, finished the 10th grade, then quit, works in the housekeeping department at Butterworth.

tax bases in Negro housing areas and the high costs of law enforcement and social rehabilitation programs for this group, discrimination becomes an extravagance that society can no longer afford.

At least half the problem is job discrimination. Figures from the Human Relations Commission report show the average salary for Negro high school graduates who are working in Grand Rapids to be $42.50 per week, barely a living wage. Nearly 20 per cent of those who finished school in 1960 and 1961 are unemployed. A list of the jobs they hold largely consists of menial, unskilled labor positions with little opportunity for advancement.

## *Much Is Being Done, But It's an Uphill Struggle*

Much is being done to aid the young Negro, both to keep him in school and to help him find work if and when he graduates. An expanded high school counseling sytsem fights continually to help white and Negro alike stay in school, to help him enjoy it while he's there and to motivate him toward a degree. With limited time, they are not often successful.

The Board of Education's vocational training and apprenticeship programs make it possible for the youngster who does not have the grades or the money to go to college to learn a trade. The Urban League last week asked the Grand Rapids board to consider re-establishing a vocational or technical training school.

Phillips himself each year attempts to place promising Negro graduates in local industry.

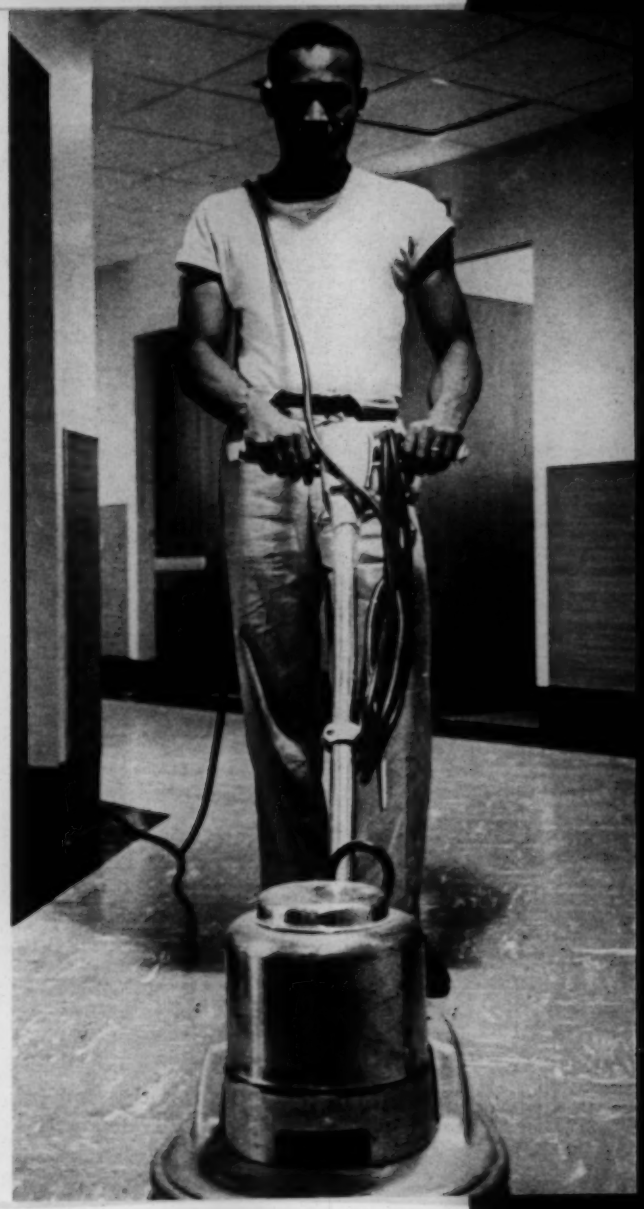
Under consideration, with no formal action as yet, is establishment of remedial classes in junior high and high school subjects for students who fall behind in their work or who transfer to Grand Rapids badly deficient in their studies.

Human Relations Commission Director Alfred Cowles sums up the problem which is taking an increasing amount of his time:

"The situation is getting dangerous. Changing job patterns in the '60's threaten to throw more and more unprepared Negroes on to unemployment rolls. The Negro populations across the country are growing.

"Both races must reappraise their positions and act soon if we are going to avoid what can be a major social and economic crisis."

The door that swings both ways is swinging out too soon and too often.



Both make the same wage. Married and the father of a child, Lowe ▶ cannot afford to go back to school. Groce hopes to return to JC, go on to get a medical degree.

**THIS TIME, SUCCESS**—South High School Counsellor Tony LaPenna talks with a recent dropout who now intends to return to school. More often, counsellors never get a chance to talk to a potential dropout until it's too late. More than half of the city's Negro students do not graduate from high school.

**'ALMOST HELPLESS' AGAINST DROPOUT PROBLEM**

# Counsellors Save Some, but Usually It's Too Late

"I used to sleep 'til noon every day but lately I've been better, getting up early. Sometimes I take the truck to the dump with trash. Mostly I watch television or work on my friend's cars."

Twenty years old, an intelligent, well-mannered Negro called Nathan (because that's not his real name) has nothing to do.

After failing the 10th grade—"I got a car that year; it wasn't the car's fault, it was mine"—Nathan repeated the grade, then left school only months before he was to graduate. Now he attends night school to make up the three credits he lacks and hopes to graduate in June. He is not working.

**Hopes to Enter JC Program**

Nathan thinks he knows the score. He has taken vocational courses in high school and shows promise of becoming a good mechanic. He has already read all the books on automotive

mechanics he can afford to buy. After he graduates he hopes to enter the apprenticeship program at Junior College.

If and when he completes it, he will go to Chicago. "I can get work there and learn my trade. They're funny about that here."

Susan is a 17-year-old Negro girl who moved to Grand Rapids from a small Northern Michigan town. The change was too much for her.

Large classes, new people, difficult social circumstances made her dislike school. She quit school a month ago, weeks away from graduation, against her family's wishes. She intends to return to school, not the same one, next year.

Nathan and Susan are exceptions. They are two students whose contact with their high school counsellor made a difference.

**Experience Is Frustrating**

Working against nearly insurmountable odds, the city's counsellors battle years of behavior patterns, home environments and social problems to keep their youngsters in school. It is a frustrating experience.

"By the time they get to us, it's too late," said one. "Against a backlog of drifting, misbehavior and lack of motivation, we're almost helpless. We have only so much time and a large number of students, not just dropouts, to deal with. Sometimes we can help a boy or girl. Usually we just have to let them go."

Pupil Personnel Director Donald D. Fink knows as much about the dropouts as anyone. His doctoral thesis is a dissertation on the validity of criteria used to identify the dropouts.

"The quicker we can reach a potential dropout, the better chance we have of correcting the problem," he said. Teachers and counselors in Grand Rapids Schools agree with him. An informal committee, under the leadership of Robert Stark of the Grand Rapids Board of Education, is composed of teachers who have volunteered their time to study the problem. Many of them feel that new students coming into city schools, especially from the South, should be tested, counselled and taught separately before they encounter the discouragement of falling behind their age groups in the regular schools.

**"Become Lost Children."**

"Sometimes their English is so poor, they cannot understand or be understood. They become lost children," said Miss Marjorie Sheppard, principal of South High School. "Overage and oversize for their grade, they become either potential dropouts or social problems."

Strangely enough, many students about to leave school don't seem to know why they are leaving. Even the ones who leave seem to recognize the importance of getting a diploma, and what is more, they are under pressure from friends who stay in school.

"When I first left," Susan admitted, "my friends wouldn't even talk to me for a couple of weeks."

She wanted to graduate and her family wanted her to stay in school, but as she said, "They realized they shouldn't make me stay where I wasn't learning anything."

**Exceptional Students Graduate**

Dr. Fink said, "We find that many of the criteria used for identifying dropouts don't work here. Our dropout intelligence quotient average is normal and factors like low economic status don't appear to have much validity in Grand Rapids at the high school level."

The exceptional students graduate. Eighty per cent of the graduates are employed. Thirty-four per cent have gone to college where the majority of them take education courses. The problem is to encourage the average student who will not get scholarships or outstanding job offers, to make it possible for him to equip himself to cope with the problems of society.

For further information, write:
Program Department — Education and Youth Incentives
**NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE**
14 East 48th Street / New York 17, N. Y.

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The Columbia University School of Social Work | *New York, N.Y. 10028*

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2 East 91st Street

11-20-67

November 17, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

We'd like your reactions to the enclosed piece. It's on how to launch a mass disruptive rent strike, and we think it could work.

You may remember that about a year ago (at the time we first circulated a strategy for welfare organizing), you wrote to us suggesting a meeting. Somehow or other that meeting never came off, and we'd like to suggest it again. Maybe we could have dinner together one night when you're free.

Sincerely,

Frances Fox Piven

Frances Fox Piven

Richard A. Cloward

Richard A. Cloward

Enc.

PUBLICATION
PENDING

# RENT STRIKE

## Disrupting the Slum System

by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward
Columbia University School of Social Work

For a few feverish months during the winter of 1963-64, rent strikes broke out in New York's ghettoes. Activists of various persuasions moved in to canvass the tenements, blending the language of the building codes with the language of direct action. In a short time, some 500 buildings were on strike. But almost as quickly as it had erupted; the movement subsided. By late spring, there were few traces to be seen.

The rent strike of 1963-64 was not the first. In the 1890's, after a half century of turbulence among the urban poor, rent strikes were common in New York. They occurred again after the first World War and during the early years of the depression. Accused of bolshevism and threatened with reprisals, tenants nonetheless compelled government to limit rent increases and curtail evictions.*/ These earlier strikes usually began spontaneously, often leading to massive street violence. Radicals tried to capitalize upon these uprisings to build permanent "people's organizations," hoping by education and exhortation to turn the seemingly incoherent energy of the mob into consistent pressure for continuing reform through the electoral process. And this is ironic, for the reforms produced by rent strikes resulted from the disruptions themselves, not from the influence of tenant organizations which, if they emerged at all, were small and unstable. In

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*/ Virtually the only historical description of rent strikes is to be found in an unpublished paper by Marc Naison. His work was very helpful in preparing this analysis.

retrospect, the rent strike of 1963-64 was probably the least disruptive in history; it was also the least successful in producing any important reforms. Its failure suggests some lessons for the future.

## The Strike of 1963-64

By the early 1960's, New York City had been plagued with a housing shortage for at least two decades. Then as now, the shortage took its severest toll from blacks and Puerto Ricans, who occupied the 550,000 units classified by the Census as "deteriorated, dilapidated, or lacking essential facilities" and the 100,000 other units classified as "overcrowded." The hardships created by inadequate and insufficient housing were intensified by the destruction and dislocation caused by urban renewal and public-works programs, which had set the city's low-income neighborhoods on edge. And by the late summer of 1963, after the March on Washington, activists were beginning to turn to the ghettoes of New York and other northern cities to stimulate blacks to act on political and economic issues.

In this climate of discontent and protest, a maverick radical named Jesse Gray announced a Harlem rent strike. On November 1st Gray took out 16 buildings. A month later, the number had risen to 50. Volunteers from the Northern Student Movement then joined forces with Gray, and another 50 Harlem buildings went on strike. A CORE chapter on the Lower East Side took six buildings out on strike in the fall, and later its efforts were augmented when Mobilization for Youth, an anti-poverty project sponsored by the federal and city governments, helped a variety of community groups to form "The Lower East Side Rent Strike," bringing about 50 more buildings into the movement. Meanwhile, an especially effective CORE group in

Brooklyn organized 200 buildings. In East Harlem, 50 buildings struck, some organized by the East Harlem Tenants Council and others by two local CORE chapters. A union of low-paid blacks and Puerto Ricans, Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers, helped put 30 more buildings on strike by working with tenants who were union members. With Gray at its head, a massive protest seemed about to burst forth from the black slum. The civil-rights movement had indeed come North.

But day-to-day organizing had little drama. After the first flush of enthusiasm, young and inexperienced organizers began to accept the guidance of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, an organization of older radicals which had formed during the earlier struggles against urban renewal. Met Council's leaders urged cautious tactics consistent with the complex statutes governing rent withholding. The law prescribed an elaborate bureaucratic course, and the courts interpreted the law rigidly. Judges admitted only the inspection records of the Department of Buildings as evidence of hazardous violations. To obtain those records, organizers had to fill out forms and arrange and follow up appointments for inspections; check agency files to make sure that hazardous violations had been posted; and meanwhile see that rents withheld by tenants were being collected and deposited in a private escrow account. (If the tenants lost in court, these funds were turned over to the landlord; if they won, the money was turned over to the clerk of the court, to be given to the landlord after repairs were made.) Finally, organizers had to shepherd tenants through the courts. And all of this turned out to require enormous effort and expertise.

At the outset, rent-strike cadres were not dismayed by these elaborate procedures. Indeed, they defined them as a means of educating tenants and building tenant associations. Canvassing door-to-door to discover housing violations was a way of making contact with tenants; filing "multiple form" complaints was a way of stimulating building meetings; assigning tenants the responsibility for collecting rents and managing escrow accounts was a way of strengthening building committees and developing leadership. And through these tenant groups, organizers believed the poor could be educated to the larger political issues underlying slum housing. Such "radicalizing" of tenants was presumably to produce mass associations capable of exerting regular influence on government. In this way each arduous bureaucratic task would contribute to the creation of a permanent "people's organization." That public agencies were thereby dictating the tactics of the movement struck no one as anomalous.

The emphasis on bureaucratic rules and procedures was also dictated by fear that tenants would be evicted if other tactics were followed. A few evictions did occur, and they sometimes evoked frenzied but haphazard resistance. Early in February, Gray and ten of his aides were arrested for attempting to prevent an eviction by "strong-arming" city marshalls. Sometimes, when marshalls appeared, organizers sat on the furniture while one of their number hurried to file a stay of eviction with the court. When furniture was already piled on the street, organizers occasionally moved it back to gain time to get the tenant into court. But while such "holding" tactics usually worked, they were not employed regularly, for the organizers

concentrated on using legal safeguards. When CORE organizers failed to resist the eviction of a family on the Lower East Side, other striking tenants, fearing that they also would be turned out, hysterically demanded the rent money from their escrow accounts. That event broke the strike in the CORE stronghold on Eldridge Street. Such experiences seemed to affirm the importance of adhering all the more to elaborate bureaucratic procedures. In time, organizers became clerks, and political action was reduced to bookkeeping.

The test of these tactics was to come in the courts. The first two cases were heard during a barrage of publicity and were won by the tenants. But public interest quickly faded, and in subsequent decisions judges reaffirmed traditional property rights. When, sometimes mysteriously and sometimes because of slip-ups, records subpoenaed from the Department of Buildings failed to show hazardous violations, judges rejected the testimony of tenants or photographs of building conditions and ordered the rents to be paid, often berating the organizers for trouble-making. Landlords frequently asked for adjournments, since they knew that many tenants would prefer to pay the rent rather than spend another day in court. Such failures led organizers to adhere even more rigidly to procedures, to focus more and more energy on fewer and fewer buildings.

But the bureaucratic rites by which repairs were to be exacted, and tenants educated, exhausted organizers and bewildered tenants. To cope with agency procedures required precisely those resources of money, expertise, and forbearance which are scarcest among the poor. Meanwhile landlords

exploited bureaucratic intricacies and corruptibility to evade or overcome the challenge. Even occasional tenant victories in the courts yielded only minor and temporary repairs. Unable to produce repairs quickly and to multiply them widely, tenant affiliation did not expand, and the strike developed little political force. Thus the movement began to subside only a few months after it formed.

## What Should Have Been Done?

At first blush, rent strike appears to be a simple and powerful strategy to bring about housing reform. It can be just that, but only if it acquires the momentum to compel government action. In the strike of 1963-64, the landlord was the target, and that was the first mistake. Slum landlords generally do not have the resources to rehabilitate their buildings - not, at least, unless rents are substantially increased. The slum is the underbelly of the real-estate market: tenants who cannot compete for housing elsewhere are preyed on by entrepreneurs who lack the capital or competence to compete for profit elsewhere. More prosperous and stable real-estate investors put their capital in the regular market, where money can be made in less demeaning ways, leaving the slum to be exploited by men who seek to gain on dubious speculative exchanges or who, restrained by rent-control laws from levying large increases, shore up their declining profits by skimping on repairs and services. The result is inflated prices and deteriorated buildings - a situation that can be remedied only by public action.

Public programs exist on the books, but are unused. In New York City, for example, low-cost municipal loans can be made to landlords to reduce

the burden of undertaking rehabilitation; by 1963, however, only one such loan had been made, because the city was reluctant to become implicated in the shadowy finances of slum housing. The receivership program empowers the city to take over and repair hazardous buildings; after a year of operation, only 16 buildings had been acquired and, at that, the Commissioner of Real Estate reported indignantly that the city was finding the venture unprofitable! Thus, despite a wide variety of programs and powers available to municipalities, the bulk of slum housing remains and worsens - the rent strikers of 1963-64 lived in some of the same tenements which inspired the protests of such nineteenth-century reformers as Jacob Reis and Lillian Wald.

Political leaders and public agencies never became the target of the 1963-64 strike. On the surface, municipal agencies were conciliatory. The Department of Buildings put an inspector at Gray's disposal, and similar concessions were made to leaders elsewhere. Meanwhile the Mayor and his aides spoke out publicly against the slums, bewailing housing conditions and invoking the villain landlord of ancient myth. They called for more housing inspectors as well as legislation authorizing higher fines and jail sentences. These responses were predictable, if not perennial: the law already permitted considerably higher fines than were being levied by the courts, and housing agencies, we have noted, already had substantial powers and programs they were not employing. In the end, government escaped unscathed, having made only a few meaningless concessions.

How can government be forced to act? One thing is certain: the tactics used in 1963-64 won't do. Organizers reasoned that with the promise of repairs as the initial inducement to participate, stable organizations of the poor

would eventually be formed, and that these would influence government. But the continuing emphasis on building permanent associations rests on a mistaken premise: that public decisions are made only in response to organized voting numbers. This view overlooks the impact of crisis as a way of compelling public action. When crisis occurs, many groups are aroused; they view disorder as a failure of governmental responsibility and demand measures (whether concessions or repression) to restore order. Crisis thus has a potential political force far greater than the number of citizens, organized or not, who participate in the disruptive action itself. The legalistic tactics of 1963-64 did not generate a public crisis, but other, more disruptive rent strike tactics would. */

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*/ For an analysis of the potential impact of disruptive tactics in the field of income guarantees, see Cloward and Piven, "A Strategy to End Poverty," The Nation, May 2, 1966, and "Birth of a Movement," The Nation, May 6, 1967.

The key to a disruptive rent strike is for tenants to pocket the rent, not place it in escrow. Widespread action of this kind would throw the slum housing economy into chaos, for many landlords would have to abandon their property, leaving thousands of tenants in buildings without services or even minimal maintenance. As health hazards multiplied and the breakdown of landlord-tenant relations threatened to spread, the clamor would mount for governmental action to solve the crisis.

Pocketing the rent money would mean an immediate gain for tenants -- a far more compelling incentive to participate than the vague hope of getting minor repairs. The main job of organizers would be to expand the strike by exciting indignation and urging tenants to spend their rent money for other needs. Such activity is much more compatible with the skills and temperament of organizers than canvassing for violations, filing forms, searching records, maintaining escrow accounts, and sitting endlessly in courtrooms. Relieved of these wearisome chores, they should be able to reach far more people than in 1963-64.

What of the dangers? It will be argued that the city can retaliate -- at the very least, evictions might result. To minimize this risk, organizers need to mobilize at least a few hundred buildings to launch the strike, adding more buildings during the two- or three-month period it takes landlords to process evictions. It is unlikely that thousands, or even hundreds, of families would be put out on the

streets, especially on the streets of ghettoes whose growing and turbulent populations politicians can no longer afford to antagonize flagrantly. Furthermore, mass evictions would be viewed by many in the wider public as an even greater disorder than the breakdown of slum property relations.

It is important to understand that political leaders can prevent evictions, for the decision to evict is as much political as judicial. City governments, for example, have the legal right to initiate court proceedings against landlords who fail to correct violations. New York City has, in addition, the power to undercut legal actions by landlords who fail to correct violations. New York City has, in addition, the power to undercut legal actions by landlords against tenants simply by reducing rents to a dollar a month in buildings with multiple violations. Nor would housing courts in most cities, typically run by politically appointed judges, be so lenient with landlords when pressed by political leaders. Finally, to obtain time to wash out dispossess actions, mayors in most cities, can simply order city marshalls to delay all evictions, as a New York mayor did during the violent rent strike of 1933. The legalistic tactics employed by the tenants in 1963-64 enabled political leaders to leave the strikers at the mercy of the agencies and the courts. But faced with tactics which ignore bureaucratic procedures and court proceedings, public officials would have to use their powers to forestall mass evictions or risk a major threat to political stability. Except in the face of a crisis,

however, chief executives will not use these powers.

Even if officials did act, organizers would have to develop cadres to resist isolated evictions, defending the lone tenant by pitting the ghetto against the city's marshalls and thus raising the spectre of large-scale violence. Street action is far easier to mobilize than stable organizations of tenants. In 1963-64, however, organizers did not encourage street action, having pinned hope on the bureaucracies and courts.

By now it should be abundantly clear that the strategy we advocate is in no way limited to those few cities with statutes authorizing rent withholding. These laws are irrelevant, if not diversionary. Our analysis shows the futility of efforts to help masses of tenants make individual use of cumbersome procedures of legal redress. Disruptive tactics have an entirely different purpose: to shift the burden of action against slum landlords from tenants to city governments.

## Public Ownership of the Slums

There are measurable gains to be made by a disruptive rent strike. At the very least, this tactic should impel cities to use such programs as exist, whether offering low-cost loans to landlords who are willing to make repairs or making extensive emergency repairs and billing landlords for the cost. Most important, under the cumulative impact of disruptive actions, thousands of buildings would be abandoned --

left to government to take over. It is crucial to understand why this result would follow.

Slum housing is rampantly illegal, yet public agencies have never made much effort to enforce housing codes in New York. Even in those few cases where landlords were taken to court, the fines levied per violation averaged only $22 in 1963. By 1966 they had fallen to $14. Code-enforcement machinery is not allowed to work for good reason: a crackdown would produce massive dislocation of landlords and tenants. Repairs are extremely expensive, and building income is limited by the poverty of the captive tenant market as well as by rent-control laws. Just a modest step-up in enforcement activity under a new administration in New York City recently resulted in an upsurge in the number of foreclosures, tax delinquencies, and vacate orders. If slumlords were pushed out, government would have to house the minority poor. So the enforcement agencies use their powers gingerly and selectively, usually paying heed only when tenants have the tenacity or the "pull" to compel enforcement.

In other words, slum profits have depended on collusion between city agencies and landlords: in return for non-enforcement of the codes, the slumlord takes the blame for the slum and enables the city to evade the political ire of the ghetto. But once municipal agencies are compelled to act on the codes, many owners of deteriorated

buildings will be forced out of business, unable or unwilling to make the required repairs. Considering the highly marginal character of the slum market, the rent-strike tactics we propose could precipitate change no less fundamental than large-scale public takeover of land and buildings.

What would a city government do with slum buildings? Very likely, it would divest itself as quickly as possible of responsibility for them. To maintain the slums could only be expensive and politically onerous. City officials would run the risk of angering tenants dissatisfied with repairs and services, as well as taxpayers disgruntled by new investments in housing for the black and poor. Under such circumstances, municipalities might well move to sell or lease slum lands and buildings to private redevelopers. New governmental schemes are now in the making to stimulate investments in ghettoes by national corporations, with federal subsidies to guarantee profits (e.g., tax benefits, low-cost loans and insurance, and rent supplements). */ These schemes, if implemented, would provide a way out for municipalities thrust by disruptive rent strikes into the role of slum landlord.

Federally subsidized corporate redevelopment will result in better housing and facilities; it will also bring the ghetto under the hegemony of an alliance of national corporations and federal bureaucracies.

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*/ See Cloward and Piven, "Corporate Imperialism for the Poor," The Nation, October 16, 1967.

Now that blacks are coming into power in many large cities, the ghettoes would be much better off with the municipality acting as re-developer and landlord. Nevertheless, corporate ownership appears to be the wave of the future, and the leverage of the vote will have limited effect on corporate policies regarding location and design, tenant selection, rents, and similar matters.

To deal with corporations on these policies, tenants will need to develop modes of influence beyond the vote. In this connection, corporate ownership might provide a favorable context for organizing mass-based tenant unions. As we noted earlier, most tenants now live in buildings owned by small entrepreneurs who themselves have limited financial resources and so cannot yield to tenant demands; with nothing much to gain, tenants cannot easily be organized. Furthermore, ownership is so fragmented that efficient negotiating is virtually impossible. Under a system of national corporate ownership, however, tenants would confront large-scale landlords with ample resources to be conceded at the bargaining table. Tenant organization would then be comparable to the organization of workers in the factory system or in that sector of agriculture controlled by large corporations. Thus rent strikes could be mobilized to demand partial control of management policies and lower rents ([redacted] it would fall to large corporations, not the poor, to fight with Congress for higher rent subsidies). Most

important, strikers might hold out for concessions which would nurture stable tenant unions -- especially collective-bargaining contracts and a dues check-off from rent payments. In Chicago, a few tenant groups have used rent strike as leverage against several large landlords, forcing through contracts which include check-offs. But whether the object is to compel housing improvements in a system of fragmented slum ownership or to create tenant unions in a system of large-scale ownership, the fact remains that disruptive tactics are the key.

There are only certain periods when a disruptive force can be mobilized, for the poor are ordinarily passive, obeisant to the rules prescribed by dominant institutions. But from time to time normative control weakens and unrest mounts, as in 1963-64. Now such a time is upon us again; there is greater turbulence in the ghetto than ever before. Young and aggressive leaders are emerging who are unencumbered by ties to white institutions. Whatever else might be said about the rhetoric of black power, it serves to undermine the legitimacy of established arrangements, freeing people for militant action.

This is also a time when disruption might have unique force in moving government. The black masses are swelling in many cities, and more than a few white municipal leaders remain in office merely because blacks are not yet sufficiently mobilized, or antagonized,

to unseat them. Under the impact of disruptive tactics, white politicians wishing to retain control of municipal government would have to make concessions. In New York, for example, Mayor Lindsay, a Republican, was assured of election in 1965 because blacks, ordinarily Democratic, gave him an unprecedented 42 percent of their vote. Were he to permit mass evictions, his subsequent defeat would seem a foregone conclusion. Elsewhere, the potential for black reprisals against white politicians is far greater; blacks compose a mere 15 percent of New York's population, but they are approaching (or have already reached) a majority in many cities.

Of course, a disruptive strategy is always uncertain because it is not guided by legal and political conventions. But if in violating these conventions the poor are exposed to risk, they are worse off on what may seem less treacherous ground. For in playing by institutional rules, they take on the full complement of inhibiting requirements imposed by powerful groups who make the rules. Unable to meet these requirements, they can only lose.

# THE EDUCATIONAL COMPLEX

Collated from the Robt. A.Dentler Report detailing the idea of the Educational Complex and from "Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City" prepared by the State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions

An educational complex should contain from two to six elementary or primary schools and one or two middle schools. It is administered as a unit and can include the participation of other community facilities such as museums, colleges and libraries. As opposed to an educational park, the complex would not be "campus style". The primary school would consist of the first four grades and be within easy reach of the students. The middle school would house grades five through eight and would be either within walking distance or necessitate a short bus trip similar to that of our current junior highs. At present, existing school buildings would be used, but future school construction should be planned toward the development of this type of school organization. The new complex should be created or zoned first wherever it will contribute to desegregation or better integration.

The "senior administrator" of an educational complex should be given authority and autonomy to develop a program which meets appropriate city-wide standards but is also directly relevant to the needs of the locality. The schools within the complex should share among themselves facilities, faculties, and special staff and should be coordinated to encourage frequent association among students and parents from the several units. Parent-teacher and parent-school relations should be built on the basis of both the individual school and the complex.

Although it may not be possible to desegregate all primary schools, ultimately most of them should be integrated educationally and efforts should be utilized to gain the maximum in quality-integrated education, not only for the individual complex school, but for the complex taken as an entity. Considering the make-up and zoning, the middle school will offer a greater measure of integration, thus introducing students more fully to this concept at the fifth grade level rather than the current 7th grade of the junior high school.

High standards and expectations can be set up for the complex as anunit. This can be achieved because of the fluidity and interchange of specialists, educational aids and special services within a complex For instance, remedial reading aids, science laboratories and special language programs can be shared by all students attending a given school complex. It is important that ideas and positive results achieved in one complex be shared with other groupings so that uniformity of high standards will permeate the entire system. Since the total administration of the complex is under a single administrator, there could be great teacher mobility so that the talents of a truly gifted educator could influence the education of the entire student body assigned to the indicated complex. In a sense, the complex is an educational entity developing quality programs in a decentralized manner. Therefore a unique position would be assigned to the Board of Education since the Board would become the central coordinator, standard setter and research development office for improving and deseminating successful programs as developed in the individual groupings.

High schools can be developed in such a manner as to be comprehensive offering quality academic, commercial and vocational educational tduall students. A high school can be assigned to one or more complexes and can continue the policy of decentralized programs under the coordinating aegis of the Board of Education.

The complex offers an excellent opportunity for teacher-training capitalizing on the talents of master teachers in the new technique of team teaching or closed circuit T.V. demonstrations.

The new school division 4-4-4 would result in a concentration in the teaching of basic skills to the elementary student. Furthermore, congestion would be relieved and an atmosphere conducive to learning can be more readily achieved. The middle school would emphasize the change from the learning of basic skills to their applications to intellectual and personal growth. The larger school plant would mean that better and more extensive facilities would be made available to help the youngsters develop their full potential. The comphehensive high school will develop a greater sense of direction and greater continuity for those desiring terminal education as well as education that will prepare them for further study.

# MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS

## Schedule

## Monday, May 18, 1964

| | |
|---|---|
| 7:30 - 8 A.M. | Study-in parents, guardians and children meet at MARCH headquarters, 312 West 125th Street, to be taken to study-in schools by bus. |
| 8:30 - 9 A.M. | School boycott begins at P.S. 39, 216 East 126th St. |
| 9 A.M. | Freedom Schools begin sessions at:<br>- Third Moravian Church, 127th St. and Lexington Ave.<br>- All Saints R.C. Church, 47 East 129th St.<br>- Chambers Memorial Church, 219 East 123rd St.<br>- LaGuardia House, 309 East 116th St. |
| 9 - 9:30 A.M. | Study-ins begin at:<br>- P.S. 6, 45 East 81st St., Manhattan<br>- P.S. 81, West 256th St. and Riverdale Ave., Bronx<br>- P.S. 269, 1957 Nostrand Ave. near Farragut Road, Brooklyn<br>- P.S. 164, 77th Ave. at 137th St., Flushing<br>- Jr. High School 52, 650 Academy St., Manhattan |
| 2:30 - 3:30 P.M. | Poster-walk demonstration at the office of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, 22 West 55th St. |
| 4 - 5:45 P.M. | Picketing and Mass Rally at City Hall - Among the speakers will be James Farmer, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins; also Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Rev. Dr. Lawrence Durgin, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Gregory L. Mooney; also representatives of labor, entertainment, etc. |
| 5:45 - 6:30 P.M. | March across Brooklyn Bridge to Board of Education at 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn (via Washington St., Red Cross Pl., Adams St., and Boerum Pl.) |
| 6:45 - 7 P.M. | Brief demonstration and remarks at Board of Education and affixing of MARCH demands on the main front door of Board headquarters. |
| 7 P.M. | End of MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS |

(Call Press) 7:30 — WASHINGTON CORE — P.S. 136 P.S. 139 — Evening Century Harlem — Scottish Rite Group — NOT A BOYCOTT.

NAACP BANNER (POLES)

CORE BANNER → (POLES) (WALLACE)

AMERICAN FLAG → (TOM)

FIND (BOXES PEDESTALS) BUTTONS STERLING → (MIMI) SELLERS - (10.00 quarters & fives)

PICKET SIGNS →

CHECK PLATFORM

K - ENTRANCE 8 FOOT MOAT.

MARSHALS →

Inspectors

5 Buses - Call the cops.

September 20,1967

Dear East Harlemite,

Our children are the pawns in a power play between the United Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education. The Board of Education now controls our public schools. The U.F.T. wants to take that control from the board of our schools. Where are the parents and the community in these negotiations? THEY ARE IGNORED. Come prepared to discuss and vote on the following actions!

1. Community voice in the reopening of our schools.
   If the teachers stay out, we will go in. THESE ARE OUR SCHOOLS.
2. Close so-called freedom schools. We have public schools. Teachers will never lead us to our freedom.
3. Demand from the Board, a contract to guarantee children's rights.

Come and support your children, come to gain a voice in your schools.

TIME: 7:30 P.M.

DATE: Friday, September 22,1967

PLACE: P.S. 83 - Auditorium
109th Street and Second Avenue

UNITED BLACK FRONT

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE September 21, 1967

Contact: Lincoln O. Lynch, Acting Chairman
212 281 9650

The United Black Front, a city-wide and city representative co-ordinating council of community organizers, committed to the organization of Black People around those issues pertinent to their survival and to the Black Liberation Movement, here on the steps of City Hall on this 21st of September, 1967, give notice to: Mayor John V. Lindsay, Superintendent of Schools Bernard Donovan, President Harry Guardino (Board of Education), and President Albert Shanker (United Federation of Teachers) that since:

1. The Black and Puerto Rican People of this city have once more been castigated, rebuffed, insulted and made to suffer by a union of unprincipled and immoral teachers, and by a weak and do-nothing Board of Education.
2. Under the guise of a commitment to better education, the UFT has attempted to hoodwink and mesmerize the ghetto community, while in reality, striking for personal benefit (see the New York Post (Money is the issue) - Sept. 19.
3. The UFT has failed to involve and relate to the Black and Puerto Rican parents and children.
4. The UFT has attempted to placate our communities by suggesting the establishment of Freedom Schools, a concept which they themselves rejected in 1967 and subsequently.
5. The Board of Education has proven itself to be ineffective and unable to supply necessary leadership for the solution of our educational problems
6. Since parents of the ghetto communities have been forced to sit and twiddle their thumbs while the mis-educators decided the fate of their children.

The United Black Front strongly denounces:

1. The Board of Education, the UFT, and the city of New York as equal partners in the heinous crime committed against our youth.
2. Demands that a second stage of negotiations be entered. This second stage must include the parents of ghetto schools in the planning, servicing and administration of our local schools.
3. Calls for complete and total decentralization of the New York City School System.
4. Demands that the Taylor Act be invoked against those teachers who have been striking illegally and have deprived our children of an education.

If these demands are not met, the United Black Front is prepared to and will:

1. Mount a massive campaign to gain control of local schools, by any means necessary.
2. Encourage civil disobedience, as well as other means, for securing control of local communities.
3. Mobilize parents to continue an unceasing attack on the UFT and the

(cont.)

Board of Education.

4. Inform the Black Community that John V. Lindsay has failed us on this vital issue.

5. If punitive measures are not enacted against the teachers who struck illegally, the United Black Front will advise the Black Community that they too have the same rights to disobey the law with impunity.

The United Black Front further makes it known that it will not rest until Black Communities are controlled by Black and Puerto Rican People.

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UNITED BRONX PARENTS, INC.
791 PROSPECT AVENUE
BRONX, N. Y. 10455

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
EVELINAANTONETTY 842-6666

October 16, 1967

TO: COMMUNITY LEADERS AND AGENCIES CONCERNED
ABOUT EDUCATION

We are pleased to enclose for your information a copy of our Publications Catalogue, which describes the Parent Education material we developed this past year in our various leadership training programs.

We are also enclosing one sample piece from each of our kits.

On the last page of the catalogue, you will find a price list and order form. We would like to be able to give our material away, but since we have not as yet received any funding to continue our program, we must charge this modest fee in order to offset our costs. Nevertheless, as you will note, prices for bulk orders are very low.

We are eager to have your comments and reactions after you have read our material.

Sincerely,

UNITED BRONX PARENTS

Evelina Antonetty

Evelina Antonetty
Executive Director

EA:ecm
enc.

DO PARENTS AND COMMUNITY WORKERS KNOW ENOUGH TO BE ABLE TO TELL:

## WHO IS A GOOD TEACHER?

We suggest that you form a "Watchdog" committee, or an Evaluation Committee, and go into classrooms, quietly, without disturbing the lessons, and observe the teacher performing. Do this several times. In addition, ask some of the children and the parents in that class these same questions. These are fair and professionally acceptable criteria for evaluating teacher performance in many suburban communities.

1. Are the children restless, talking a lot, shouting in confusion?

2. Do the children seem to know what they are doing and why? Do they understand what they are supposed to do at home, and can they explain clearly to their parents what is expected of them?

3. Do the children seem to be wasting their time? Do they look bored and unhappy? Do they show they dislike the class?

4. Do the children treat each other and the teacher with respect?

5. Does the teacher treat the children with respect? Is the teacher fair? Does the teacher treat all the children with equal rules, or does the teacher accept some things from one child that is not tolerated from another?

6. Does the teacher try to interest the children? Does the teacher create a desire to work, make school work a pleasure?

7. Is the teacher cheerful, happy , good-natured? Does the teacher have a sense of humor? Is the teacher proud to be teaching in this school?

8. Are the children learning? Are the children improving? Is the teacher helping the children to "reach beyond their grasp?"

9. Does the teacher give reasonable assignments? Does the teacher set standards ? Is the teacher either "too strict" or "too easy?" Does the teacher have control of the class?

10. Is class work and homework regularly corrected?

11. Does the teacher compliment the pupils when they do something well? Does the teacher ever write home a note to tell the parents something nice about the child? Does the teacher reach out to the parents, helping them to feel comfortable and wanted? Or do parents find out about any problems <u>after</u> things have progressed to a crises?

12. Is the teacher often tired or ill? Does the teacher allow personal problems to interfere with classroom performance?

13. Does the teacher keep up professionally with new literature and materials so that his lessons are interesting and clearly related to our world here in New York City as it is today ?

14. Are lessons dull and repetitious? Or are they planned inadequately without any goal, with setting a standard of achievement for the children?

15. Does the teacher welcome visitors?

16. Do parents feel comfortable in talking to this teacher? Are conferences with him "two-way streets" where both are able to make suggestions for the benefit of the child? Or do parents come away feeling tense and angry and frustrated after meeting with the teacher?

17. Does the teacher feel a part of the community? Does the teacher put in a full professional day, expecting to give a reasonable amount of volunteer time to visitng parents, helping children, joining some community project? Or does the teacher push the children down as he runs out of the school at 3 o'clock?

EQUAL
COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAM

DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS CIRCULAR: FROM THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, 110 LIVINGSTON ST., TO PRINCIPALS OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS WITH ELEMENTARY CLASSES.

RE: HOMEWORK POLICY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

IN THIS CIRCULAR, THE DIVISION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS SETS FORTH ITS POLICIES IN REGARD TO THE KIND, EXTENT AND SUPERVISION OF HOMEWORK, AS WELL AS TO THE PART THE PARENT PLAYS IN IT. THE PURPOSE OF HOMEWORK IS TO EXTEND AND REINFORCE LEARNINGS AND TO DEVELOP THE SENSE OF SELF-DISCIPLINE, PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND INDEPENDENT THINKING. TO THIS END, ALL ASSIGNMENTS SHOULD BE PURPOSEFUL AND RELATED TO CLASS ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS TO INDIVIDUAL CHILDREN'S INTERESTS, NEEDS AND ABILITIES. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE CAREFULLY CHECKED AND SUPERVISED. PARENTS SHOULD BE INFORMED ABOUT THE PLACE AND PURPOSE OF HOMEWORK IN THE SCHOOL'S PROGRAM SO THAT THEY CAN PROVIDE SUITABLE STUDY CONDITIONS, UNDERSTAND WHAT THE SCHOOL EXPECTS HOMEWORK TO ACCOMPLISH, AND COOPERATE WITH THE SCHOOL IN MAKING HOMEWORK EFFECTIVE, THUS HELPING THE SCHOOL TO ACHIEVE ITS PURPOSES AND GOALS.

## I. ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOMEWORK

1. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE RELATED TO CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION.
2. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE DEFINITE AND CLEAR.
3. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE ADAPTED TO THE NEEDS, INTERESTS AND ABILITIES OF GROUPS OF CHILDREN. THIS WOULD HELP MAKE CERTAIN THAT CHILDREN CAN DO THEIR HOMEWORK WITHOUT ASSISTANCE, AND THEREBY RECEIVE TRAINING IN STUDYING INDEPENDENTLY. THERE MAY BE CHILDREN WHO DO NOT REQUIRE THE SAME ASSIGNMENT GIVEN TO ANY OF THE GROUPS IN THE CLASS. THEREFORE, THESE CHILDREN SHOULD BE GIVEN INDIVIDUAL HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENTS.
4. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE PURPOSEFUL. FOR INSTANCE, THROUGH IT A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND DESIRABLE WORK HABITS MAY BE DEVELOPED, AND ADDITIONAL PRACTICE IN A SKILL MAY BE GIVEN. HOMEWORK SHOULD NEVER BE GIVEN AS A PUNISHMENT.
5. HOMEWORK SHOULD BE GIVEN DAILY AND SHOULD ALWAYS BE CHECKED AND RETURNED BY THE TEACHER.
6. HOMEWORK MIGHT OFFER A CAPABLE CHILD THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP HIS CREATIVE ABILITY BY DOING RESEARCH WORK AND BY REPORTING ON A NEW OR RELATED TOPIC.

## II. KINDS OF HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENTS

1. WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS:
   FOR MOST PUPILS IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL NO FORMAL WRITTEN HOMEWORK SHOULD BE ASSIGNED. THEREAFTER, WRITTEN HOMEWORK MAY FORM PART OF THE ASSIGNMENT.
2. HOME STUDY:
   IN ALL GRADES SOME HOME STUDY SHOULD BE ASSIGNED. THIS MAY TAKE THE FORM OF SUPPLEMENTARY READING, SELECTING PERTINENT NEWS ARTICLES, FINDING PICTURES OR OTHER UNIT MATERIALS, INTERVIEWING PEOPLE OR VISITING PLACES WHICH RELATE TO SCHOOL STUDY.

IN THE FORTH THROUGH SIXTH YEARS, IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE, HOME STUDY FROM BOOKS SHOULD RECEIVE GREATER EMPHASIS.

III. TIME ALLOTMENT

IN THE FIRST YEAR HOMEWORK ASSIGNED SHOULD REQUIRE ABOUT FIFTEEN MINUTES.

IN THE 2ND AND 3RD, AND 4TH YEARS THE TOTAL TIME REQUIRED FOR THE HOMEWORK ASSIGNED SHOULD BE TWENTY - THIRTY MINUTES A DAY.

IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH YEARS, HOMEWORK SHOULD REQUIRE APPROXIMATELY FORTY-FIVE MINUTES.

IV. PARENT COOPERATION:

IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT SCHOOLS HELP PARENTS UNDERSTAND THE SCHOOLS' POLICY ON HOMEWORK, IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE PARTNERSHIP OF THE SCHOOL AND THE HOME IN THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN. THROUGH CONFERENCES WITH PARENTS, AND WORKSHOPS GIVEN FOR THEIR BENEFIT, TOPICS SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING MIGHT BE EXPLAINED TO THEM:

- PURPOSE OF THE KINDS OF ASSIGNMENTS GIVEN.
- LENGTH OF TIME NEEDED TO CARRY OUT THE ASSIGNMENT.
- BENEFITS DERIVED FROM PARENT-SUPERVISION.
- SUITABLE PARENT GUIDANCE.

JAN. 20, 1964

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
LEADERSHIP TRAINING MATERIAL

A PARENT EDUCATION KIT OF MATERIALS ON
DISCIPLINE & KIDS WHO ARE CALLED "DISRUPTIVE"

1. Many times we hear parents in our poor communities talk loudly: "There are terrible kids in this neighborhood. They don't care what they do in school and their parents don't take proper care of them; they should be kicked out of school so the rest of our children can learn."

   Before parents like these can be involved in fighting suspension procedures, or even in fighting for improved education, they must first get rid of these negative feelings about their own people. We have developed three parent activities which are especially helpful for RE-EDUCATING PARENTS WHO HAVE BEEN TURNED AROUND AGAINST THEIR OWN!!

   A. A TREASURE HUNT FOR PARENTS WHO BLAME THEMSELVES

      The Treasure Hunt (attached) takes a group of parents into a middle class neighborhood, and forces them to look for resources available in such neighborhoods which are completely lacking in their own community. It helps parents to go back into their own neighborhood with more open eyes, they compare facilities and services there.

   B. A ROLE PLAY TO SHOW A GROUP OF PARENTS HOW PEOPLE WITH POWER (the white majority) PUT PRESSURE ON THE POWERLESS TO CONFORM

      In this group role play (attached) parents will learn rather quickly that very often we adapt our thinking in order to please people who are important. Thus, if teachers and principals blame the children and their parents for all the problems in the schools, it is easy to agree with them because we want them to like us!!

   C. A DEBATE

      Attached is a copy of an interview with a young boy drop-outs who picketted the schools during the shutdown several years ago. Read this interview out loud in your group. Ask half of the parents to take the boy's side and to list all the things they think the schools should be doing to make that boy successful in school. Ask the other half of your group to take the school system's side, and to list all the things the boy and his family should be doing differently if he wants success in school. Let the two groups argue it out. Distribute the two newspaper articles which blame the riots and crime on bad schools, and let the group comment.

2. THE CHECKLIST "HOW DO YOU KNOW IF YOUR KID IS BAD OR IF YOUR KID HAS A BAD TEACHER" could then become the next activity for your parents. Let them visit some classes and observe or if they are not quite ready for this, let them ask a group of youngsters to fill out that questionnaire. Then let them discuss their findings. WHOSE FAULT IS IT IF THE KID IS "DISRUPTIVE?"

3. Finally the kit includes a great deal of material on suspensions.

   A. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION suspension regulations themselves.
   B. A document which analyzes the regulations, discusses the UFT demand which would strip children of all their rights, and would permit suspensions virtually at the whim of a teacher. This document includes some hints to parents as they become involved in fighting a suspension case.

REPORT CARD
CARTE DE INFORMACION

SCHOOL
ESCUELA

DATE
FECHA

ADDRESS
DIRECCION

PRINCIPAL

| | EXCELLENT<br>EXCELENTE | SATISFACTORY<br>SATISFACTORIA | UNSATISFACTORY<br>INSATISFACTORIA |
|---|---|---|---|
| **PHYSICAL CONDITIONS**<br>**CONDICIONES FISICAS** | | | |
| The School appears warm, clean and friendly<br>La escuela es de ambiente animado,favorable y saludable | | | |
| Sidewalks and streets outside are clean<br>Las aceras y calles alrededor estan limpias | | | |
| Playyard is adequate,safe,protected from cars.<br>El patio es adecuado,seguro y protejido de automobiles | | | |
| Lunchroom is cheerful and well-run<br>El comedor es de ambiente alegre y ordenado | | | |
| Bathrooms are clean,in order, with paper and soap<br>Los banos estan limpios,en orden y proveidos de papel y jabon | | | |
| School has enough classrooms,(No overcrowding or portables)<br>La escuela tiene salones suficientes. (No hay registración excesiva o salones portables.) | | | |
| COMMENTS:<br>COMENTARIOS: | | | |
| **SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT**<br>**AMBIENTE ESCOLAR** | | | |
| The School is well-disciplined,quiet<br>La escuela es bien diciplinada y tranquila | | | |
| Children are busy and respectful<br>Los niños están siempre ocupados y son respetuosos | | | |
| Children like to come to the school<br>Los niños les encanta venir a esta escuela | | | |
| Children are not running in the halls<br>No hay niños corriendo por los pasillos | | | |
| Teacher and principal call children by name<br>El principal y el maestro llaman a los niños por sus nombres | | | |
| Children and teachers do not shout excessively<br>Maestros y ninos no gritan excesivamente. | | | |
| Bulletin boards throughout school show quality work, show children of many races,cultures,backgrounds all year round (not only during Brotherhood Week)<br>Tablas de anuncios através de la escuela dejan ver la calidad de trabajo,niños de todas las razas,sus culturas,todo el año,(NO solamente en la semana de la Buena Hermandad | | | |
| Parents feel welcome and respected in the school<br>Los padres son bien-venidos y son respetados. | | | |
| COMMENTS:<br>COMENTARIOS: | | | |

CARTA DE INFORMACION p.2 REPORT CARD p.2

| | EXCELLENT EXCELENTE | SATISFACTORY SATISFACTORIA | UNSATISFACTORY |
|---|---|---|---|
| PUPIL PERFORMANCE<br>ACCION DEL ESTUDIANTE:<br>Children are reading at national norm<br>Los ninos leen al nivel normal nacional | | | |
| Every child reading below level is receiving adequate additional individual help,and his teacher is receiving additional supervision and training,<br>Cada niño que lee bajo el nivel del grado está recibiendo adecuada ayuda individual adicional y su maestro esta recibiendo Supervision adicional y entrenamiento. | | | |
| Children who leave this school are prepared for academic programs in the next hogher school<br>Ninos que dejan esta escuela están preparados para empezar cursos académicos en las escuelas donde se registren. | | | |
| Children are encouraged to prepare for college; they are urged to take examinations for special schools<br>Los niños son motivados para que se preparen para colegio; se les insiste en que deben tomar examenes para escuelas especiales. | | | |
| COMMENTS:<br>COMENTARIOS: | | | |
| STAFF PERFORMANCE: ACCION ADMINISTRATIVA:<br>Principal & teachers are well liked and respected by children and parents.<br>El principal y maestros son bien queridos y respetados por los ninos y los padres. | | | |
| Most of the staff has been in the school for a long time(Little staff turnover)<br>La mayoria de la administración han estado en la escuela por muchos anos.(Muy pocos transferidos) | | | |
| Staff is rarely absent; When teachers are absent, the children ussually have the same substitute<br>Aucencias en la administracion es muy escasa; cuando hay aucencias en los maestros,los niños tienen siempre el mismo sustituto. | | | |
| Most of the staff are experienced and skillful. New staff get special help.<br>La mayoría de la administración es de una basta experiencia y muy habil;los nuevos maestros reciben ayuda especial. | | | |
| Teachers& supervisors have in-service training programs.<br>Supervisors y maestros tienen varios programas de entrenamiento al mismo tiempo que prestan sus servicios | | | |
| Staff joins in planning for school improvement; works closely with parents.<br>La administración se une y coopera en el planeo para mejorar la ensenanza en la escuela; maestros y padres trabajan en cerrada armonia. | | | |
| Teachers often stay after 3:00 o"clock or come in early to meet with parents.<br>Los maestros se quedan despues de las tres o vienen temprano porla mañana para reunirse con los padres. | | | |
| Principal and teachers talk frankly to the parents and community about problems they face; seek help and support from parents;want to share information with parents;seek advice from community and parent leaders.<br>El principal y los maestros hablan francamente con los padres y la comunidad acerca de los problenas que ello se comfrontan en los salones de clase; buscan la ayuda y el respaldo de los padres;quieren el intercambio de informacion con los padres;buscan consejos de la comunidad,lideres de los padres | | | |

## WHAT TO DO IF YOUR SCHOOL IS OVERCROWDED

## SUMMARY SHEET

| PROPOSED SOLUTION | WHO YOU SHOULD SEE | FACTS YOU NEED |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Convert rooms in your school classrooms | 1. Principal<br>2. Dist. Supt.<br>3. Head of Div. using your space<br>4. Local School Board and higher if nec. | 1. How much space you need<br>2. How much is used by others<br>3. Possible places they can move to |
| 2. Remove some grades or part of some grades<br>a) into annex<br>b) into junior high<br>c) into storefronts or community center or project<br>d) into unused old school building | 1. Principal<br>2. Dist. Supt & LSB<br>3. Adrian Blumenfeld<br>4. Central Zoning<br>5. Politicians etc.<br>6. Community groups<br>7. Donovan & Bd members | 1. Where alternate space is<br>2. Cost of rental or fixing up<br>3. How annex will be supervised and staffed (your own "expert") to tell them it can be done |
| 3. Rezone your school<br>a) to adjacent school<br>b) to distant empty school by bus | 1. Principal<br>2. Dist. Supt & LSB<br>3. Community groups<br>4. Adrian Blumenfeld<br>5. Central Zoning<br>6. Politicians<br>7. City-wide groups<br>8. Donovan & Bd members<br>9. Mayor | 1. Where alternate space is<br>2. Crossing, how far, bus route<br>3. Is community with a mandatory or voluntary plan?<br>4. Quality of other school |
| 4. PORTABLES | 1. Principal<br>2. Dist. Supt & LSB<br>3. Community groups<br>4. Adrian Blumenfeld<br>5. Politicians<br>6. UFT and Teachers<br>7. Donovan & Bd members | 1. Where you will put them<br>2. Design or type you want<br>3. How fast you want them<br>4. Your own "expert" |
| 5. NEW SCHOOL OR ADDITION | 1. Principal<br>2. Dist. Supt & LSB<br>3. Adrian Blumenfeld<br>4. City Planning Comm.<br>5. Local key groups<br>6. Alumni<br>7. Politicians<br>8. Borough President<br>9. City-wide groups in UFT<br>10. Donovan & Bd members<br>11. Mayor and City Council Pres & Comp.<br>12. Press every step of way | 1. Exact figures on population<br>2. Some idea where you want school<br>3. What purpose school is to serve (i.e. replacement or relief)<br>4. What you want to happen in the school.<br>5. DETERMINATION |

Public Schools of the District of Columbia
Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent

# THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PROGRAMED INSTRUCTION

## An Adaptation of The Progressive Choice Method of Teaching Reading to Educable Mentally Retarded Junior High School Pupils

A SUPPLEMENT - August, 1964

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" I predict that the next developmental stage in our field in the next ten years will be, not identification and diagnosis, not organization and administration, but the development of scientific teaching procedures." *

* Kirk, Samuel, Director, Institute for Research on Exceptional Children, University of Illinois, Urbana. Paper presented at the Convention for the Council of Exceptional Children, April 1963.

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## FOREWORD

The following report is the second one describing a year-long study of the effectiveness of a programed method of reading instruction, called the Progressive Choice Reading Method, conducted at Macfarland Junior High School and at Garnet Patterson Junior High Summer School during 1963-64. The first report described a pilot study of the Progressive Choice Method during the 1963 summer session at Banneker Junior High School. For the benefit of the many people who did not see the first report but have expressed interest in our project, we have included some of the material which appeared in the first report describing the Progressive Choice Method, the background, etc. Moreover, our own understanding and concepts about the rationale and method on which Progressive Choice is based have considerably increased after a year-long experience with this program.

This investigation was made possible through the generosity of Dr. Myron Woolman and his assistant, Mrs. Ann O'Keefe, who gave unstintingly both materials and the benefits of their experience in helping us to conduct this study. Permission to conduct the study was granted by Mr. Arthur Storey, Principal, Macfarland Junior High School, Mr. Bernard F. Sewell, Director of Summer Schools, Mr. John F. Koontz, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Junior-Senior High Schools, and Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of D.C. Schools, to whom this report is submitted.

It should be noted here that this report was a cooperative undertaking in every aspect but teaching. The instruction in this project was conducted by the teacher in the investigation without assistance from the Co-investigator or the Institute of Educational Research. The reason for this is that one of the purposes for which the larger experiment was conducted by the Institute of Educational Research was to determine the extent to which teachers could learn the rationale and method without professional assistance from the Institute or reading specialists.

> " Thus, the experiment was designed to minimize the amount of contact with E teachers. They were required to apply the programs in their classrooms with no assistance or support whatever from research personnel....the approach taken was to attempt to avoid the 'Hawthorne' effect by reducing contact with teacher and other school personnel to a minimum, eliminating teacher knowledge and involvement with research methods and objectives...." 1/

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1. Woolman, Myron and Davy, Anne. Developing Symbolic Skills in the Mentally Retarded, Institute of Educational Research, Inc. Washington, D.C.

" The use of the Program Rationale also has the function of making the Progressive Choice Reading rogram available to the school system without requiring staff members to return to college for special course work. The integration of this Self-Instructional Program in the Teacher's Manual has been very favorably received by teachers because they can functionally apply the rationale in a day-to-day teaching situation. The interaction of methodology and practice is reacted to as being superior to taking a college course, where the methods, information and the practice are necessarily separated by substantial periods of time. "

This Self-Instructional Program provided teachers in the Manual offered considerable insight into new concepts in the psychology of reading and also provided better appreciation for professional courses in which the instructor enrolled during the second semester. If for no other reason than this, it seems that Progressive Choice makes a valuable contribution to reading instruction.

To maximize experimental effectiveness and at the same time limit teacher involvement with research methods , the Coordinator carried the major responsibility for liaison with the Institute of Educational Research, diagnosis, and supervision of classroom evaluation.

# INTRODUCTION

In May 1962 the National Institute of Mental Health awarded the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Washington, D.C. a three year grant to develop, test and revise the Progressive Choice Method for teaching reading to retarded children, under the direction of Dr. Myron Woolman, Psychologist and presently Director of the Institute. The purpose of this study is three fold: (1) to test Progressive Choice method in teaching reading to retarded children; (2) to teach teachers the rationale and the method; and (3) to improve and refine the materials in this year's program for widespread experimental use in 1963-64. The materials in this year's program are designed for use by all classes of mentally retarded children including severely retarded, mildly retarded, and children with perceptual difficulties.

The above study, titled A Programed Reading Method for the Mentally Handicapped, involves some 800 pupils assigned to experimental and control groups in public and private schools throughout the country. It is an example of the cooperative research supported by the Federal Government as an outgrowth of the President's Panel on Mental Retardation. It represents new trends in research on mental retardation in which scientists and educators have joined forces in developing theories of learning and the art of teaching in the laboratory and then testing these theories in the schools against the realities of overcrowded classes, indifferent pupils and teacher shortages. As Kirk has pointed out, this emphasis on the teaching-learning process marks a new stage of development in the field of mental retardation where the concern now is for diagnosis and remediation rather than for identification and classification.

> " In planning remediation of a disability, whether it is a learning problem, personality disturbance or whatever, a classification label, such as paronoid schizophrenic, E.M.I.T., or dyslexia is of relatively little value. The process of finding an appropriate label is classification and must be distinguished from diagnosis which should lead directly to specific remediation or treatment. .....Ultimately, when this stage has been reached and we are able to demonstrate the programed instruction can ameliorate, if not remove specific deficits in children, we will have arrived at what Alfred Binet tried to accomplish in his procedures of mental orthopedics, which he described in his classic report on the Educability of Intelligence." 2/

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2. Kirk, Samuel A., Director, and Baleman, Barbara, Research Associate, Institute for Research on Exceptional Children, Paper delivered to Council of Exceptional Children, April 1962: " Diagnosis and Remediation of Learning Disabilities".

Although the Progressive Choice Reading Method has been found effective for both normal and retarded children, the present research is confined to the mentally retarded in the belief that the teaching of reading skills to retarded children offers a vital research area which promises to benefit all children, both retarded and non-retarded. " First normal children can learn to read by any method," explains Woolman, " phonics or whole-word, because the normal learner perceives the objectives of the teacher and is more able to compensate by his own effort for defects in the reading method. The retardate, on the other hand, can usually make little contribution toward achievement of reading skills and therefore requires more powerful reading methods to achieve the same level of competence. Thus the population classified as mentally retarded offers an excellent baseline for determining the power of any teaching method. Once a method has proven that it can penetrate the perceptual and emotional screens of the retardate, there is a high probability that it can be used with normal children to facilitate learning rate by reducing the number of failures occurring through emotional blocks, inadequate teaching, and deficiencies inherent in available methods. " 3/

At the time this experiment was initiated at the Banneker Junior High Summer School, the investigators were unable to find developmental reading materials for illiterate adolescents which were not of the " Here Spot ", " Come Spot " variety. We welcomed the opportunity when, at our request, Dr. Woolman consented to permit us to adapt his program to our non-readers. It should be noted, however, that the present study, the Macfarland-Garnet Patterson investigation, was not a controlled experiment but was undertaken as short-term practical research for the purpose of attempting to answer one question: " To what extent will programed instruction increase the reading skills of non-reading adolescents? " The problem of the illiterate in junior high school is immediate and acute. It cannot wait for long-term experiments such as that conducted at the Institute of Educational Research, if we are to head off the imminent threat of the drop-out among these frustrated pupils. Our study, therefore, represented what Blackman described as a " last ditch " effort to teach the children participating in this study to read.

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3. Woolman, Myron and Davy, Anne. Developing Symbolic Skills in the Mentally Retarded, Institute of Educational Research, Inc. Washington, D.C.

## BACKGROUND

In nearly every class of Basic Track pupils in the D.C. junior high schools there are some children who are " functional " illiterates who cannot read above a third grade level and some who are " absolute " illiterates who have not attained even a first grade reading level. Questions which are raised persistently at every meeting of Basic Track teachers are: " How do these children spend seven or eight years in school without learning anything?" " How can we teach science, history, geography, etc . to pupils who cannot read at all? " " How much can we accomplish in three or four years when progress has been practically nil for seven or eight years? "

The problem of illiteracy among adolescents is by no means confined to any one school system or any one area. It is one of the most important questions facing educators today. In a four year study of the effects of special class placement on the development of mentally retarded children at the University of Illinois, Moss reports: " From the results to date, it appears that retarded children may be classified into three groups as far as school placement is concerned: (a) those who succeed in regular class, (b) those who fail in regular class but succeed in a special class, and (c) those who fail in even the best of special classes. ...It is quite apparent that these children need a different type of program than presently is being offered in special classes. Question: What kind of program do we need for these non-learning retarded children? What kind of facilities, what kind of teacher preparation, what kind of ancillary services? " 6/

Several studies have been conducted under the support of the Federal Government to find the answer to why some mentally retarded pupils fail in spite of years of instruction. A notable one which has just been completed is a four year research project at Johnstone Training and Research Center, Bordentown, New Jersey, under the direction of Blackman and Smith and supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960 - 1964. Because this study was very similar in purpose and design to the study conducted by the investigators of the D.C. Study, and because it suggests important implications for our study, we will discuss it in some detail.

The Blackman-Smith study proposed to cast some light on the question, " Will a carefully programmed course of reading instruction taught via a self-instructional device, but with teaching supervision and reinforcement, help non-reading mental retardates (IQs 50 to 75), 10 to 15 years of age, learn to read?" 7/

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7. Blackman, Leonard and Smith, Marshall. The Development and Evaluation of a Curriculum for Educable Mental Retardates Utilizing Self-Instructor Devices or Teaching Machines, Johnstone Training and Research Center, Bordentown, New Jersey. February 29, 1964

BACKGROUND - Continued

The material in this program consisted of the whole-word method presented in a teaching machine constructed by the investigators. The use of a teaching machine was described as a " last ditch " attempt to teach the children participating in this study to read. " Past school history and mental handicap itself almost compel a new approach to reading. " 8/ The investigators compared a teaching machine method of teaching reading to traditional special class placement methods. In both cases the whole-word method was used. The investigators found no significant differences between programmed instruction and traditional methods. They reported a mean gain of .24 of a grade for the Experimental group and .21 for the Control group. In this experiment 19 subjects in the teaching machine group had a mean C.A. of 14-1 and a mean IQ of 54.3. The Control group was comprised of 17 subjects whose mean C.A. and IQ were 14-3 and 54.2 respectively. The authors conclude:

> " By any criteria this study must be considered a pioneering effort in the application of prgrammed instruction to the mentally retarded. Continuing improvements in hardware and programs as well as demands by educators for information, will undoubtedly entice other investigators into a comparison of methods attempted in this report. More important, however, educational psychologists now find themselves on the brink of an era which will witness the development of a true educational technology. Instructional systems are now available that can create the reliable and replicable stimulus environments for learning that sophisticated psychological theory demands. PROFITABLE RESEARCH IN THIS AREA, THEREFORE, RESTS NOT WITH THE COMPARISON OF ONE GROSSLY DEFINED INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD WITH ANOTHER EVEN MORE POORLY DEFINED ONE, BUT RATHER, RESEARCH IN PROGRAMMED INSTRUCTION WHICH SEEMS TO FULFILL ITS PROMISE WHEN IT EMPLOYS THE RIGOR AND CONTROLS AT ITS DISPOSAL TO ACHIEVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF SCHOOL TASKS AS THEY INTERACT WITH THE ABILITIES AND DISABILITIES OF INDIVIDUAL LEARNERS." 9/

The question which this study raises is whether the whole-word method alone is an effective method for overcoming the learning disabilities of mentally retarded pupils, whether the method is programed or traditional. The use of the whole-word method to instruct mentally retarded pupils is at least a controversial one among reading specialists. The Illinois study of the effectiveness of special

8. Ibid., p. 57
9. Ibid., p. 172

BACKGROUND - Continued

education, mentioned here previously, reports:

> " It is quite obvious that there are differences between retarded children and that they will perform differently under different educational environments. We have made mistakes in assuming that all retarded children were alike and in not asking why some children succeeded while others fail."

Blackman and Smith state that while both groups gained in the Johnstone study, their gains were not " educationally dramatic ". The rather undramatic gains might suggest that what was needed here was a change not only in methodology but also in curriculum, or content. This idea was suggested by the Center for Programed Instruction (Komoski) in 1962:

> " Porgraming was recognized as having the potential of becoming an ultra-conservative force in education if it were simply to teach faster and better those things which educators are anxious to weed out of elementary and secondary education. It was this commitment ( to programed instruction as a vehicle for curriculum change ) which made it impossible for us at Collegiate to use any of the material that was available to us in 1959. And it was for this reason that we as teachers had to begin programing in earnest, or perhaps have our acceptance of available program material be interpreted as a willingness to teach out of date approaches to subject matter, with a revolutionary technique. " 10/

In his study of the psycho-linguistic abilities of retarded readers, Kirk found the need to extend remedial measures beyond whole-word or phonetic methods. Poor readers showed definite deficits in linguistic abilities, in the ability to obtain meaning from visual and auditory linguistic stimuli, etc. These deficits were not related to mental retardation. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities, developed by Kirk and Associates at the University of Illinois, attempts to diagnose the deficits and assess the abilities of disabled readers and to develop a program for a remedial teaching situation. "Ultimately,

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10. Komoski, K.P. Origin of Collegiate School Automated Teaching Project. New York: Collegiate School, 241 W. 77th St., 1960.

BACKGROUND - Continued

when this stage has been reached and we are able to demonstrate that programed instruction can ameliorate, if not remove specific deficits in children, we will have arrived at what Alfred Binet tried to accomplish in his procedures of mental orthopedics which he described in his classic report on the Educability of intelligence."

The I.T.P.A. Study and other studies of linguistics have added a a new dimension to programed instruction - the area of psycholinguistics. "Reading instruction is being moved forward today by two significant interdisciplinary approaches," states Betts. 11/ The significance of these approaches stems from the promise they extend of fruitful future improvement. First, the linguists offer important concepts regarding the structure of language - the system of symbols with which thinking is done. Second, psychologists offer important concepts regarding individual differences, motivation, perception and concept formation - which provide the basis for differentiated instruction and methods of teaching.

The study of psycholinguistics is by no means a new area of concern in education. The need to add linguistics as a dimension to reading instruction has increased, however, with the influx of culturally impoverished children in public schools. Investigations at the Institute of Developmental Studies of New York Medical College under the direction of Dr. Martin Deutsch suggest that failures of pupils in later school years might well be prevented by an early concern for the linguistic aspects of reading. The slum youngster, these studies indicate, may lack auditory discrimination, the ability to distinguish very subtle differences and nuances in sound, that is essential in reading. Moreover, the lower class child has not had the experience of having adults correct his pronunciation, so that he fails to acquire the ability to distinguish the subtle differences of sound and language. The lower class youngster is poorly motivated, the investigators have found, because they have had little experience in receiving approval for success in a task or disapproval for failure. The failure to acquire a specific set of skills - auditory and visual discrimination, etc. - which are prerequisite to learning to read appear tp handicap the young child from the beginning of his school career when verbal skills become synonymous with intelligence. To what extent these low verbal skills are the cause or effect of his poverty of experiences is not known at this stage of research. The fact that schools have not broken the vicious cycle between cultural deprivation and low verbal skills and seeming low intelligence is attested by the Deutsch studies.

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11. Betts, Emmett A. "A New Area: Reading and Linguistics". Education May, 1964.

BACKGROUND - Continued

> " Given his poverty of experience," reports Silberman, " it is almost inevitable that the slum child will fail when he enters school. He simply has not been prepared to produce what the school demands, and by and large the school makes no attempt to adjust its curriculum to the realities of what its children actually know as opposed to what they are assumed to know. "

It appears to have become the task of the psychologists to fill the void by adjusting the curriculum which would meet the needs of the culturally deprived. The Progressive Choice Reading Method was born of Woolman's personal need to teach his own daughter to read and was developed from his own bias as a behavioral psychologist working on his doctorate at Columbia University. Its development has continued, however, as a cooperative effort with psychologists, linguists, reading specialists, educators and teachers in constructing a reading program that shows potential for breaking the vicious cycle of impoverished language skills - mental retardation - school failure - cultural and economic deprivation.

SUMMARY

In summary, the important point which the studies described here have shown is that reading failures which increase in number in upper grades may be due to inherent inability on the part of some children, but these failures might also be due to faulty concepts on the part of education of the learning-teaching process. These investigations point up a gap in the curriculum planning for reading instruction, a gap which may explain reading failures among educationally and mentally retarded pupils. This deficiency in curriculum provision has become more apparent because of the increase in the number of children from language impoverished homes who lack the audial and perceptual skill which schools assumed they had. The fact that some children seem to learn in spite of these deficiencies in the school curriculum may mean that children seem to learn in spite of teaching methods rather than because these methods are adeqaute, or as Woolman points out: " Normal children can learn to read by any method, phonics or whole-word, because the normal learner perceives the objectives of the teacher and is more able to compensate by his own effort for defects in the reading method. The retardate, on the other hand, can usually make little contribution

toward the achievement of reading skills and therefore requires more powerful methods to achieve the same level of competence." 12/

One healthy aspect of these studies is the amount of self-criticism on the part of reading specialists and special educators who join with the linguists and psychologists in insisting that defects in the teaching-learning process can be overcome by extending the curriculum to include the linguistic aspects of learning to read. The problem is not limited to an improvement in method but also includes the need for improvement in content. The need for change should be directed not only toward how to teach but what to teach. Out of this atmosphere of self-criticism there have emerged several studies which are concerned with developing new concepts which incorporate a linguistic, phonetic, whole-word approach to the teaching of reading. The Progressive Choice Readimg Method is an example of the studies which are now being conducted throughout the country. It incorporates many aspects of the linguistic, kinaesthetic, whole-word and phonetic methods of teaching reading. It is a linguistic, analytic-synthetic method as opposed to other methods which are either synthetic-analytic (whole-word) or analytic-synthetic (phonetic). Throughout , the emphasis is on meaning - beginning with audial meaning and ending with visual meaning.

An outline of the Progressive Choice Reading Method, describing ways in which this program differs from other reading programs, is presented in the APPENDIX.

## PROBLEMS INVESTIGATED

The present research was designed to add to the body of research surveyed above by investigating the effectiveness of a programed method of reading instruction. Specifically, the study sought to evaluate the effectiveness of the BASAL Progressive Choice Reading designed for educable mentally retarded pupils and the ACCELERATED Progressive Choice method developed for a delinquency prevention program for adolescent educationally retarded children.

## DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In November 1963 the major study(Basal Progressive Choice Reading Method) was initiated with fourteen eighth grade pupils at Macfarland Junior High School. To enable the pupils to complete at least two cycles of the three cycle program, the investigation was continued during the summer session at Garnet Patterson Junior High School. Ten of the fourteen pupils continued with the program.

C.A.'s ranged from 13 years 9 months to 16 years 5 months with a mean C.A. of 14 years and 9 months. Mental ages ranged from 9 years 2 months tp 12 years 12 years 9 months with a mean of 11 years 3 months. Mean I.Q. was 76; range in I.Q. , 63 to 88. Many of the pupils were products of culturally impoverished home environments; many came from psychologically stricken parental backgrounds.

Cumulative records revealed that most of the pupils had been in and out of an abnormally high number of schools and classrooms. Having been subjected to many different personalities and techniques in the process, they had acquired a strong resistance to reading. Except for four who could read primer material, they were non-readers. Progress in reading had been practically nil despite NINE* years of previous schooling and reading instruction.

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* PROMOTION POLICIES: Elementary- Junior High Schools, May 5, 1960. p. 2

> " It is expected that below average children will need one or two additional years in the elementary schools to obtain minimum standards of achievement.....
>
> " Children from the Washington Elementary Schools should be promoted at age thirteen years, seven months, provided they been in a public schools sixth grade for one year.....
>
> " Children entering the city at thirteen years, seven months or above, should be placed in the junior high school....."

The ten Macfarland pupils involved in the major study were enrolled in the first period class at the Garnet Patterson Junior High Summer School. However, it should be noted that the necessity for meeting the reasonable requirements for class size in summer school demanded the inclusion of five pupils new to the program. Their results are reported separately.

The second period summer school class was comprised of twelve pupils in grades 7, 8, 9 and 10 from several junior high schools and two senior high schools. Accelerated Progressive Choice Materials were used with group. These pupils were enrolled just for the summer session.

## DATA COLLECTED

To determine the amount of gain by pupils, three pretests and post-tests were administered. In November the Macfarland pupils were administered the MAT (Metropolitan Achievement Tests, primary and/or elementary), the Gray Oral Reading Paragraphs, and the Progressive Choice Diagnostic Tests which were constructed to measure performance specifically on material included in the program. * All of the tests were re-administered at the end of the school year and repeated at the end of summer school. (alternate forms)

Pupils new to the program in summer school - five in the Period I Class and 12 in the Period II Class - were administered the MAT, The Gates Reading Survey Test for Grades 4 to 11, and the Progressive Choice Diagnostic Tests at the beginning and end of the six week summer session.

## TREATMENT OF DATA

The first part of the analysis involved comparisons between pre- and

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* The Center for Programed Instruction. " Some Possible New Research Frontiers in Programed Instruction". June 1964.

" Because traditional achievement tests are designed to magnify differences between students rather than differences between methods of instruction, they are generally inappropriate for determining the results of a program or for establishing the relative merits of alternate forms of instruction. It is not at all surprising that findings of no significant difference in achievement are obtained in most studies involving comparisons between programs or between a program and traditional classroom practice. What is needed is the development of methods for describing attainment in terms of comprehensive inventories of proficiency rather than samples of often irrelevant performance. Furthermore, one of the outstanding attributes of programed instruction is that it can produce whatever criterion behavior has been specified."

post-test scores for the Macfarland pupils involved in the major study and the pupils new to the program. This method for evaluating progress involved simply determining differences between reading test scores obtained at the beginning and those obtained at the end of the period of instruction. The differences represent gains. (Table I)

To limit analysis to this "typical" method for evaluating progress, however, ignores the fact that what has been "normal" progress for the average child has not been "normal" progress for the slow learner.

> " The characteristic of the low achiever is that his rate of growth in achievement is significantly less than the rate of growth of the average student. For example the average student will make one year of achievement in one year of instruction, while the low achiever may make only one-half of that amount of achievement during the same period of instruction because his characteristic rate of growth is much less than the average.....It is known also that the handicap of the low achiever is cumulative as he progresses through the school program." 13/

For this reason the following two methods for evaluating the progress of the group in the major study were employed:

1. Comparison of gains during the "Progressive Choice Year" ,1963-1964, gain with the average yearly gains during the years in school before the Progressive Choice Reading Method was used.

2. Determination of amount of decrease in the potential-achievement gap after the year of instruction with Progressive Choice. The I.Q.'s (individuals - WISC) were viewed as ratios of mental age to chronological age. The M.A.'s of the children as of November, the starting date of the Progressive Choice Program, were then determined by using the C.A.'s of the children as of that date. Grade placement levels corresponding to obtained mental ages were then considered as indications of potential reading achievement levels. Next, for each child, the difference between his potential reading level and his reading achievement level - his potential-achievement gap - was found. and this difference,or gap, was viewed as the amount of retardation at the beginning of the study. Similar procedures were used for determining potential reading levels and potential-achievement gaps as of July 1964 , the ending date of the experimental program; and the decrease in potential-achievement gap was then determined for each pupil. Average potential-achievement gap decreases are presented in Table III.

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13. A Third Year Evaluation of the Four Track Curriculum. April 15, 1959 p. 9

TABLE I

Avergae Reading Mean Scores - Metropolitan

| Class | No. | I.Q. | | Reading Grade Nov.1963 | | Reading Grade June 1964 | | Reading Grade July 1964 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | Range | Mean | Range | Mean | Range | Mean | Range |
| I | 10 | 76 | 63-88 | 2.6 | 1.7-3.2 | 3.6 | 2.7-4.2 | 4.3 | 3.2-5.2 |
| Ia | 5 | 79 | 67-95 | - | - | 3.9 | 3.2-4.4 | 5.5 | 4.5-6.5 |
| II | 12 | 72 | 62-105 | - | - | 3.4 | 2.2-4.1 | 4.4 | 3.2-5.6 |

Average Reading Mean Scores- Gates Survey

| Class | No. | I.Q. | | Reading Grade Nov. 1963 | | Reading Grade June 1964 | | Reading Grade July 1964 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Mean | Range | Mean | Range | Mean | Range | Mean | Range |
| I | 10 | 76 | 63-88 | - | - | 3.6 | 2.7-4.9 | 4.1 | 2.7-5.9 |
| Ia | 5 | 79 | 67-95 | - | - | 4.7 | 4.1-5.3 | 6.2 | 5.1-7.5 |
| II | 12 | 72 | 62-105 | - | - | 4.2 | 2.0-5.0 | 4.8 | 2.3- . |

Percent Mean - Progressive Choice Diagnostic Tests

| Class | No. | Test 1 | | Test 2 | | Test 3 | | Test 4 | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post | Pre | Post |
| I | 10 | 96 | 100 | 94 | 100 | 53 | 68 | 37 | 43 | 78 | 84 |
| Ia | 5 | 94 | 98 | 94 | 100 | 66 | 73 | 55 | 67 | 81 | 86 |
| II | 12 | 89 | 97 | 87 | 99 | 65 | 66 | 37 | 45 | 73 | 83 |

TABLE II

Macfarland-Carnet Patterson Group

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations - MAT

| Test | Nov. 1963 | | June 1964 | | July 1964 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Word Knowledge | 2.5 | 3.7 | 3.4 | 5.2 | 3.9 | 5.0 |
| Word Discrimination | 2.7 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 6.4 |
| Reading | 2.6 | 4.3 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 4.3 | 5.7 |
| Average | 2.6 | 4.8 | 3.6 | 5.3 | 4.3 | 5.6 |

TABLE III

Progressive Choice Program Gains, Average Yearly Gains Before Progressive Choice Program, Ratios of Progressive Choice to Average Yearly Gains and Average Potential-Achievement Gap Decreases

| Mean Gain | | Average Yearly Gain | Ratio: P.C. Gain to Aver. Yearly Gain | | Av. Potential-Achievement Gap | | | | Av. Gap Decrease | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Metro. | Gray | | Metro. | Gray | Metro. | | Gray | | Metro. | Gray |
| | | | | | Nov. | July | Nov. | July | | |
| 1.7 | 2.6 | 2.9 | 5.8 | 8.9 | 3.1 | 4.7 | 2.1 | 2.8 | 1.0 | 1.9 |

TABLE IV

Comparison of Reading Difference Scores (MAT) from Pre-to Post tests for the Macfarland Progressive Choice Class and a Representative Sampling from Basic Classes in Four Other Schools

| Group | No. | IQ | Initial Mean | Final Mean | Prev. Rate of Gain | Expected Gain | Actual Gain | % of Prev. Gain |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Macfarland PC | 10 | 76 | 2.6 | 3.6 | .29 | .26 * | 1.0 | 385 |
| Other Classes | 66 | 75 | 3.1 | 3.6 | .38 | .87 ** | .5 | .57 |

* Teaching interval : 9 months

** Teaching interval : 23 months

Finally, gains in reading (MAT) from November to June for the Macfarland group were compared with gains of a representative sampling of Basic Track pupils . (Table IV) For this comparison, six classes in four junior high schools which represented a cross-section of the city were selected: two from the northwest section, one of which was located in upper northwest; one from the southeast section; and one from the far northeast. It should be noted that the latter was a new school in which much emphasis and attention were given to the Basic Track program.

## RESULTS

The scores on the three measures employed in this study indicate that improvement in reading was evidenced by ALL pupils in the major study. Pretest means and post-test means, and the standard deviations of pretest and post-testscores for this group are presented in Table II. Differences between three consecutive scores can be observed. The mean gain of 1.7 ( one year seven months) over the nine month teaching interval represents significant growth for these pupils. Further analysis revealed a more striking result: ninety percent made a grade and a half progress in reading; twenty per cent made better than two year's gain. Since the I.Q. range was from 63 to 88, no single child would have been expected to make so much progress in a single year.

Comparison of Progressive Choice gains and average yearly gains (Table III) reveals Progressive Choice gains to be about five to eight times as great as average yearly gains before the Progressive Choice method was used in grade eight. The explanation can only be that the special instruction brought this about, since all of the children, with the exception of one, had progressed through NINE years of schooling and had arrived at grade as non-readers. No child exceeded the grade level expected for his mental age but all progress was made within the range of the child's known ability - which was to be expected considering the level at which they entered.

Examination and analysis of the various data for Groups Ia and II in Table I show that, in the case of mean gains, those indicated by both the MAT and the Gates scores were above what might be considered a "normal" amount of gain for an average child in a regular summer school class. The most noticeable aspect of these data is the improvement in reading for the five students in Period I who began the summer with the BASAL Progressive Choice Reading Program and, after two weeks, transferred to the ACCELERATED Program. With a mean I.Q. of 79, mean gain for these students on both standardized tests was significantly above expected: 1.6 ( one year six months ) on the Metropolitan and 1.5 (one year five months ) on the Gates. At the time the teacher transferred these pupils to the Accelerated program, she anticipated unusual gains for them.

It is interesting to note that the new-found success in reading was accompanied by improvements in the children's general attitudes toward school work. During the school year and through the summer the teacher reported an important change of approach and attitude in the children. They became more confident, their oral expression improved, and certain initial behavior difficulties disappeared. These improvements in attitudes toward reading and other learning tasks were maintained throughout the summer.

Another significant evidence of growth appeared in the pupils' own appraisal of their reading. During the summer session several pupils evaluated their progress in the amount, type, and general utility of their reading. We believe a reading program is achieving its purposes when there are pupil comments such as this: " If we had been taught this way before, so many of the children from my school wouldn't be here in summer school. " Another student whose severe language handicap was evidenced in his complete dependence on his dictionary at the beginning of the program, explained near the end that he no longer needed it. (Bavaria).

The fact that ten of the fourteen Macfarland children were willing to forego a summer vacation or job possibilities to continue this program suggests that they must have been convinced that it was of value. All of these pupils paid carfare as they did not live in the Garnet Patterson area as did other students. The attendance was excellent and not one dropped out of the program.

## DISCUSSION

At the beginning of this study we pointed out that we wanted to answer one question: " To what extent can we increase the reading skills of the pupils participating in this study so that the non-readers can read something and the poor readers can read better." The results speak for themselves as far as the question goes - the non-readers are reading something and the poor readers are reading better. We feel, too, that the Macfarland pupils who had a year's experience with the program have been given a good foundation, which will permit them to progress in conventional reading methods with a considerable degree of assurance.

We do not, however, feel justified in making generalizations from our results about the effectiveness of this program as a remedial method

for junior high school pupils. We can say that the results are provocative , if not definitive. The small sampling and the short period, together with the many variables during which the investigation was conducted, preclude further conclusions. Means should be found to extend the investigation of Progressive Choice's merits and limitations to a wider sample of teachers and children under better controlled conditions.

The tragedy that underlies the problem of the illiterate in the junior high school is that we have so far to and so little time to get there. A mentally retarded pupil who made a year or two year's growth in one year is making dramatic growth, but if he starts out at a primer level in junior high school, where is he even if he has grown as much as two years?

In the face of this kind of picture we can nly hope that we have headed off these children becoming members of the drop-out group.

We must be even more cautious in generalizing from the results of this experiment on educable mentally retarded non-readers to the situation of the normal child beginning reading in a public school setting, and judgement on the effectuveness of Progressive Choice as a preventive measure against reading failure must be reserved until the results of Dr. Woolman's three year study of Progressive Choice's use among young beginners becomes available.

## IMPLICATIONS

Research often raises more questions than it answers. In our attempt to answer one question, several questions have been raised which demand continued, more extended and refined study of this method of teaching. The implication of the findings is important enough for educational procedure and psychological theory to warrant thorough and controlled investigation. We have tried to pull together the most pertinent questions for further study.

The FIRST question concerns the problem of diagnosis and remediation. Until we can find ways to prevent the failures of pupils, we will need to continue extensive research into the problem of diagnosis and remediation. The question that occurs is whether a project started in the seventh grade and continued through the completion of

the program would throw more light on the problem of overcoming illiteracy among junior high school pupils?

The SECOND question concerns prevention. The mentally retarded child already starts school with many counts against him. His problem is compounded when he reaches junior high school unable to read even as well as a first grade child. Nine years is a long time for a child to spend in school with nothing to show for it. Does this sort of thing have to happen to children? As we increase our knowledge about the way children learn, can we not prevent illiteracy from happening by using what we have learned? If, as some studies have shown, we started in the pre-school years, could we prevent failure before it occurs?

The THIRD question: Can mental retardation itself be overcome or ameliorated by increasing the reading skills of very young children? What relation does the absence of verbal skills have upon a diagnosis of mental retardation? Available literature on the subject underscores the fact that there is a relationship between a pauperized environment and ultimate classification as a mental retardate. Is it possible to break the vicious cycle of mental retardation - poor enviornment- poor verbal skills by increasing reading skills?

Happily, educators, scientists and other leading authorities in the field are no longer content just to ask questions, but are now conducting research which will answer the questions. The Institute of Educational Research, for instance, plans a longitudinal study described in a recent publication which will throw some light on these questions. 14/

It would be a fine and wonderful advancement for education if the Nation's Capital should find the answers to these most important questions which are facing educators of retarded children.

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14. Woolman, Myron and Davy, Anne. Developing Symbolic Skills in the Mentally Retarded. Institute of Educational Research, Inc. Washington, D.C.

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 7111

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 16, 1961

Mr. ZELENKO introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# A BILL

To provide for the desegregation of public schools, with all deliberate speed, including nationwide first-step compliance by 1963, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That this Act may be cited as the "Public School Desegregation Act".

## TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

SEC. 101. As used in this Act—

(a) "Desegregation" means the assignment of all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall

be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or other options may be available to change such assignment.

(b) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated principally or substantially from or through the use of governmental funds, or funds derived from a governmental source.

(c) "School board" means any agency or agencies, the members, agents, and employees thereof, and any other person or persons, authorized to determine, control, or direct the institutions, structures, or places at which particular students are assigned to or attend public school.

(d) "First-step compliance" means the affording of desegregated education to a substantial number of students at each public school within the jurisdiction of the school board, not later than the commencement of the 1963–1964 school year.

## TITLE II—DUTY TO ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 201. Every school board which, on the date of the enactment of this Act, has failed to achieve desegregation in all public schools within its jurisdiction, shall adopt a desegregation plan as provided in section 202 and shall file said

plan, within one hundred and eighty days of the date of enactment of this Act with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

SEC. 202. Every desegregation plan required under section 201 shall—

(1) provide for achieving desegregation in all public schools within the jurisdiction of the school board with all deliberate speed, pursuant to a schedule setting forth the time when and the manner in which desegregation is to be achieved for each class, grade, school, and district within the jurisdiction of the school board involved; and

(2) provide for at least first-step compliance not later than the commencement of the 1963–1964 school year.

SEC. 203. Every school board required to adopt a desegregation plan pursuant to section 201 shall forthwith implement the same in accordance with its terms immediately upon its adoption and thereafter continue its implementation in good faith and with all deliberate speed until desegregation is fully achieved in all public schools within its jurisdiction.

SEC. 204. Whenever any school board subject to the requirements of this title loses or relinquishes any of its authority over public schools formerly within its jurisdiction or

its authority to assign students to schools within its jurisdiction, the duties prescribed in this Act shall immediately devolve upon the person or persons to whom such authority has been transferred or relinquished.

SEC. 205. Wherever, because of overlapping or complementary jurisdiction, more than one school board is subject to the requirements of this title with respect to the same schools or students, the boards concerned shall exercise their obligations hereunder jointly.

SEC. 206. The requirements of this title shall not apply to any public school which, on the date of enactment of this Act, is subject to a court order providing for or approving a desegregation plan for the said school.

## TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall upon application render technical assistance to school boards by such means as he deems appropriate in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of desegration plans required by this title. Technical assistance may include, but shall not be limited to, such matters as the assembling, publishing, and distributing of information, including successful case histories of desegregation, the planning, calling, and holding of conferences, the appointment of ad-

visory councils and the assisting by such other means as the Secretary deems appropriate of progress toward desegregation in the public schools of the Nation.

## TITLE IV—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 401. Every plan submitted to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to section 201 of this Act shall be reviewed by the Secretary to determine whether it conforms with the requirements of this Act. Whenever the Secretary determines that a desegregation plan submitted to him meets the requirements of this Act, he is authorized for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of any such desegregation plan and upon receipt of application therefor to make grants to school boards, States, municipalities, school districts, and other governmental units to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of such desegregation plan. Grants may be made under this section for—

(1) the cost of employing additional schoolteachers;

(2) the cost of giving to teachers and other school personnel in-service training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation;

(3) the cost of employing specialists in problems

incident to desegregation and of providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of desegregation in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or resistance to such desegregation;

(4) the cost of replacement of funds to schools or schoolteachers withheld because such schools or schoolteachers have undertaken or may undertake desegregation;

(5) the cost of construction, enlargement, or alteration of school facilities when the Secretary finds that lack or inadequacy of existing facilities makes the carrying out of a desegregation plan impracticable or materially more difficult; and

(6) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation in public schools.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is further authorized for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of desegregation in accordance with any court-approved desegregation plan not subject to the requirements of title II of this Act, to make grants to school boards, States, municipalities, school districts, and other governmental units to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of such de-

segregation plan in the same manner and for the same purposes as provided for in the foregoing section of this title.

SEC. 403. Each application made for a grant under this title shall provide such detailed breakdown of the measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe. Each grant under this section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, which may include a condition that the applicant expend certain of its own funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 404. Payments of grants under this title may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may determine.

SEC. 405. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year in process at the date of enactment of this Act and for each succeeding fiscal year, such sums,

not exceeding $40,000,000 for any fiscal year, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

## TITLE V—ENFORCEMENT OF DUTY TO ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 501. In the event that a school board, or its successor as provided in section 204, subject to the requirements of title II of this Act has violated any of the obligations prescribed therein, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States in the United States district court for the district wherein such school board or its successor is located or meets, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against such school board or its successor. The court wherein such action is instituted is authorized, upon finding that there has been a violation of title II of this Act, without limitation upon the grant of such other relief as may be appropriate under the circumstances, to require the school board or its successor (1) to adopt and implement a plan of school desegregation pursuant to the requirements of title II of this Act, (2) to implement any other school desegregation plan which the court may find appropriate and consistent with the requirements of this Act, or (3) to issue such other orders and grant such other relief as will most expeditiously achieve first-step compliance and desegregation with all deliberate speed in the public

schools under the jurisdiction of the school board or its successor.

SEC. 502. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings instituted under section 501 of this Act, and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted, and in a manner calculated to achieve desegregation in accordance with the requirements of this Act.

## TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 601. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair any right guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or any remedies already existing for their protection or enforcement, nor to prevent any individual or private organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any constitutional right in any manner now or hereafter permitted by law.

SEC. 602. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this Act, or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

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# A BILL

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By Mr. ZELENKO

MAY 16, 1961
Committee on Education and Labor

87TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

# H. R. 10783

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 15, 1962

Mr. KOWALSKI introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# A BILL

To provide for the desegregation of all public schools with all deliberate speed; requires every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare a desegregation plan providing for first-step compliance.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That this Act may be cited as the "Federal Equality of Education Act of 1962."

## TITLE I—DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 101. For purposes of this title and titles II, III, and IV of this Act—

(a) The term "desegregation" means the assignment of

all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or other options may be available to change such assignment.

(b) The term "public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated principally or substantially from or through the use of governmental funds, or funds derived from a governmental source.

(c) The term "school board" means any agency or agencies, the members, agents, and employees thereof, and any other person or persons, authorized to determine, control, or direct the institutions, structures, or places at which particular students are assigned to or attend public school.

(d) The term "first-step compliance" means the affording of desegregated education to a substantial number of students at each public school within the jurisdiction of a school board.

(e) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

SEC. 102. Every school board which, on the date of the enactment of this Act, has failed to achieve desegregation

of all public schools within its jurisdiction, shall adopt a desegregation plan as provided in section 103 and shall file such plan, within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, with the Secretary.

SEC. 103. Every desegregation plan required under section 102 shall—

(1) provide for achieving desegregation of all public schools within the jurisdiction of the school board with all deliberate speed, pursuant to a schedule setting forth the time when and the manner in which desegregation is to be achieved for each class, grade, school, and district within the jurisdiction of the school board involved; and

(2) provide for at least first-step compliance not later than the commencement of the first school year which begins after the submission of such plan.

SEC. 104. Every school board required to adopt a desegregation plan pursuant to section 102 shall forthwith implement the same in accordance with its terms immediately upon its adoption and thereafter continue its implementation in good faith and with all deliberate speed until desegregation is fully achieved in all public schools within its jurisdiction.

SEC. 105. Whenever any school board subject to the requirements of this title loses or relinquishes any of its au-

thority over public schools formerly within its jurisdiction or its authority to assign students to schools within its jurisdiction, the duties prescribed in this title shall immediately devolve upon the person or persons to whom such authority has been transferred or relinquished.

SEC. 106. Wherever, because of overlapping or complementary jurisdiction, more than one school board is subject to the requirements of this title with respect to the same schools or students, the boards concerned shall exercise their obligations hereunder jointly.

SEC. 107. The requirements of this title shall not apply with respect to any public school which, on the date of enactment of this Act, is subject to a court order providing for or approving a desegregation plan for such public school.

SEC. 108. (a) In the event that a school board, or its successor as provided in section 105, subject to the requirements of this title has violated any of the obligations prescribed herein, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States in the United States district court for the district wherein such school board or its successor is located or meets, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief including an application for an injunction or other order, against such school board or its successor. The court in which such action is instituted is authorized, upon finding that there has been a violation of

this title, without limitation upon the grant of such other relief as may be appropriate under the circumstances, to require the school board or its successor (1) to adopt and implement a plan of school desegregation pursuant to the requirements of this title, (2) to implement any other school desegregation plan which the court may find appropriate and consistent with the requirements of this title, or (3) to issue such other orders and grant such other relief as will most expeditiously achieve first-step compliance and desegregation with all deliberate speed in the public schools under the jurisdiction of the school board or its successor.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings instituted under subsection (a), and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted, and in a manner calculated to achieve desegregation in accordance with the requirements of this title.

## TITLE II—GRANTS TO SCHOOL BOARDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 201. Whenever the Secretary determines that a desegregation plan submitted to him by a school board pursuant to section 102 meets the requirements of title I he is

authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of any such desegregation plan and upon receipt of application therefor, to make grants to such school board, or to the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board, to assist in meeting the costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for—

(1) employing specialists in problems incident to desegregation, and providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of desegregation in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or resistance to desegregation;

(2) providing in-service training to teachers, guidance counselors, and other school personnel for dealing with problems incident to desegregation; and

(3) establishing programs designed to identify and assist teachers who are handicapped in their professional endeavors as a result of inferior training or educational opportunity, and to identify and assist talented and able students who are handicapped in their scholastic efforts as a result of inferior educational opportunity.

SEC. 202. The Secretary is further authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of desegregation in accordance with any desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, or of carrying out desegregation by any

other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, to make grants to school boards, and local governments, to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the purposes enumerated in section 201.

SEC. 203. Each application made for a grant under this title shall provide such detailed breakdown of the measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe. Each grant under this title shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, except that a grant may be made only on condition that the applicant will, during the period for which the grant is made, expend for the same purpose or purposes for which the grant is made an amount of its own funds equal to the amount of the grant.

In determining whether to make a grant and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this title and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 204. Payments of grants under this title may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may determine. No payment of a

grant shall be made to any school board, or to the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a desegregation plan was submitted by such school board under section 102, or, in the case of a school board subject to a desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, after the expiration of five years from the date on which the court provided or approved such desegregation plan, or, in the case of any other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a program of desegregation was begun by such school board.

SEC. 205. There are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year in process on the date of the enactment of this Act and for each succeeding fiscal year, such sums, not exceeding $40,000,000 for any fiscal year, as may be necessary for making grants under the provisions of this title.

## TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE WITH RESPECT TO DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS

SEC. 301. The Secretary is authorized, upon receipt of application therefor, to give technical assistance to school boards eligible for assistance under title II, and to local nonprofit organizations in the communities served by such school

boards, in training school personnel and community leaders in techniques useful in solving desegregation problems, including training and other assistance in establishing home study programs for academically and culturally handicapped students. Such technical assistance may be given to any such school board, or local nonprofit organization, whether or not such school board or the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board has applied for or received a grant under title II.

SEC. 302. Technical assistance authorized by section 301 may be given by the Secretary by such means as he deems appropriate to carry out the purposes of such section. No technical assistance shall be given to any school board, or to any local nonprofit organization in the community served by such school board, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a desegregation plan was submitted by such school board under section 102, or, in the case of a school board subject to a desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, after the expiration of five years from the date on which the court provided or approved such desegregation plan, or, in the case of any other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a program of desegregation was begun by such school board.

## TITLE IV—LOANS TO SCHOOL BOARDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

SEC. 401. The Secretary is authorized, upon receipt of application therefor, to make loans—

(1) to any school board, if he finds that—

(A) part or all of the funds which would otherwise be available to such school board have been withheld or withdrawn by action of the State or local government because of the desegregation, in whole or in part, of one or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school board; and

(B) such school board has authority to receive and expend the proceeds of such loan; or

(2) to any local government within the jurisdiction of which any school board operates, if he finds that—

(A) part or all of the funds of such local government which would otherwise be available to such school board have been withheld or withdrawn by action of the State because of the desegregation, in whole or in part, of one or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school board; and

(B) such local government has authority to receive such loan and to make the proceeds thereof available for the use of such school board.

SEC. 402. (a) Loans may be made by the Secretary under section 401 to any school board or local government only if he is satisfied that the proceeds of such loans will be used for the same purposes for which the funds withheld or withdrawn would otherwise be used, and that such purposes are necessary for the operation and maintenance of the school system under the jurisdiction of such school board.

(b) Loans may be made by the Secretary under section 401 to any school board or local government only if he is satisfied that funds cannot be borrowed by such school board or local government, as the case may be, from private financial institutions.

SEC. 403. Any loan under section 401 shall be made upon such terms and conditions, not inconsistent with the provisions of this title, as the Secretary deems appropriate. Any such loan shall be repaid within such time as the Secretary prescribes after the funds withheld or withdrawn are restored to the school board or local government concerned, or after funds are available to such school board or local government by borrowing from private financial institutions.

SEC. 404. There are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary for making loans under the provisions of this title.

## TITLE V—ASSISTANCE BY COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 501. Part I of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is amended by inserting after section 104 the following new section:

"ADDITIONAL DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 104A. In addition to the duties imposed by section 104 (a), the Commission is authorized—

"(1) to collect and disseminate information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts in the various States to achieve an organization and operation of their schools in accordance with constitutional requirements, including data as to the known effects of such programs and procedures on the quality of education and to the costs of such programs and procedures; and

"(2) to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing desegregation plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions, and to attempt to mediate and conciliate disputes between school officials and school patrons, upon the request of either, relating to desegregation of schools, including proposed plans for desegregation and the implementation of desegregation plans already in operation."

## TITLE VI—RESTRICTIONS ON FEDERAL FINANCIAL AID FOR SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, AND UNIVERSITIES

SEC. 601. (a) In the case of any program providing Federal grants-in-aid to the States for elementary or secondary education in public schools, the amount of such grant-in-aid for any fiscal year to any State shall be reduced in accordance with the provisions of this section if the head of the Federal department or agency administering such programs determines, at the time of determining the amount of such grant-in-aid for such year, that the public elementary or secondary schools of any local educational agency in such State are operated in such a manner as to segregate pupils of any race or color. If the head of such department or agency determines at such time that all local educational agencies in such State practice such segregation in the operation of such schools, then such grant-in-aid shall only be 50 per centum of the amount it would have been but for the provisions of this section. If the head of such department or agency determines at such time that one or more local educational agencies in such State have initiated a program of desegregation, or do not practice segregation, in the operation of such schools, then such grant-in-aid shall be 50 per centum of the amount it would have been but for the provisions of this section, plus such proportion of the remaining 50

per centum as the number of pupils enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools of all the local educational agencies which have initiated a program of desegregation or do not practice desegregation, bears to the number of pupils enrolled in all the public elementary and secondary schools in such State.

(b) For the purposes of this section—

(1) the term "local educational agency" means a board of education or other legally constituted local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or political subdivision in a State; and

(2) enrollments shall be determined on the basis of the latest reliable figures available to the department or agency head concerned.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

SEC. 602. (a) No Federal department or agency shall make any grant or loan to any publicly controlled college or university unless satisfactory proof is submitted to the head

of such department or agency that such college or university does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in accepting students for enrollment.

(b) Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

## TITLE VII—PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUALS FROM BODILY HARM

SEC. 701. The Attorney General is authorized to take such action as may be necessary to protect—

(1) the members of any school board having under its jurisdiction one or more public schools which are desegregated or in which desegregation has been commenced;

(2) the officials, teachers, and other employees of any public school which is desegregated or in which desegregation has been commenced, or of any public school system of which any such public school is a part;

(3) children attending any such public school and the parents of such children; and

(4) any other individual assisting any such member, any such official, teacher, or other employee, or

any such child or parent, from physical injury and from harassment, intimidation, or reprisal by any person or group of persons.

TITLE VIII—ANNUAL SCHOOL SURVEYS

SEC. 801. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall conduct an annual survey to determine the number and ethnic classification of students enrolled in all public educational institutions in the United States. The Secretary shall prepare and publish each year data obtained from each annual survey setting forth the number and ethnic classification of students enrolled—

(1) in all public educational institutions in each State,

(2) in each elementary and secondary public educational institution in each school district, and the totals for each school district, and

(3) in each public institution of higher education in each State.

TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 901. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair any remedies already existing for the protection or enforcement of rights guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, nor to prevent any individual or private organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any con-

stitutional right in any manner now or hereafter permitted by law.

SEC. 902. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this Act or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 903. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

87TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

# H. R

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By Mr. Kowa

MARCH 15, 196

Referred to the Committee on E

# H. R. 10783

## BILL

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KOWALSKI

H 15, 1962
ee on Education and Labor

[redacted]

[redacted] Committee on [redacted] Federally Assisted Public Education, Friday, June 15, 1962, at 10:00 A.M., Room 429, Old House Office Building

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, on behalf of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I wish to thank you for this opportunity to testify in support of H.R. 10783, introduced by Mr. Kowalski of Connecticut and H.R. 7111, introduced by Mr. Zelenko of New York.

It should be noted that the principle of these bills is also supported by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. Our organization is a member of the Leadership Conference and Mr. Roy Wilkins, who is Executive Secretary of the NAACP, is also Chairman of the Leadership Conference.

At the outset, I wish to go on record as saying that none of the failures to desegregate, none of the acts of violence which have been used to thwart compliance with the law, and none of the irresponsible criticisms that have been made by opponents of civil rights can diminish the monumental importance of the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision which outlawed school segregation on the basis of race. No other decision of that Tribunal has meant so much to all of the citizens of the United States who believe that our Constitution is a vital instrument designed to protect freedom and human rights in all times of stress and in any period of our nation's history. Millions of our fellow humans of numerous races, differing religious faiths, and who owe loyalties to other nations in many parts of the world, have been inspired by this action of the Court.

Here in this forum, I wish to assert that the name of Chief Justice Earl Warren and the names of his associates on the Court, who were participants in the unanimous decision of May 17, 1954, will live and be honored long after the last echo of [redacted] has faded out over the trash heaps of discredited detraction.

It is also a tribute to the vitality and strength of our country that one of the Justices who joined in that unanimous decision was once a Senator from the State of Alabama. In spite of all that some spokesmen from that State may say to the contrary, I prefer to believe that there are more people in Alabama and elsewhere in the South who follow the views of Mr. Justice Black on the matter of school desegregation than there are people who wish to defy the law. One of the great tragedies of our time is that the Congress has failed to give adequate support to the men and women of good will in the South who place the preservation of public education above petty prejudices based on race.

The courageous decision of the United States Supreme Court opened the door through which hundreds of major new advances in Washington and elsewhere have been made because of the elevation of the nation's concept of what the term, "equal justice under law" really means. The fact that Congress, eight years after this historic decision, is still pondering whether it will pass implementing and supplementing legislation should trouble the conscience of every single candidate for public office who has told the voters of our nation that he would work for the passage of human rights legislation.

The hard fact that we face in the consideration of these bills is that it is now June 15 and neither this Subcommittee nor the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has approved a bill. It is also a fact of life that even if this Subcommittee does approve either of these bills, or possibly improved versions of them, there still looms ahead the formidable obstacle of what has been described as "liberalized" Rules Committee in this Body. They also face the hazard of a cave of winds known as the "filibuster" through which blow noisy gales of fantastic destruction. In spite of these known threats to enactment of these bills, let no man concede that it is impossible to pass them in this Session of the 87th Congress. Whenever there is the will to pass legislation, whenever the leaders of the country, beginning with the President and including the leaders of both parties in the House and Senate, are determined to write legislation to correct injustices, they can do so regardless

of the time factors and regardless of the processes of obstruction in the hands of a few. Those who will oppose these bills and those who have opposed even so innocuous a measure as the so-called literacy test, cannot be successful without the assistance of Republicans and Democrats who come from areas outside the South. One has only to look at the record of emasculating amendments when the Civil Rights Bills of 1957 and 1960 were passed to see that the successful dilution of strong legislation was accomplished by a thimble full of Dixie and a bucket full of Yankee cooperation.

On the matter of contents of these proposed bills, it should be noted that the subject of adoption of a desegregation plan as proposed by Section 201 of Title II in the Zelenko Bill and Section 102 of Title I in the Kowalski Bill permit a 180-day period of grace after enactment in which plans may be filed with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. This provision has caused great soul-searching among many who support these bills. Eight years in which to comply with the Supreme Court decision are more than enough time. Nevertheless, this provision has been agreed upon by friends of civil rights in good faith and with clear consciences. We must make certain that if and when these bills become law, there will be no last minute changes which will lengthen the period from what is now approximately six months to a longer time.

The bills contain provisions for technical and financial assistance to be provided to aid school desegregation through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. These features should be of value to all who wish to obey the law, but who honestly believe that they can do a better job with help from the Federal Government.

As one travels about the states which still resist compliance with the U.S. Supreme Court decision, it is appalling to see the run-down, low-grade arrangements which are set up to educate children, whether they be colored or white. If some of the areas of greatest resistance would open the doors of classrooms to all races tomorrow, it would mean merely a mingling of promising children in buildings that are health hazards, in classrooms that are

undesirable, and under teachers who are over burdened because of low pay and inadequate working conditions. The passage of these provisions would mean that not only would there be a moral rebirth in the school districts that comply with the law, but there would also be a physical rejuvenation to prepare all of our children for the challenging world and the times of high adventure in which we live.

In this respect, these bills are vastly superior to what are popularly described as Federal Aid to Education bills. All of those proposals make an incredible attempt to have the Federal Government become a party to racial segregation by giving money for school construction or other educational purposes without any requirement that the new schools and the new facilities be available to all children without regard to race.

Under Title V of the Zelenko Bill and under Section 108a, Title I, of the Kowalski Bill, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to institute for, or in the name of the United States, civil actions or other proceedings or preventive relief, and an application for an injunction or other order against school boards or their successors for failure to comply with the provisions of the new law. This is of great value and without it the passage of these bills would be an empty gesture.

The majority of the American people are law-abiding and respect even those statutes with which they do not agree. There are, however, enough hoodlums and enough apostles of violence to intimidate and obstruct compliance. These opponents of human freedom often succeed in delays merely by threatening reprisals. Unfortunately, also there are some holders of public office who seem to believe that they, rather than the U.S. Supreme Court, are the final arbiters on constitutional questions. For those who would obstruct and for those who would delay by betraying their positions of trust, there is needed the firm hand of the Federal Government to accomplish obedience to the law and to thwart those who seek to evade the law with sophisticated or simple-minded schemes.

Section 601 of Title VI in the Zelenko Bill and Section 901 of Title IX in the Kowalski Bill are of great value. These assure that if the Executive Branch of Government is not diligent and forthright in the administration of the law, the citizens who are being denied their constitutional rights will still be able to seek redress with their own resources.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I would like to point out that there are some voices that have been raised in the Congress and on various radio and television programs asserting that there is no interest in civil rights legislation. It is difficult to know what newspapers these persons read. It is difficult to know what occupies their minds when hundreds of colored citizens are daily engaged in protests against injustices in all parts of our country.

I believe every member of this Subcommittee knows that if the subject of civil rights had the glamour of some major government scandal or had the television possibilities of such things as juvenile delinquency or organized crime, there would be tremendous activity in the hearing rooms and on committee staffs, even though not a single postcard, letter or telegram had been received by any member of either House asking for action on the problem presented. Even if there was not a single voice raised urging passage of this legislation, all who have taken an oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States should feel compelled to pass laws of this kind. You, by your interest and by the diligent work of your staff members, and the gentlemen who have introduced these bills, have shown that you are conscious of your duty. I congratulate you for this and earnestly hope that your colleagues who are not members of this Subcommittee will rally to support this valuable action and that they will join you in working for passage in this Session of the Congress.

Statement of Norman Hill, Assistant
to the Program Director, CORE -
the Congress of Racial Equality
before the Committee on Education and
Labor of the U. S. House of
Representatives, June 15, 1962,
Washington, D. C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

My name is Norman Hill and I am the Assistant to the Program Director of the Congress of Racial Equality whose office is located in New York City, at 38 Park Row. I wish to thank the Committee for this opportunity to appear and to present testimony on the urgent need for the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Supreme Court in 1954 in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka declared that enforced racial segregation in public education is a denial of equal protection under the 14th amendment.

Yet today, eight years after this historic decision, 2,800,000 Negro children in the South still attend segregated schools. In the states of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, no effort has been made to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1960-61 only 7% of all Negroes in public schools in the 17 southern states attended school with white pupils. The public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia have been closed since September of 1959 in defiance of a court order, Tuition grants involving state and local funds have been used to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. In Louisiana measures have been taken by the executive and legislative

branches of the government to maintain segregation despite a Federal court order. Accompanying the defiance on a state level were civic disorder and a boycott of the public schools serving as the foci of the controversy. A further indication of the breakdown of law and order were the harassment and economic reprisals directed against the few whites who attempted to comply with the Federal order.

Such evidence clearly manifests the urgent and immediate need for further steps on a federal level -- namely the enactment of a public school desegregation bill. The relevant and pressing question is: how to extinguish public school segregation. Open defiance continues. Progress is excruciatingly slow. Millions of minority group children are suffering under an inferior physical and psychological educational environmnent, are experiencing an incalculable harm which may never be undone.

Granting the existing widespread school segregation is in the South, it is in reality a national problem, a cancer of the North as well as the South. On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," thus clearly encompassing segregation de facto as well as de jure. Examples of segregation in northern and western school systems occur by official action in the form of gerrymandering, zoning, selection of sites for schools and staffing and by culpable inaction, particularly in view of widespread residential segregation.

In reiterating support for a public school desegregation bill, I would cite Title II providing for grants to school boards and local

governments to facilitate desegregation and Title III authorizing technical assistance by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for desegregation problems. These provisions are the means by which desegregation can occur and at the same time maintain and improve the quality of education. Concurrently the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is a recognition of the necessity and urgency of school desegregation, a realization of the importance of avoiding the compounding of existing inequalities in facilities, staffing and quality of education resulting from segregation.

Millions of minority group children, North and South, await fulfillment of the 1960 Democratic Party platform pledge, "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should submit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963," and the Republican plank stating that, "We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay." The time is now!

******

75 copies

Committee on Education and Labor
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

ATT: Miss Deborah Partridge Wolfe

Sent 6/13

June 8, 1962

Miss Deborah Partridge Wolfe
Director
Committee on Education and Labor
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Wolfe:

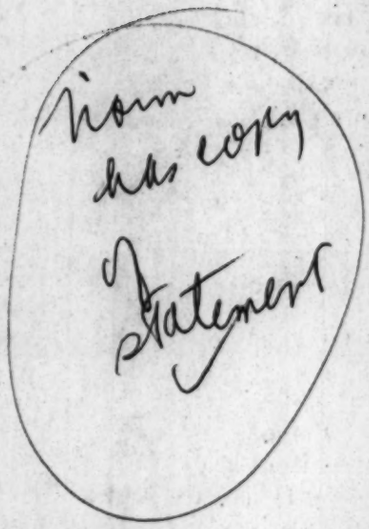
As per your letter to Mr. James Farmer dated June 6, pleased be advised that I will be testifying for the Congress of Racial Equality at the hearings before the Subcommittee on Integration.

I will forward to you a written statement in 75 copies Tuesday, June 12.

Sincerely,

Norman Hill
Assistant to the Director
PROGRAM DEPARTMENT

NH/ss



JUN 7 1962

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# Committee on Education and Labor

ADAM C. POWELL, N.Y., CHAIRMAN

## Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Education

## U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

## Washington 25, D.C.

DEBORAH WOLFE
DIRECTOR
JAMES BRANIGAN
COUNSEL
429 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
EXTENSION 5257

June 6, 1962

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This will confirm our recent telephone conversation in which you agreed to testify at the hearings before the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education, to be held Friday, June 15, 1962, at 10:00 a.m. in Room 429 of the Old House Office Building.

As you will recall, the hearings will be centered around testimony on H. R. 7111 (introduced by Congressman Zelenko of New York) and H. R. 10783 (introduced by Congressman Kowalski of Connecticut), copies of which are enclosed.

I am also enclosing an information sheet for witnesses to assist in preparing you for this presentation.

I look forward to seeing you on June 15.

Sincerely,

Deborah P. Wolfe

DEBORAH PARTRIDGE WOLFE
Director

Enclosures (2).

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DPW:dfb

STANDARDS FOR WITNESSES

Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration

1. Testimony will be taken, as far as possible, on higher education first, with secondary education and elementary education to follow. Witnesses will be scheduled with this in mind, as far as practicable.

2. A written statement shall be submitted to the subcommittee in 75 copies, at least 20 of which should be mailed to reach the committee office the day before the witness appears, so that pertinent questions may be prepared.

3. The witness may have 10 to 15 minutes to make his oral presentation. He may either read from his prepared text or submit it for the record and request permission to use his allotted time to amplify his material or to present additional related material. Findings of any studies on which the witness may rest his testimony should be submitted in detail unless they are otherwise published.

4. The witness is available for questioning by Members after his presentation, confining his answers to the substance of the question asked, which will be based on the statement made.

5. The witness' time on the stand will be at the discretion of the subcommittee chairman.

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 7111

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 16, 1961

Mr. ZELENKO introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# A BILL

To provide for the desegregation of public schools, with all deliberate speed, including nationwide first-step compliance by 1963, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That this Act may be cited as the "Public School Desegregation Act".

## TITLE I—DEFINITIONS

SEC. 101. As used in this Act—

(a) "Desegregation" means the assignment of all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall

be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or other options may be available to change such assignment.

(b) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated principally or substantially from or through the use of governmental funds, or funds derived from a governmental source.

(c) "School board" means any agency or agencies, the members, agents, and employees thereof, and any other person or persons, authorized to determine, control, or direct the institutions, structures, or places at which particular students are assigned to or attend public school.

(d) "First-step compliance" means the affording of desegregated education to a substantial number of students at each public school within the jurisdiction of the school board, not later than the commencement of the 1963–1964 school year.

## TITLE II—DUTY TO ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 201. Every school board which, on the date of the enactment of this Act, has failed to achieve desegregation in all public schools within its jurisdiction, shall adopt a desegregation plan as provided in section 202 and shall file said

plan, within one hundred and eighty days of the date of enactment of this Act with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

SEC. 202. Every desegregation plan required under section 201 shall—

(1) provide for achieving desegregation in all public schools within the jurisdiction of the school board with all deliberate speed, pursuant to a schedule setting forth the time when and the manner in which desegregation is to be achieved for each class, grade, school, and district within the jurisdiction of the school board involved; and

(2) provide for at least first-step compliance not later than the commencement of the 1963–1964 school year.

SEC. 203. Every school board required to adopt a desegregation plan pursuant to section 201 shall forthwith implement the same in accordance with its terms immediately upon its adoption and thereafter continue its implementation in good faith and with all deliberate speed until desegregation is fully achieved in all public schools within its jurisdiction.

SEC. 204. Whenever any school board subject to the requirements of this title loses or relinquishes any of its authority over public schools formerly within its jurisdiction or

its authority to assign students to schools within its jurisdiction, the duties prescribed in this Act shall immediately devolve upon the person or persons to whom such authority has been transferred or relinquished.

SEC. 205. Wherever, because of overlapping or complementary jurisdiction, more than one school board is subject to the requirements of this title with respect to the same schools or students, the boards concerned shall exercise their obligations hereunder jointly.

SEC. 206. The requirements of this title shall not apply to any public school which, on the date of enactment of this Act, is subject to a court order providing for or approving a desegregation plan for the said school.

## TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 301. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall upon application render technical assistance to school boards by such means as he deems appropriate in the preparation, adoption, and implementation of desegration plans required by this title. Technical assistance may include, but shall not be limited to, such matters as the assembling, publishing, and distributing of information, including successful case histories of desegregation, the planning, calling, and holding of conferences, the appointment of ad-

visory councils and the assisting by such other means as the Secretary deems appropriate of progress toward desegregation in the public schools of the Nation.

## TITLE IV—FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 401. Every plan submitted to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to section 201 of this Act shall be reviewed by the Secretary to determine whether it conforms with the requirements of this Act. Whenever the Secretary determines that a desegregation plan submitted to him meets the requirements of this Act, he is authorized for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of any such desegregation plan and upon receipt of application therefor to make grants to school boards, States, municipalities, school districts, and other governmental units to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of such desegregation plan. Grants may be made under this section for—

(1) the cost of employing additional schoolteachers;

(2) the cost of giving to teachers and other school personnel in-service training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation;

(3) the cost of employing specialists in problems

incident to desegregation and of providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of desegregation in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or resistance to such desegregation;

(4) the cost of replacement of funds to schools or schoolteachers withheld because such schools or schoolteachers have undertaken or may undertake desegregation;

(5) the cost of construction, enlargement, or alteration of school facilities when the Secretary finds that lack or inadequacy of existing facilities makes the carrying out of a desegregation plan impracticable or materially more difficult; and

(6) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation in public schools.

SEC. 402. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is further authorized for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of desegregation in accordance with any court-approved desegregation plan not subject to the requirements of title II of this Act, to make grants to school boards, States, municipalities, school districts, and other governmental units to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the implementation of such de-

segregation plan in the same manner and for the same purposes as provided for in the foregoing section of this title.

SEC. 403. Each application made for a grant under this title shall provide such detailed breakdown of the measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe. Each grant under this section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, which may include a condition that the applicant expend certain of its own funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 404. Payments of grants under this title may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may determine.

SEC. 405. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year in process at the date of enactment of this Act and for each succeeding fiscal year, such sums,

not exceeding $40,000,000 for any fiscal year, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

## TITLE V—ENFORCEMENT OF DUTY TO ADOPT AND IMPLEMENT DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 501. In the event that a school board, or its successor as provided in section 204, subject to the requirements of title II of this Act has violated any of the obligations prescribed therein, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States in the United States district court for the district wherein such school board or its successor is located or meets, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against such school board or its successor. The court wherein such action is instituted is authorized, upon finding that there has been a violation of title II of this Act, without limitation upon the grant of such other relief as may be appropriate under the circumstances, to require the school board or its successor (1) to adopt and implement a plan of school desegregation pursuant to the requirements of title II of this Act, (2) to implement any other school desegregation plan which the court may find appropriate and consistent with the requirements of this Act, or (3) to issue such other orders and grant such other relief as will most expeditiously achieve first-step compliance and desegregation with all deliberate speed in the public

schools under the jurisdiction of the school board or its successor.

SEC. 502. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings instituted under section 501 of this Act, and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted, and in a manner calculated to achieve desegregation in accordance with the requirements of this Act.

## TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 601. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair any right guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or any remedies already existing for their protection or enforcement, nor to prevent any individual or private organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any constitutional right in any manner now or hereafter permitted by law.

SEC. 602. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this Act, or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

87TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

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To provide for the des
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and for other purpose

By Mr. ZE

MAY 16,

Referred to the Committee

# H. R. 7111

## BILL

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t-step compliance by 1963,
urposes.

Mr. ZELENKO

IAY 16, 1961
mittee on Education and Labor

87TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

# H. R. 10783

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 15, 1962

Mr. KOWALSKI introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

# A BILL

To provide for the desegregation of all public schools with all deliberate speed; requires every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare a desegregation plan providing for first-step compliance.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That this Act may be cited as the "Federal Equality of Education Act of 1962."

## TITLE I—DESEGREGATION PLANS

SEC. 101. For purposes of this title and titles II, III, and IV of this Act—

(a) The term "desegregation" means the assignment of

all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or other options may be available to change such assignment.

(b) The term "public school" means any elementary or secondary educational institution operated by a State, subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a State, or operated principally or substantially from or through the use of governmental funds, or funds derived from a governmental source.

(c) The term "school board" means any agency or agencies, the members, agents, and employees thereof, and any other person or persons, authorized to determine, control, or direct the institutions, structures, or places at which particular students are assigned to or attend public school.

(d) The term "first-step compliance" means the affording of desegregated education to a substantial number of students at each public school within the jurisdiction of a school board.

(e) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

SEC. 102. Every school board which, on the date of the enactment of this Act, has failed to achieve desegregation

of all public schools within its jurisdiction, shall adopt a desegregation plan as provided in section 103 and shall file such plan, within 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act, with the Secretary.

SEC. 103. Every desegregation plan required under section 102 shall—

(1) provide for achieving desegregation of all public schools within the jurisdiction of the school board with all deliberate speed, pursuant to a schedule setting forth the time when and the manner in which desegregation is to be achieved for each class, grade, school, and district within the jurisdiction of the school board involved; and

(2) provide for at least first-step compliance not later than the commencement of the first school year which begins after the submission of such plan.

SEC. 104. Every school board required to adopt a desegregation plan pursuant to section 102 shall forthwith implement the same in accordance with its terms immediately upon its adoption and thereafter continue its implementation in good faith and with all deliberate speed until desegregation is fully achieved in all public schools within its jurisdiction.

SEC. 105. Whenever any school board subject to the requirements of this title loses or relinquishes any of its au-

thority over public schools formerly within its jurisdiction or its authority to assign students to schools within its jurisdiction, the duties prescribed in this title shall immediately devolve upon the person or persons to whom such authority has been transferred or relinquished.

SEC. 106. Wherever, because of overlapping or complementary jurisdiction, more than one school board is subject to the requirements of this title with respect to the same schools or students, the boards concerned shall exercise their obligations hereunder jointly.

SEC. 107. The requirements of this title shall not apply with respect to any public school which, on the date of enactment of this Act, is subject to a court order providing for or approving a desegregation plan for such public school.

SEC. 108. (a) In the event that a school board, or its successor as provided in section 105, subject to the requirements of this title has violated any of the obligations prescribed herein, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States in the United States district court for the district wherein such school board or its successor is located or meets, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief including an application for an injunction or other order, against such school board or its successor. The court in which such action is instituted is authorized, upon finding that there has been a violation of

this title, without limitation upon the grant of such other relief as may be appropriate under the circumstances, to require the school board or its successor (1) to adopt and implement a plan of school desegregation pursuant to the requirements of this title, (2) to implement any other school desegregation plan which the court may find appropriate and consistent with the requirements of this title, or (3) to issue such other orders and grant such other relief as will most expeditiously achieve first-step compliance and desegregation with all deliberate speed in the public schools under the jurisdiction of the school board or its successor.

(b) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction over proceedings instituted under subsection (a), and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted, and in a manner calculated to achieve desegregation in accordance with the requirements of this title.

## TITLE II—GRANTS TO SCHOOL BOARDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 201. Whenever the Secretary determines that a desegregation plan submitted to him by a school board pursuant to section 102 meets the requirements of title I he is

authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of any such desegregation plan and upon receipt of application therefor, to make grants to such school board, or to the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board, to assist in meeting the costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for—

(1) employing specialists in problems incident to desegregation, and providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of desegregation in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or resistance to desegregation;

(2) providing in-service training to teachers, guidance counselors, and other school personnel for dealing with problems incident to desegregation; and

(3) establishing programs designed to identify and assist teachers who are handicapped in their professional endeavors as a result of inferior training or educational opportunity, and to identify and assist talented and able students who are handicapped in their scholastic efforts as a result of inferior educational opportunity.

SEC. 202. The Secretary is further authorized, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of desegregation in accordance with any desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, or of carrying out desegregation by any

other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, to make grants to school boards, and local governments, to assist in meeting costs he determines to be reasonably necessary for the purposes enumerated in section 201.

SEC. 203. Each application made for a grant under this title shall provide such detailed breakdown of the measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe. Each grant under this title shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, except that a grant may be made only on condition that the applicant will, during the period for which the grant is made, expend for the same purpose or purposes for which the grant is made an amount of its own funds equal to the amount of the grant.

In determining whether to make a grant and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration the amount available for grants under this title and the other applications which are pending before him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation; and such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 204. Payments of grants under this title may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals as the Secretary may determine. No payment of a

grant shall be made to any school board, or to the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a desegregation plan was submitted by such school board under section 102, or, in the case of a school board subject to a desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, after the expiration of five years from the date on which the court provided or approved such desegregation plan, or, in the case of any other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a program of desegregation was begun by such school board.

SEC. 205. There are authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year in process on the date of the enactment of this Act and for each succeeding fiscal year, such sums, not exceeding $40,000,000 for any fiscal year, as may be necessary for making grants under the provisions of this title.

## TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BY SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE WITH RESPECT TO DESEGREGATION PROBLEMS

SEC. 301. The Secretary is authorized, upon receipt of application therefor, to give technical assistance to school boards eligible for assistance under title II, and to local nonprofit organizations in the communities served by such school

boards, in training school personnel and community leaders in techniques useful in solving desegregation problems, including training and other assistance in establishing home study programs for academically and culturally handicapped students. Such technical assistance may be given to any such school board, or local nonprofit organization, whether or not such school board or the local government having authority to provide funds for such school board has applied for or received a grant under title II.

SEC. 302. Technical assistance authorized by section 301 may be given by the Secretary by such means as he deems appropriate to carry out the purposes of such section. No technical assistance shall be given to any school board, or to any local nonprofit organization in the community served by such school board, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a desegregation plan was submitted by such school board under section 102, or, in the case of a school board subject to a desegregation plan provided or approved by a court, after the expiration of five years from the date on which the court provided or approved such desegregation plan, or, in the case of any other school board not subject to the requirements of title I, after the expiration of five years from the date on which a program of desegregation was begun by such school board.

## TITLE IV—LOANS TO SCHOOL BOARDS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

SEC. 401. The Secretary is authorized, upon receipt of application therefor, to make loans—

(1) to any school board, if he finds that—

(A) part or all of the funds which would otherwise be available to such school board have been withheld or withdrawn by action of the State or local government because of the desegregation, in whole or in part, of one or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school board; and

(B) such school board has authority to receive and expend the proceeds of such loan; or

(2) to any local government within the jurisdiction of which any school board operates, if he finds that—

(A) part or all of the funds of such local government which would otherwise be available to such school board have been withheld or withdrawn by action of the State because of the desegregation, in whole or in part, of one or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school board; and

(B) such local government has authority to receive such loan and to make the proceeds thereof available for the use of such school board.

SEC. 402. (a) Loans may be made by the Secretary under section 401 to any school board or local government only if he is satisfied that the proceeds of such loans will be used for the same purposes for which the funds withheld or withdrawn would otherwise be used, and that such purposes are necessary for the operation and maintenance of the school system under the jurisdiction of such school board.

(b) Loans may be made by the Secretary under section 401 to any school board or local government only if he is satisfied that funds cannot be borrowed by such school board or local government, as the case may be, from private financial institutions.

SEC. 403. Any loan under section 401 shall be made upon such terms and conditions, not inconsistent with the provisions of this title, as the Secretary deems appropriate. Any such loan shall be repaid within such time as the Secretary prescribes after the funds withheld or withdrawn are restored to the school board or local government concerned, or after funds are available to such school board or local government by borrowing from private financial institutions.

SEC. 404. There are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary for making loans under the provisions of this title.

## TITLE V—ASSISTANCE BY COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

SEC. 501. Part I of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 is amended by inserting after section 104 the following new section:

"ADDITIONAL DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

"SEC. 104A. In addition to the duties imposed by section 104 (a), the Commission is authorized—

"(1) to collect and disseminate information concerning programs and procedures used by school districts in the various States to achieve an organization and operation of their schools in accordance with constitutional requirements, including data as to the known effects of such programs and procedures on the quality of education and to the costs of such programs and procedures; and

"(2) to establish an advisory and conciliation service to assist local school officials in developing desegregation plans designed to meet constitutional requirements and local conditions, and to attempt to mediate and conciliate disputes between school officials and school patrons, upon the request of either, relating to desegregation of schools, including proposed plans for desegregation and the implementation of desegregation plans already in operation."

## TITLE VI—RESTRICTIONS ON FEDERAL FINANCIAL AID FOR SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS, COLLEGES, AND UNIVERSITIES

SEC. 601. (a) In the case of any program providing Federal grants-in-aid to the States for elementary or secondary education in public schools, the amount of such grant-in-aid for any fiscal year to any State shall be reduced in accordance with the provisions of this section if the head of the Federal department or agency administering such programs determines, at the time of determining the amount of such grant-in-aid for such year, that the public elementary or secondary schools of any local educational agency in such State are operated in such a manner as to segregate pupils of any race or color. If the head of such department or agency determines at such time that all local educational agencies in such State practice such segregation in the operation of such schools, then such grant-in-aid shall only be 50 per centum of the amount it would have been but for the provisions of this section. If the head of such department or agency determines at such time that one or more local educational agencies in such State have initiated a program of desegregation, or do not practice segregation, in the operation of such schools, then such grant-in-aid shall be 50 per centum of the amount it would have been but for the provisions of this section, plus such proportion of the remaining 50

per centum as the number of pupils enrolled in the public elementary and secondary schools of all the local educational agencies which have initiated a program of desegregation or do not practice desegregation, bears to the number of pupils enrolled in all the public elementary and secondary schools in such State.

(b) For the purposes of this section—

(1) the term "local educational agency" means a board of education or other legally constituted local school authority having administrative control and direction of public elementary or secondary schools in a city, county, township, school district, or political subdivision in a State; and

(2) enrollments shall be determined on the basis of the latest reliable figures available to the department or agency head concerned.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

SEC. 602. (a) No Federal department or agency shall make any grant or loan to any publicly controlled college or university unless satisfactory proof is submitted to the head

of such department or agency that such college or university does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in accepting students for enrollment.

(b) Nothing in this section shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

## TITLE VII—PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUALS FROM BODILY HARM

SEC. 701. The Attorney General is authorized to take such action as may be necessary to protect—

(1) the members of any school board having under its jurisdiction one or more public schools which are desegregated or in which desegregation has been commenced;

(2) the officials, teachers, and other employees of any public school which is desegregated or in which desegregation has been commenced, or of any public school system of which any such public school is a part;

(3) children attending any such public school and the parents of such children; and

(4) any other individual assisting any such member, any such official, teacher, or other employee, or

any such child or parent, from physical injury and from harassment, intimidation, or reprisal by any person or group of persons.

TITLE VIII—ANNUAL SCHOOL SURVEYS

SEC. 801. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall conduct an annual survey to determine the number and ethnic classification of students enrolled in all public educational institutions in the United States. The Secretary shall prepare and publish each year data obtained from each annual survey setting forth the number and ethnic classification of students enrolled—

(1) in all public educational institutions in each State,

(2) in each elementary and secondary public educational institution in each school district, and the totals for each school district, and

(3) in each public institution of higher education in each State.

TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 901. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair any remedies already existing for the protection or enforcement of rights guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States, nor to prevent any individual or private organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any con-

stitutional right in any manner now or hereafter permitted by law.

SEC. 902. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this Act or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 903. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

87TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

# H.

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To provide for the deseg
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By Mr. K

MARCH 1

Referred to the Committee

# H. R. 10783

## BILL

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Welfare a desegregation plan
first-step compliance.

Mr. KOWALSKI

MARCH 15, 1962
mmittee on Education and Labor

June 6, 1962

Memorandum

To: Norman Hill

From: James Farmer

The A. D. A. people in Washington urgently suggest that we should have someone testify on the hearing on this bill (HR 10783) which is up dating of the Clark-Celler bill.

The hearing is at 10 a.m., June 15th, Room 429 Old House offices building, Washington 25, D. C. If we are going to testify we have to notify them in advance so that it can be placed on the docket and also we have to prepare our statement. It seems to me a good idea that we testify.

I would suggest that either you or Haley do it. Give me your reaction.

File Schools

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTEGRATION

IN

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PUBLIC EDUCATION

OF THE

X COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

BILL H.R. 7111

June 15, 1962

X THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington 5. D. C.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN, INC.

Testimony before the
Subcommittee on Integration
in
Federally Assisted Public Education
of the
Committee on Education and Lahor
Bill H. R. 7111

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June 15, 1962

Gentlemen: I am Mrs. Ethel James Williams representing the National Council of Negro Women. The National Council of Negro Women is a coordinating, planning body, founded and organized in 1935 by Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, together with a group of outstanding women leaders. Its purpose is to meet the need for united planning and concerted action for the economic, social, educational and cultural welfare of Negro women in the United States. It has brought together national organizations of Negro women to achieve the numerical strength and stature necessary for effective representation. To further implement the broad program of the National Council of Negro Women, councils were organized in local communities. In 1962, there are twenty three national member organizations and ninety six local councils capable of reaching some 850,000 women. It is affiliated with the National Council of Women of the United States, Inc. and with the International Council of Women.

Mr. Chairman, our democratic form of government depends on an educated citizenry. It demands that every individual have an equal opportunity to realize his full potential through education. President Kennedy made this point clear in a message to Congress last year when he said, "Our progress as a Nation can be no swifter than our progress in education." At the same time, there are citizens in this great Nation of ours who suffer inferior schooling for no reason apart from race. This discrimination not only causes personal humiliation and suffering, it restricts the economic and social development of our country.

In addition, the continuing challenge to our democratic government by totalitarian regimes has made it increasingly clear that an educated citizenry, long recognized as essential to government by the people, has become in the context of the cold war, the bulwark of freedom itself. The opportunity, therefore, of each citizen to receive the education necessary to develop his full potential has become an even more vital concern.

Thanks to the unanimous Supreme Court decision in 1954, increased desegregation of our public schools is taking place today. The walls of discrimination are crumbling for there is a growing realization that discrimination is wasteful; that it is contrary to our basic sense of justice and to our respect for fundamental human rights.

The problem of discrimination in education, however, is far from being solved. The goal of equal educational opportunity is still far distant for there is still heavy resistance in sections of our country to compliance with the Supreme Court's historic decision.

The progress which has been made in eliminating segregation in public elementary and secondary schools throughout this nation has been very slow. Since the 1954 school desegregation decision, 2,062 school districts in the South that enroll both white and Negro pupils had not even started to comply with the requirements of the Constitution. These included all the districts in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina. All but one in Florida and one in Louisiana have done likewise. According to the Civil Rights Commission report, some of the 75 that have initiated desegregation have barely started a twelve-year progression. During the period 1959 to 1961 only 44 school districts in the 17 southern and border States had initiated desegregation programs. Of those, 13 had acted under court order and 15 others were being pressed for action by pending litigation.

Here, I should state, however, that the problem is not that of southern and border States only. I must frankly concede that in the Northern states, we have our problems also. I merely point out to the New Rochelle case in the State of New York. It is also commonly recognized that this problem exists in the West and the Southwest. Thus, the problem is

truly national in scope, although it is most severe in the South. Nevertheless, when the Court spoke it spoke to all sections of our nation, just as the proposal before you speaks to all of the nation.

I am sure that you, as members of this Committee, are as well acquainted with the problems which have been imposed upon those local agencies who sought to comply with the desegregation decision. The legislative resistance to compliance with that decision has taken many and varied forms. We are all familiar with the so-called interposition doctrine, the massive resistance plan, pupil placement law, tuition grants, and the closing down of schools which attempted to desegregate.

Shortly after the 1954 decision, even though the Court had ordered desegregation to take place with all deliberate speed, many sincere people pleaded for time in order to accomplish this changeover. The advocates of gradualism argued sincerely that the impact and ramifications on the mold of life and the local mores of some communities could be devastating. Many supporters of the Supreme Court decision understandably accepted this plea. However, based on the facts as we find them today after nearly eight years of gradualism, I am convinced that the need for Federal intervention to carry out the mandate of the Court must be accomplished by legislation. There is an urgent need for positive action now. We have depleted all the resources short of this remedy, including persuasion and understanding.

I do not expect enactment of a proposal such as I support here today to be a cure-all panacea in this field; I recognize that no one pattern of desegregation is adaptable to all communities. Any

plan which is adopted must include careful planning and community education in order to be a success. This calls for technical knowledge and expertness. Such personnel means additional costs and it is for these purposes that my proposal provides for technical and financial assistance to those state and local agencies in their attempt to comply with the desegregation decree of the Supreme Court.

I should like specifically to speak for H. R. 7111, a bill to provide for the desegregation of public schools, with all deliberate speed, including nationwide first-step compliance by 1963, and for other purposes.

I shall not undertake a title-by-title analysis of these proposals for I am aware of the fact that the committee has been advised as to title contents by some of the other witnesses and the author of the bill, Congressman Zelenko.

I would like to comment, however, on several significant features of the proposals. First of all, I am impressed with the language of the bill which places upon individual school boards the duty to adopt and implement desegregation plans. As an initial provision, this is important for we are ever mindful that each of our several States has its own system of public education. The efforts of the State citizens and State educators are commendable and gloriously reflected in the history of education in America. Even in the consideration of a problem area, such as compliance with the Court decision, I am pleased to note the cognizance of the author of the various proposals of the fact that local school boards are to be encouraged to develop desegregation plans.

A second major point of emphasis I wish to endorse is the provision for Federal financial and technical assistance to help facilitate desegregation, including such factors as (1) the cost of employing additional schoolteachers; (2) the cost of giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation; and (3) the cost of employing specialists in problems incident to desegregation and of providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, school children, and the general public.

It has often been said that this is an age of specialization. The field of human relations or race relations or intergroup relations have developed and expanded because of the particular need today for greater understanding among men and groups. I am sure that you will agree with me that not only the conditions of the race relations in America -- of which desegregation is only one facet -- but also the awakening of peoples of the world make it mandatory that we act on behalf of the accomplishment of the greater aims of our society.

Today, the United States has had placed on its shoulders the responsibility of world leadership. In the past few years many new nations have come into being, nations peopled by individuals of color. Through our foreign aid programs we preach the dignity of man and you may be sure that our message is evaluated in the light of the manner in which we Americans treat our own minorities who happen to be non-white in color. Often, Americans abroad are asked, "Do you really practice what you preach?" Certainly, there can be nothing more basic to equality of treatment than the education of children.

Therefore, I urge the passage of H. R. 7111 with all deliberate speed.

# BEFORE THE U.S. SUPREME COURT:
## Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools

**A Fact Sheet**

Presently before the U.S. Supreme Court are two cases involving religious practices in the nation's schools. It is expected that before adjournment (June), the Court will rule on the constitutionality of recitations of the Lord's Prayer and reading of the Bible as religious exercises in public schools.

It is inevitable that the issues posed in these cases will attract nationwide attention. The recent Court decision declaring unconstitutional the New York State Regents' Prayer (June 1962) was the topic of headline treatment for weeks after it was handed down. Unfortunately, in many instances the reactions reflected a lack of information and historical perspective. Insufficient knowledge of the core of the case—the religion clauses of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, with their twin guarantees of religious liberty and separation of church and state—led to widespread misunderstanding of the decision, its intent and import.

Since the Court's current deliberations are addressed to the same general issue, opinion leaders in the mass media and elsewhere can render a significant public service by presenting the facts which well-informed citizens need to bear in mind. The purpose of this digest is briefly to present such background material.

Much of the debate on the Regents' Prayer decision and the two pending cases has been predicated on two assumptions that bear scrutiny: (1) that challenges to prayer and Bible reading in the public schools are unprecedented in American history; and (2) that these exercises are customary in the vast majority of public schools.

The following review of the facts shows: (1) that the question of prayers and Bible reading is not new; and (2) that daily prayer recitations and Bible reading are widespread in particular regions, but not throughout the nation as a whole.

### 1. A Long-Standing Question

The general question—does religion belong in public schools?—has been raised and resolved in various ways throughout the nation since the mid-19th century, when the public schools were in their infancy.

—Bible reading was challenged as early as 1854 when Catholic parents objected to use of the King James (Protestant) rather than the Douay (Catholic) Bible in the public schools of Maine.
—Between 1872 and 1905, Catholic parents in seven other states instituted actions on similar grounds.
—In later years, Jewish parents joined with Catholics in questioning use of the King James Bible in the public schools.

Until the current cases, the U.S. Supreme Court had never reviewed the question. Numerous and often contradictory rulings by state courts constituted the highest official word on Bible reading in the public schools until 1959, when a Federal Court in Pennsylvania deemed the practice unconstitutional.

Here are two state decisions, diametrically opposed:

> **The law knows no distinction between the Christian and the Pagan, the Protestant and the Catholic. All are citizens. . . . The school, like the Government, is secular and not religious in its purposes. The truths of the Bible are the truths of religion, which do not come within the province of the public schools.**
>
> **—*People ex rel. Ring* v. *Board of Education*, Illinois, 1910**

> **It would require a strained and unreasonable construction to find anything in the ordinance which interfered with the natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience. The mere listening to the reading of an extract from the Bible and a brief prayer at the opening of school exercises would seem far remote from such interference.**
>
> **—*Wilkerson* v. *City of Rome*, Georgia, 1921**

These contradictory decisions reflect the divergence in opinion which has long existed.

**2. State Laws and School Practices Differ from Region to Region**

Some 26 states, principally in the East and South, *require* or *permit* Bible reading, and often the Lord's Prayer, by law or regulation.[1] Ten states, most of them in the West, *forbid* such activities in the public schools.[2]

A recent survey polled school superintendents in a sample of some 4,000 communities on the extent of religious influence in their schools.[3] As the following replies indicate, religious exercises are conducted rarely in public schools in the West, while most schools in the South and East open with either a prayer or the reading of a Biblical passage.

***Question:*** **Are homeroom devotional services[4] held in the schools of your system?**

***United States as a Whole***

**Yes: 50.24%  No: 49.76%**

***By Sections of the Country***

| | West | Midwest | South | East |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes: | 8.62% | 25.95% | 88.69% | 80.16% |
| No: | 91.38% | 74.05% | 11.32% | 19.83% |

***Question:*** **Is Bible reading conducted in the schools of your system?**

***United States as a Whole***

**Yes: 41.74%  No: 58.26%**

***By Sections of the Country***

| | West | Midwest | South | East |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes: | 11.03% | 18.26% | 76.84% | 67.56% |
| No: | 88.97% | 81.74% | 23.16% | 32.44% |

Thus the present-day framework against which the Supreme Court cases must be viewed is far from clear-cut. It is marked by sharply divergent public-school policies and practices throughout the country.

## THE CASES BEFORE THE COURT

The Supreme Court is considering two similar cases. Both question the constitutionality of Bible reading and recitation of the Lord's Prayer as part of opening exercises in the public schools. In neither case is Bible reading limited to passages of the Old Testament. The lower courts have arrived at conflicting decisions. In Maryland (*Murray* v. *Curlett*), the state Court of Appeals upheld the propriety of these practices. In Pennsylvania (*Abington Township* v. *Schempp*), a Federal Court found Bible reading, with or without recitation of the Lord's Prayer, unconstitutional under the First Amendment.

**1. Murray v. Curlett**

William J. Murray III, a student attending Woodbourne Junior High School in Baltimore, and his mother, who describe themselves as atheists, are challenging the constitutionality of a regulation of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore, adopted in 1905:

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[1] *Required* in the District of Columbia and the following 11 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Maine, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

*Permitted* in 15 states: Colorado, Hawaii, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma and Texas.

[2] Alaska, Arizona, California, Illinois, Louisiana, Nebraska, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

[3] Richard B. Dierenfield, associate professor of education, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, *Religion in American Public Schools*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1962.

[4] "Homeroom devotional services" most often include prayers and Bible reading, sometimes accompanied by short devotional talks and the singing of religious hymns.

> **Opening Exercises. Each school, either collectively or in classes, shall be opened by the reading, without comment, of a chapter in the Holy Bible and/or the use of the Lord's Prayer. The Douay version may be used by those pupils who prefer it. . . .**

After the Murrays questioned these practices, the Board amended its regulation by adding the following proviso:

> **Any child shall be excused from participating in the opening exercises or from attending the opening exercises upon written request of his parent or guardian.**

The Murrays contend that the regulation, even as amended, violates their freedom of religion and the principle of separation of church and state. They lost their case in the lower courts. The Court of Appeals of Maryland concurred, in a 4-3 decision, judging that the daily opening exercises of the Baltimore City public schools violated no constitutional rights. The plaintiffs' appeal is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

**2. Abington Township v. Schempp**

Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lewis Schempp, who are Unitarians and parents of three children attending the public schools in Abington Township, Pennsylvania, have asserted that the Federal Constitution is violated by a Pennsylvania law which requires:

> **At least ten verses from the Holy Bible shall be read, or caused to be read, without comment, at the opening of each public school on each school day, by the teacher in charge. If any school teacher, whose duty it shall be to read the Holy Bible, or cause it to be read, shall fail or omit to do so, said school teacher shall, upon charges preferred for such failure of omission, and proof of the same, before the board of school directors of the school district, be discharged.**

A three-judge Federal Court unanimously found the Pennsylvania statute unconstitutional under the First Amendment. The judges rejected the contention that the Bible was being used principally as a work of art or for its literary or historical significance. The Holy Bible, they said, regardless of the version being read, is "a religious document devoted primarily to bringing man in touch with God."

> **The daily reading of the Bible, buttressed with the authority of the State and, more importantly to children, with the authority of their teachers, can hardly do less than inculcate or promote the inculcation of various religious doctrines in childish minds. Thus, the practice required by the statute amounts to religious instruction or a promotion of religious education. It makes no difference that the religious "truths" inculcated may vary from one child to another. It also makes no difference that a sense of religion may not be instilled.**

The state legislature then amended the law as follows:

> **At least ten verses from the Holy Bible shall be read, without comment, at the opening of each public school on each school day. Any child shall be excused from such Bible reading, or attending such Bible reading, upon the written request of his parent or guardian.**

After a new hearing, the three-judge court again unanimously declared the law unconstitutional. The school board's appeal is currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

**The Single Question to Be Decided**

These cases do not question the propriety or constitutionality of using the Bible as a source or reference work in the teaching of such subjects as literature, history, art appreciation or social studies which may be part of the regular school curriculum.

The basic question presented is this: Are readings from the Holy Bible and recitation of the Lord's Prayer, conducted by school authorities as part of the opening daily exercises in the public schools, essentially religious services, thus constituting an "establishment of religion" in violation of the U.S. Constitution?

This issue cannot be discussed knowledgeably without going back to its deep-rooted sources in American history.

## THE ROOTS OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The guarantees of full religious liberty governing our country today developed slowly and painfully.

### 1. From Persecution to Toleration

Many of our early colonists came to America in search of freedom from England's governmentally ordained and supported church. But during the century and a half before the American Revolution, most of the Colonies adopted the familiar Old World concept of an established church supported by public funds and legal enforcement of orthodoxy.

—In early Virginia and New England, punishments for heresy were severe. Absence from church services was considered a serious civil offense. Only gradually did the practice of inflicting harsh penalties on dissenters fall into disrepute.

—As late as 1776, at least eight of the 13 colonies had a government-established church—either Anglican or Congregational.

—Although a few early crusaders for freedom of conscience, notably Roger Williams and William Penn, welcomed dissenters and separated church and state in their Colonies, it was not until after the Revolution that the movement toward religious freedom for all, including minority religious groups and non-believers, made significant headway.

### 2. Church-State Separation Enters the Constitution

Even before the drafting of the Bill of Rights, there was mounting conviction among the Founding Fathers that a union of church and state endangered not only individual freedom, but the institutions of religion and government as well. European experience had proved to the leaders of the American Revolution that in every marriage of religion and government, one partner dominated to the detriment of the other. Where the state was all-powerful, the churches became the agent of government, and religious dissent became synonymous with disloyalty. Where the church dominated, civil authority was used to enforce particular beliefs, and political criticism became synonymous with heresy.

Leaders in the drive to write the separation principle into law were James Madison and Thomas Jefferson:

> **We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society; and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance.**
> **—James Madison, *A Memorial and Remonstrance on the Religious Rights of Man*, 1778.**

The first major step in the development of church-state separation was the Virginia Statute of Religious Liberty, drafted by Jefferson and enacted in 1786:

> **. . . no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatever, nor shall . . . suffer on account of his religious opinions or beliefs, but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect their civil capacities.**

Finally came the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, written by Madison and adopted as part of the Bill of Rights (1791):

> **Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . .**

These few words are known as the religion clauses of the First Amendment. The first ten words—called the establishment clause — build, in the words of Jefferson, "a wall of separation between church and state."[5] The last six words — called the free exercise clause—assure the right to hold religious beliefs, to worship at will, and to educate one's own children in the faith of one's choice.

It is the first clause—"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion"—that is being interpreted by the U.S. Supreme Court in the two current cases.

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[5]Letter to the Danbury Baptists, 1802.

## THE SUPREME COURT DEFINES "SEPARATION"

For a century and a half, the Supreme Court was rarely called upon to interpret the religion clauses of the First Amendment. It was not until 1940 that the Court had occasion to hold those clauses binding on the states as well as the Federal Government under the 14th Amendment.

Since 1947, there has been a steady flow of cases. Within 15 years, the Supreme Court spoke out on the establishment clause six times. Two decisions were outside the field of education.[6] Four dealt with the separation principle as it applies to religion and education:

### 1. The Court Defines Establishment (Everson v. Board of Education)

In 1947, in a 5-4 decision, the Court held that New Jersey could provide free bus transportation to children attending private — including church-related — schools. Free bus rides to parochial schools were viewed as a service to the child, not to the religious institution, and hence were judged not in violation of the separation principle. In interpreting that principle, the Court, speaking through Justice Hugo Black, laid down the following list of specific prohibitions:

> **Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to church or to remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups or vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state."**

### 2. The Court Reiterates the Definition (McCollum v. Board of Education)

In 1948, the *Everson* definition of the establishment clause was the Court's frame of reference for declaring unconstitutional the released-time program of religious education held on public-school premises in Champaign, Illinois.

### 3. The Court Carves an Exception (Zorach v. Clauson)

In 1952, in a 6-3 decision, the Court upheld the constitutionality of New York's released-time program, which involved religious education off public-school premises. This decision caused some confusion and encouraged some religious leaders to reassert that the First Amendment does not bar non-preferential aid to religion.

The majority opinion, written by Justice William O. Douglas, did say, "We follow the *McCollum* case." But it also said, "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being." As a caution, the ruling stressed that public authorities may not "undertake religious instruction nor blend secular and sectarian instruction."

### 4. The Court Clarifies (Engel v. Vitale)

In 1962, in a 6-1 decision, the Court reaffirmed once again the far-reaching 1947 interpretation of the separation principle, holding that the required recital of an official prayer[7] in New York public schools was unconstitutional. Justice Black, again speaking for the majority, declared:

> **[The establishment clause] stands as an expression of principle on the part of the Founders of our Constitution that religion is**

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[6] It is unconstitutional to require belief in God as a condition to holding public office (*Torcaso* v. *Watkins*, 1961). Sunday closing laws do not constitute an establishment of religion (*McGowan* v. *Maryland*, 1961).

[7] "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence on Thee, and we beg Thy blessing upon us, our parents, our teachers and our country."

**too personal, too sacred, too holy, to permit its "unhallowed perversion" by a civil magistrate.**

**. . . each separate government in this country should stay out of the business of writing or sanctioning official prayers and leave that purely religious function to the people themselves and to those the people choose to look to for religious guidance.**

**Significance of the Regents' Prayer Decision**

Public opinion is divided as to precisely what prayers and religious references are banned—or permitted—by the Court's ruling in *Engel* v. *Vitale.* Disagreement ranges from one extreme to another.

*The Narrow Interpretation:* That the 1962 decision rules out of the public schools *only* state-composed prayers.

This view overlooks the broad compass of Justice Black's majority opinion. Seemingly the Court had more in mind than prayers written by state officials, since it cautioned expressly against *any* prescribed prayers:

**The first amendment was added to the Constitution to stand as a guarantee that neither the power nor the prestige of the Federal Government would be used to control, support or influence the kinds of prayer the American people can say . . .**

**. . . government in this country, be it state or federal, is without power to prescribe by law the particular form of prayer which is to be used as an official prayer in carrying out any program of governmentally sponsored religious activity.**

*The Broad Interpretation:* That the decision is a sweeping ban against all references to a Supreme Being in public life.

This does not take into consideration a footnote clearly to the contrary in Justice Black's ruling:

**There is of course nothing in the decision reached here that is inconsistent with the fact that school children and others are officially encouraged to express love for our country by reciting historical documents such as the Declaration of Independence which contain references to the Deity or by singing officially espoused anthems which include the composer's professions of faith in a Supreme Being, or with the fact that there are many manifestations in our public life of belief in God. Such patriotic or ceremonial occasions bear no true resemblance to the unquestioned religious exercise that the State of New York has sponsored in this instance.**

*A careful reading of the decision suggests:* The Court's actual intent lies somewhere between these two extremes. The Regents' Prayer decision does more than merely forbid state-composed prayers in the schools—and does less than rule out all references to God from public life.

## ARGUMENTS PRO AND CON

Those in favor of the Lord's Prayer and Bible reading as part of public-school exercises generally argue that these practices (1) enrich young people spiritually and strengthen their moral values; and (2) do not violate the establishment clause, being neither sectarian nor compulsory.

Those in opposition reason that these exercises (1) breach the wall of separation between church and state by officially imposing a sectarian "religion" on public-school children; and (2) violate sound educational and religious principles, with both public education and religion suffering as a result.

The following rundown presents the principal arguments on each side.

**For Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools**

– The Founding Fathers did not intend to exclude all religious content from civic life. To ban recitation of the Lord's Prayer and reading of the Bible is to deny children the right to share in their country's spiritual heritage.

– A brief prayer or reading from the Bible at the start of the school day gives an uplifting tone to all school activities and strengthens traditional moral and religious values.

– Bible reading familiarizes children with lessons which the Bible alone is capable of imparting with authority.

- It is not enough to study the Bible as part of the world's great literature. It should be used for continued spiritual inspiration as the mainspring of faith, the base upon which our great Western religions were founded.
- Even if some youngsters do not understand the selected excerpts, they serve as a minimal symbolic recognition of the place of religion in our culture.
- The Lord's Prayer expresses a devotion shared by all who believe in one God.
- Since the Bible is read without comment, and pupils are given a choice of the King James or Douay version, the simple reading of a passage is not a sectarian exercise.
- Since students may be excused for reasons of conscience, religious freedom is preserved.
- Prayers and Bible reading reflect the religious commitment of the majority of Americans. Religious freedom is infringed when a minority persuades the Court to rule religion out of the public schools.
- Government is not required to be hostile to religion, but to be neutral among the various beliefs that Americans profess.

**Against Prayers and Bible Reading in the Public Schools**

- Any prayer is an act of devotion, a basic avowal of faith. The Bible is recognized as the Word of God by those who sponsor its use in the schools. The requirement that a passage be read "without comment" is acknowledgment of the religious nature of the work. Thus the opening exercises are clearly religious.
- Devotional exercises in the public schools blend the secular and religious, constituting an aid to religion banned by the establishment clause.
- When state agencies place their stamp of approval on particular religious exercises, these exercises are given special status.
- Majority rule cannot impose a state-sanctioned religion in public education; under the establishment clause, no orthodoxy may ever gain preference over unorthodoxy.
- The Lord's Prayer, so named because it was set forth by Jesus as a prayer for his followers, is a sectarian, Christian prayer.
- The necessary choice of which Bible to use as the school text reopens a historic conflict: Catholics have objected to the King James version; Jews have objected to passages of the New Testament; nonbelievers have objected to any version of the Bible being presented as the Word of God.
- The Bible should have a place in the school curriculum. Just as young people become acquainted with sacred music or religious art, so they should study the Bible in the context of literature and history. This is, however, quite different from using the Bible for religious stimulation.
- It is pedagogically unsound to read passages from the Scriptures which are not understood by many children, since explanatory comment is forbidden.
- When, for reasons of conscience, a school child is excused from participating in the prayer or reading, the situation is psychologically damaging. If he absents himself, he is branded as "different"; thus the public school, ideally a unifying force, is cast into a divisive role. If he remains despite his personal convictions, the school is then guilty of encouraging hypocrisy.
- A desire to keep religious practices out of the schools should not be equated with hostility to religion. The aim of separating the two institutions is to strengthen and enrich both.
- Laws and school directives that make prayer recitation and Bible reading part of classroom routine do not foster sincere devotion. By requiring participation in "public-school" or "least-common-denominator" religious exercises, the schools encourage surface piety rather than true religious commitment and inner response. Religion flourishes best when nurtured by the church and the home, free of official coercion.

Whatever the outcome of the Court's deliberations may be in the present cases, the forthcoming ruling will mark yet another effort to clarify American church-state relationships—for the greater benefit of religion and democracy.

The goal, for the Court as for all Americans, was summarized in 1960 by President John F. Kennedy:

> **I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish . . . where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials . . . where religious intolerance will someday end—where all men and all churches are treated as equal—where every man has the right to attend or not to attend the church of his choice.**

The problem of religion in education is a vital national concern. Like many other problems, it can be best met by a thoughtful citizenry armed with facts and an understanding of the basic issues at stake.

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is a pioneer human-relations organization dedicated to combating bigotry, safeguarding the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing those rights for all people of all religions and ancestries.

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**

**INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS • 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK 22, N. Y.**

*The Committee raises the funds for its diversified human-relations program at home and abroad through its nationwide Appeal for Human Relations*

February 1963

NEW YORK FREEDOM SCHOOL

# FREEDOM DIPLOMA

MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS

BE IT KNOWN THAT ON THIS 18th DAY OF May IN THE YEAR 1964 A.D.

DID PARTICIPATE IN THE "STAY-OUT" FOR FREEDOM AND DID JOIN WITH OTHER CITIZENS OF NEW YORK IN THE PURSUIT OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY FOR ALL MEN IN ORDER TO CREATE A MORE PERFECT WORLD WHERE PEACE SHALL REIGN AND TRUE BROTHERHOOD PREVAIL, AND DID ATTEND AND SATISFACTORILY COMPLETE THE REQUIREMENTS OF AN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION.

CO-CHAIRMEN:
FREDERICK D. JONES, NAACP
N.Y. STATE EDUCATION CHAIRMAN
NORMAN HILL, CORE
NATIONAL PROGRAM DIRECTOR

DIRECTOR:
BAYARD RUSTIN

COORDINATORS:
NORMAN HILL, CORE
CALVIN BANKS, NAACP

# ORGANIZATION OF FREEDOM SCHOOLS

I Elementary Schools

A. Transportation: Students should be transported to their Freedom Schools by busses that pick them up in front of their boycotted schools. Busses should be decorated with "Freedom School" banners.

B. Curriculum for the day

1. Begin with Assembly session: (9-10 A.M.)

   a. Divide children into grades
   b. Presentation by a speaker from the movement
   c. Division of grades into classes of 15 who are then assigned to classrooms.

2. Morning classes (10-12 A.M.)

   a. Discussion of Assembly speaker's presentation (10-11 A.M.)
   b. Reading or English lesson: (11-12 Noon)

      1) Grades 1-3 use integrated readers from Detroit
      2) Grades 4-6 read mimeographed poetry of Langston Hughes

3. Lunchbreak in Auditorium (12-1 P.M.)

   Simple sandwiches, milk, fruit.

4. Afternoon classes (1-2 P.M.)

   a. Grades 1-3 return to readers or react to them (by drawing, discussion, etc.)
   b. Grades 4-6 concentrate on history or current events appropriate to their grade levels.

5. Return to Auditorium for special program:

   a. Ossie Davis
   b. Learning and singing freedom songs

C. Teaching and Administrative Staff

1. School principal to take overall responsibility
2. Teacher for every 15 pupils
3. Teaching assistants to be recruited from among parents to assist in lunchbreak, taking kids to bathroom, etc.
4. A nurse (and doctor, if possible) assigned to each school.

II Junior High Schools --should be organized in same manner as above, with the following exceptions

A. Morning Assembly session should be shorter (just a brief welcome)
B. Students remain in auditorium for performance (if possible) of "In White America."
C. Afternoon classroom sessions should be devoted to discussion of the morning assembly program

October 29, 1960

Miss Faith Rich
Corresponding Secretary
Chicago CORE
54 West Randolph,,Room 405
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Faith:

Thanks for keeping in touch with us and informing us of develppments in regard to the school segregation problems in Chicago. You are no doubt aware thatCCORE is active in this same field here in New York, but not as intensibely.

Richard Haley mentioned something about your request to the National Education Association.. Is there any way in which we can be of assistance to you on this?

If you still have extra copies of your leaflets on the double shifts in the schools I would appreciate receiving about a dozen more. Please continue to send us whatever information you put out on this subject.

The written reports and minutes of the convention have not yet been prepared. I'm afraid we sort of lag behind in this clerical aspect of our work. Maybe this is not unreasonable for an action organization.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

GRC:jl

**CORE CHICAGO**

# CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

A Local Organization affiliated with a National Organization, The Congress of Racial Equality, working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

54 West Randolph, Room 405 Phones: AN 3-2937, and LA 2-7580 Chicago 1, Illinois

MARVIN CEYNAR, Chairman
FRED FIELDS, Vice-Chairman
FAITH RICH, Corresponding Secretary
KAY FIELDS, Treasurer
*Printing Donated*

September 14, 1960

Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row, New York 38

Dear Mr. Rich,

Enclosed are some studies of the Chicago school situation which indicate that a just administration of the schools would automatically integrate them.

We in CORE are asking the National Education Association to follow their study of double shift and crowding, published this spring, by another on empty rooms and bus transportation. We are wondering if all the double shift they reported is as unnecessary as the Chicago example.

As you probably know, our Board of Education President is R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., brother-in-law of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency Kennedy. Our Superintendent of Schools, Benjamin C. Willis, had all his administrative experience up to about 1950 in the legally segregated state of Maryland. After that, he got his PHD from Columbia and became Superintendent of Schools in Buffalo, New York. From there he came here in 1954. He has never been known to comment in any way on the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and has parried all questions relating to it.

When I was Chairman of the Chicago Branch NAACP's Education Committee I analyzed the school budget for several years. Considered from the point of view of racial integration, it seemed to have been drafted by an unreconstructed Southerner.

Shriver's response to our leaflet was to write us that he was forwarding it to Willis.

The Catholics are now integrating their parochial schools here even in the all-white areas.

Sincerely yours,

Faith Rich
Faith Rich

/fr

**CORE CHICAGO**

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A Local Organization affiliated with a National Organization, The Congress of Racial Equality, working to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

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MARVIN CEYNAR, Chairman
FRED FIELDS, Vice-Chairman
FAITH RICH, Corresponding Secretary
KAY FIELDS, Treasurer
*Printing Donated*

September 5, 1960

Gordon Carey
CORE
38 Park Row, New York 38

Dear Gordon,

Sorry not to have answered your last letter about the leaflets and the Conference-Convention sooner. We received the leaflets COD and trust that we are up to date on all moneys owed the national office. We are looking forward to the written report of the convention, as we still have not had time to discuss the reports thoroughly or even to have all the reports presented. Mr. Ceynar has been in Europe all summer but should be back for the next meeting.

At our meeting on September 2, we voted to send you the enclosed material about the school situation here. The National Education Association in May, I believe it was, issued a report about the double shift and crowded schools. We are beginning to wonder if they are all as unnecessary as Chicago's. We are writing to them and asking them to make a survey of vacant classrooms, dual administrative practices in various sections of cities, use of bus transportation, etc. If you would let us know how many copies of our leaflet you could use, perhaps you could send a copy to each of the local CORES and ask them to check the practices in their cities?

Sincerely yours,

Faith Rich

Faith Rich

/fr

# Kennedy-Nixon

Parents of schoolchildren march in front of Chicago Board of Education offices at La Salle and Wacker asking an end to the double-shift classes. (Sun-Times Photo by Bob Kotalik)

CHICAGO-SUN-TIMES, Thurs., Sept. 1, 1960 3

# n Debate Set Here

# School Board Pick

By Ruth Dunbar

Parents picketed the Board of Education Wednesday, demanding that empty classrooms be used to eliminate half-day sessions.

But the board, occupied with matters ranging from the sale of candy bars to multimillion-dollar financial problems, ignored the protest.

In the course of a seven-hour meeting devoted mainly to 1961 budget deliberations, the board:

1 Overruled a recommendation of Schools Supt. Benjamin C. Willis and decided to continue an experimental ban on candy sales in two high school cafeterias for another semester.

2 Agreed tentatively not to seek anothter school biulding bond issue before 1963. Instead, it will make a slight cut in the amount allocated for school construction each year and will finance more buildings on a pay-as-you-go basis.

The placard-bearing pickets represented the Lawndale Citizens Schools Committee and the Chicago Committee of Racial Equality. They passed out sheets which stated that there are 50,000 unused seats in the city's public schools. The pickets urged the board to assign youngsters now on half-day sessions in overcrowded schools to the vacant rooms, providing transportation where necessary.

After a plea by board member John L. Reichert, the board agreed to continue the ban on the sale of candy, carmel apples and soft drinks at Hyde Park and Steinmetz High Schools. Willis had recommended restoring the sweets to cafeteria shelves because in a three-month trial the
customers and p

Reichert argue
had been too sho
cant. He also in
should be mo
about the healt
than about profit

"If children a
addicts that th
from lunchroom
get candy, then w

# Mercury At 9

Water service was interrupted in two south suburban communities Wednesday, while they sizzled in the hottest weather of the year.

A break in the main feeding Evergreen Park from a reservoir at 89th and Albany, dried out that entire suburb for two hours.

A two-block area of Hazel Crest, from 167th to 169th along Lincoln, was waterless for an hour when a feeder main in the area broke.

Both droughts came in the afternoon, when the temperature reached 96 degrees, the highest of the summer.

Evergreen Park Village Presi-
dent Joseph Tan
worked through
restore pressure
and a water r
reservoir. He as
dents not sprink
until the next ra
of expected c
weather.

## Go-Cart D

*Sun-Times*

SPRINGFIEL
motor-powered
drivers' licenses,
liam L. Guild rul

A spokesman
the ruling applie
of the motor-pow

# icketed By Parents

rial the lunchrooms lost
rs and profits fell.
ert argued that the trial
too short to be signifi-
also insisted the board
be more concerned
he health of students
ut profit.
ildren are such candy
that they stay away
nchrooms if they can't
y, then we have a more
serious problem than we thought," he said.

The board's tentative decision not to seek a new building bond issue in 1961 was made when Willis assured them the needed classrooms could be provided without it. He recommended that the $25,000,000 remaining from the last bond issue be spread over the next three years, rather than spent completely in 1961.

The bond funds would be supplemented by money from the school building tax, which the board has authorization to raise from 28 cents to 30 cents per $100 of assessed valuation in 1961.

Together, the bond funds and tax levy would provide $21,850,000 a year, a decrease from the current $25,000,000-a-year building program.

# 96, Suburb Water Off

eph Tanner said crews
through the night to
pressure in the mains
water reserve in the
. He asked that resi-
t sprinkle their lawns
next rainfall, in view
cted continuing hot

Charles Spiker, foreman of the Hazel Crest Public Works Department, said service was restored in that community by Wednesday evening. An interruption of an hour was necessary to complete repairs on the broken main.

The high for the day came at 5:15 p.m., beating by a degree the year's previous top temperature of 95 on July 22.

Chicago Park District officials reported pools and beaches heavily patronized. At North Av. Beach about 15,000 people went for a dip. Lifeguards said it was twice as large as the customary weekday crowd.

Officials said their estimates of the crowds at the beaches were difficult to make because "no one was on the beach, everyone headed straight for the water."

The weather bureau said similar temperatures are expected Thursday.

## art Drivers Must Be Licensed

*n-Times Bureau*

GFIELD—Owners of
owered go-carts need
censes, Atty. Gen. Wil-
Guild ruled Wednesday.
kesman for Guild said
g applies to operation
otor-powered carts on
sidewalks as well as streets since "legally sidewalks are a part of the street."

The ruling means that children under 16—the age of eligibility for drivers' licenses—may no longer operate go-carts except on private property.

NO EXCUSE FOR DOUBLE SHIFT IN CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Capacity for 50,000 Pupils Not Used for Classroom Seats

The Chicago Committee of Racial Equality (CORE), affiliated with the Congress of Racial Equality, is vitally concerned to see justice done in the schools of the north as well as the south. Double shift schools have affected mainly Negro children for the past generation in Chicago. It is a question whether they have not lost as much time in Chicago double shift as they would have in the cotton fields of Mississippi.

Now the studies of CORE are unearthing the fact that there is no need of double shift for any Chicago public school children.

The Board of Education is being asked to change the districting system and to authorize transfers to take the pupils off double shift. If the change is made at the Board meeting Wednesday, August 31, 1960, then all public school pupils will have full time when school opens after Labor Day.

"In October, 1959, 47 schools and 30,457 pupils were on double shift. Half that number of seats, or 15,229, would restore these pupils to full day sessions. Our Committee found potential classroom seating capacity for 50,000 pupils unused in 117 schools, many of them near the double shift areas" says Dr. Faith Rich, Chairman, CORE Schools Committee.

Pupil Population Down Now From 1932; Number of Schools Up

There are fewer pupils in Chicago public schools today than there were in 1932-3. At that time there were 472,789 pupils; in 1958-9, only 438,203. (facts and figures, May, 1953, p. 12; September, 1959, p. 15)

It is difficult for the public to learn the capacities of the various schools or of the school system as a whole. Through the year 1931-2, the number of classrooms in each school was listed in the Directory of Chicago Public Schools. Since then, there has been no comprehensive information readily available to the public. There are, however, various ways to estimate the potential classroom space.

The school plant has greatly increased since the year of peak enrollment in 1932-3. At that time, the double shift was a necessity. A thorough, independent study of the Chicago public schools in 1931-2, the five-volume, $100,000 Strayer report*, reveals a net shortage of 401 elementary classrooms and of about 40,000 high school classroom seats, or the equivalent of 20 schools of 20 classrooms each and of 20 high schools of 2000 pupil population.

114 - 457

In 1931-2, there were only 338 elementary schools, including junior high schools, and 24 high schools. The September, 1959, Directory of Chicago Public Schools, shows that there are now 114 more elementary schools, not counting branches, and 27 more high schools than in 1931. Yet the school population is now about 28,000 less than then. However, the 1931-2 school population was not properly housed. It needed 20 more elementary schools and 20 more high schools. By 1958-9, allowing for these 40 schools, there are still 94 elementary schools and 7 high schools more in the present school plant than in the 1931. In other words, there are 100 more schools to house 28,000 fewer pupils now than in 1931.

* George D. Strayer, Director, Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1932, Vol. IV, pp. 13-37

The above is a crude estimation of school space, but it errs on the conservative side. It takes no account of the many branches which are independent buildings or of the numerous additions which added many thousands of school seats, especially in Negro areas. These additions greatly outnumber the demolitions of parts of the schools presently in use.

Whatever the precise figures may be, a greatly expanded school plant is housing a slightly diminished school population.

## PTA Study Also Showed Enough Classroom Space to End Double Shift

The December, 1957, Chicago Region News of the Chicago Parent Teachers Association had the following statement: "During the current semester 49 schools have had double sessions. The number of pupils affected exceeds 27,000. To put these children on a full day schedule it would be necessary to have approximately 416 additional classrooms. ...Last semester there were 303 vacant rooms and 1000 which were being used for other than regular teaching purposes. Some of these could be reconverted into normal classrooms without curtailing any essential services."

## Superintendent Willis Defeated in Efforts to End Double Shift by Building

In October, 1950, just before the first $60 million school bond issue, there were 15 schools, 5,386 pupils, on double shift. (Division of Statistics, Chicago Public Schools, October 19, 1954) By October, 1959, 47 schools and 30,457 pupils were on shift.

## 50,000 Seats Potentially Available; Some of These Near Crowded Areas

Since even $150 million extra bond issue money could not bring the schools to the children fast enough, try bringing the children to the schools with available space.

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The resulting unused capacity is so great that it was cut down to allow a large margin of error. From those schools built by 1931 and still in use were subtracted all those having branches of other schools in them, since the Illinois School Directory does not give the number of pupils in Branches. After that, all the school buildings given a rating below 400 points in the Strayer report (op.cit., Vol IV, pp.17-19), in other words a low rating, were cast out. There remained 117 schools, some of them within a short distance of the crowded areas, with an unused capacity of about 50,000 seats.

## Redistricting and Transfers Needed

Most of the crowded, double shift schools are in the areas where Negroes and other minority groups live. They pay equal taxes for unequal schools. CORE asks the Board of Education to authorize Superintendent Willis to issue transfers out of double shift and crowded schools into underused schools.

(on schools, IA 2 7580)
(labor contributed)

Fred Fields, Vice Chairman, Chicago CORE
54 W. Randolph, Room 405, AN 3 2937

# End Double Shifts in Schools!

Half-time education is depriving over 30,000 Chicago school children of their rightful heritage of an adequate education. It creates double burdens for mothers, who often have children attending school on different shifts. It leaves youngsters many hours a day without supervision.

Those who deplore growing juvenile delinquency can help strike at its roots by demanding an end now to double shift schools!

**DISCRIMINATES AGAINST MINORITIES!**

Most of the double-shift schools are in neighborhoods with Negro and Spanish speaking residents. Ten schools in the Lawndale area have over 12,000 children on double shifts--over a third of Chicago's total. Double shifts violate the spirit if not the letter of Supreme Court decisions that all Americans are entitled to equal educational opportunities.

**DOUBLE SHIFTS COULD BE ENDED THIS SEPTEMBER.**

There is no shortage of school rooms for Chicago as a whole. Twenty-three schools within a 3-mile radius of the Lawndale area have unused class-room capacities for nearly 13,000 additional students. By shifting 6,000 Lawndale pupils to these schools and providing transportation where necessary, double shifts could be ended without building one new classroom.

Additional school facilities could also be made available in Lawndale through the lease or purchase of unused buildings--pending the construction of more modern schools.

**THIS IS CHICAGO'S PROBLEM**

The Chicago Board of Education has the power--and responsibility--to end double shifts by a sensible utilization of class-room space now available. There is no other cure. More children are on double-shift than ever before (though school enrollment is less than 1930-1), and the number is growing every year. Since 1950, $150,000,000 was spent for new school construction, but double shift attendance has increased by six times.

Every year a child is on double shift is a deficit for Chicago's future.

Demand a change in Board of Education policy now!

---

Sign your name in the space below and mail this leaflet to:
Dr. Benjamin Willis
General Superintendent of Schools
228 N. LaSalle St, Chicago 1, Illinois

I urge you to end double shift schools in Chicago by adopting the suggestions indicatated above.

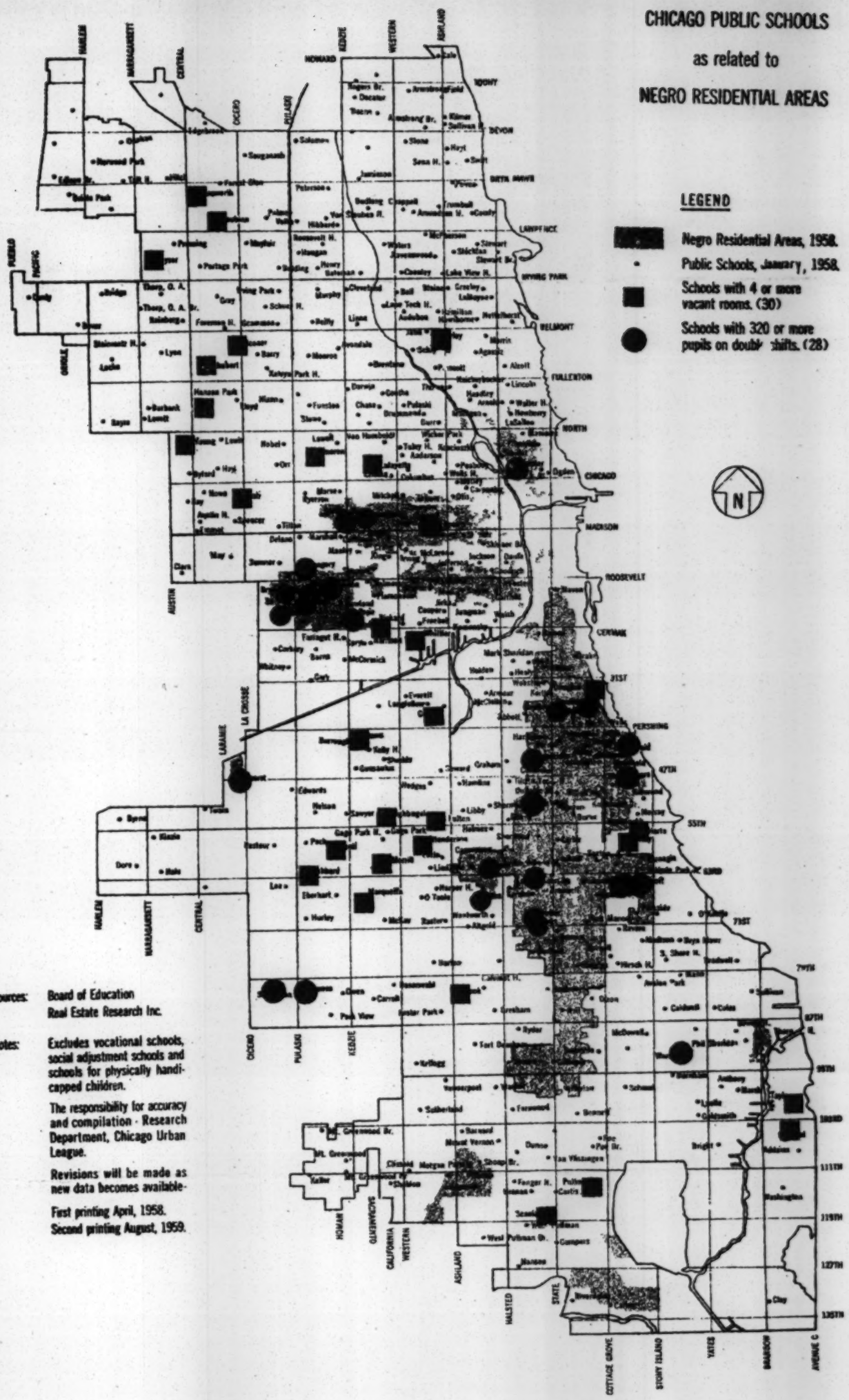
name_____ address_____

Issued by: Lawndale Citizens Schools Committee.

# CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

as related to

# NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS




## LEGEND

- Negro Residential Areas, 1958.
- Public Schools, January, 1958.
- Schools with 4 or more vacant rooms. (30)
- Schools with 320 or more pupils on double shifts. (28)

N

Sources: Board of Education
Real Estate Research Inc.

Notes: Excludes vocational schools, social adjustment schools and schools for physically handicapped children.

The responsibility for accuracy and compilation - Research Department, Chicago Urban League.

Revisions will be made as new data becomes available.

First printing April, 1958.
Second printing August, 1959.

employment and guidance department

CHICAGO URBAN LEAGUE 2410 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago 16, Illinois

NO EXCUSE FOR DOUBLE SHIFT IN CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Capacity for 50,000 Pupils Not Used for Classroom Seats

The Chicago Committee of Racial Equality (CORE), affiliated with the Congress of Racial Equality, is vitally concerned to see justice done in the schools of the north as well as the south. Double shift schools have affected mainly Negro children for the past generation in Chicago. It is a question whether they have not lost as much time in Chicago double shift as they would have in the cotton fields of Mississippi.

Now the studies of CORE are unearthing the fact that there is no need of double shift for any Chicago public school children.

The Board of Education is being asked to change the districting system and to authorize transfers to take the pupils off double shift. If the change is made at the Board meeting Wednesday, August 31, 1960, then all public school pupils will have full time when school opens after Labor Day.

"In October, 1959, 47 schools and 30,457 pupils were on double shift. Half that number of seats, or 15,229, would restore these pupils to full day sessions. Our Committee found potential classroom seating capacity for 50,000 pupils unused in 117 schools, many of them near the double shift areas" says Dr. Faith Rich, Chairman, CORE Schools Committee.

Pupil Population Down Now From 1932; Number of Schools Up

There are fewer pupils in Chicago public schools today than there were in 1932-3. At that time there were 472,789 pupils; in 1958-9, only 438,203. (facts and figures, May, 1953, p. 12; September, 1959, p. 15)

It is difficult for the public to learn the capacities of the various schools or of the school system as a whole. Through the year 1931-2, the number of classrooms in each school was listed in the Directory of Chicago Public Schools. Since then, there has been no comprehensive information readily available to the public. There are, however, various ways to estimate the potential classroom space.

The school plant has greatly increased since the year of peak enrollment in 1932-3. At that time, the double shift was a necessity. A thorough, independent study of the Chicago public schools in 1931-2, the five-volume, $100,000 Strayer report*, reveals a net shortage of 401 elementary classrooms and of about 40,000 high school classroom seats, or the equivalent of 20 schools of 20 classrooms each and of 20 high schools of 2000 pupil population.

In 1931-2, there were only 338 elementary schools, including junior high schools, and 24 high schools. The September, 1959, Directory of Chicago Public Schools, shows that there are now 114 more elementary schools, not counting branches, and 27 more high schools than in 1931. Yet the school population is now about 28,000 less than then. However, the 1931-2 school population was not properly housed. It needed 20 more elementary schools and 20 more high schools. By 1958-9, allowing for these 40 schools, there are still 94 elementary schools and 7 high schools more in the present school plant than in the 1931. In other words, there are 100 more schools to house 28,000 fewer pupils now than in 1931.

* George D. Strayer, Director, Report of the Survey of the Schools of Chicago, Illinois, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1932, Vol. IV, pp. 13-37

The above is a crude estimation of school space, but it errs on the conservative side. It takes no account of the many branches which are independent buildings or of the numerous additions which added many thousands of school seats, especially in Negro areas. These additions greatly outnumber the demolitions of parts of the schools presently in use.

Whatever the precise figures may be, a greatly expanded school plant is housing a slightly diminished school population.

## PTA Study Also Showed Enough Classroom Space to End Double Shift

The December, 1957, Chicago Region News of the Chicago Parent Teachers Association had the following statement: "During the current semester 49 schools have had double sessions. The number of pupils affected exceeds 27,000. To put these children on a full day schedule it would be necessary to have approximately 416 additional classrooms. ...Last semester there were 303 vacant rooms and 1000 which were being used for other than regular teaching purposes. Some of these could be reconverted into normal classrooms without curtailing any essential services."

## Superintendent Willis Defeated in Efforts to End Double Shift by Building

In October, 1950, just before the first $50 million school bond issue, there were 15 schools, 5,386 pupils, on double shift. (Division of Statistics, Chicago Public Schools, October 19, 1954) By October, 1959, 47 schools and 30,457 pupils were on shift.

## 50,000 Seats Potentially Available; Some of These Near Crowded Areas

Since even $150 million extra bond issue money could not bring the schools to the children fast enough, try bringing the children to the schools with available space.

To locate unused capacity, list the schools whose capacity is known from the 1931-2 Chicago Public Schools Directory and which are still in use. Multiply the number of classrooms by 35 to get pupil capacity. Subtract the 1959-60 pupil membership as given in the Illinois School Directory.

The resulting unused capacity is so great that it was cut down to allow a large margin of error. From those schools built by 1931 and still in use were subtracted all those having branches of other schools in them, since the Illinois School Directory does not give the number of pupils in Branches. After that, all the school buildings given a rating below 400 points in the Strayer report (op.cit., Vol IV, pp.17-19), in other words a low rating, were cast out. There remained 117 schools, some of them within a short distance of the crowded areas, with an unused capacity of about 50,000 seats.

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(on schools, IA 2 7580)
(labor contributed)

Fred Fields, Vice Chairman, Chicago CORE
54 W. Randolph, Room 405, AN 3 2937

## FACTS SHOW DOUBLE SHIFT AND CROWDED SCHOOLS NO LONGER NECESSARY

If the pupils were properly distributed in the available classroom space, there would apparently be neither double shift nor crowding in Chicago public schools.

The peak enrollment took place in 1932-3 when there were 472,789 pupils, 325,401 in elementary and 147,388 in high schools.

The following table shows the enrollment by decades:

Historical Pattern of Average Daily Membership in Elementary[a] and High Schools[b], 1930-1 to 1958-9 - Selected Years

| Year | Elementary | High School | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1930-1 | 338,738 | 123,696 | 462,434 |
| 1940-1 | 280,993 | 134,537 | 415,530 |
| 1950-1 | 261,127 | 89,652 | 350,779 |
| 1958-9 | 340,577 | 97,626 | 438,203 |

a. Excludes continuation and apprentice schools. 1924-5 through 1951-2 figures are from facts and figures, Chicago Public Schools, May, 1953, p. 12. 1952-3 figures through 1958-9 are from facts and figures, September, 1959, p. 15.
b. Includes junior high schools from 1924-5 to 1932-3, inclusive.

### DOUBLE SHIFT

During the years from 1930 to the present there was always some double shift, although in September, 1946, there were only seven (7) schools, 45 classes, and 1,831 pupils on shift in the entire city. (Division of Statistics, Chicago Public Schools, October 19, 1954) The enrollment in 1946 was the lowest in more than 30 years.

In the early thirties double shift was probably unavoidable. But with the drop in total public school enrollment after 1933, the emigration to the suburbs and the building of parochial schools, double shift and crowded schools could have been avoided by redistricting and transportation to under-utilized schools.

In the 1930-1 Directory of Chicago Public Schools, fifty (50) schools were listed as "double" or "half-day" -- in other words, partially or totally on double shift. These schools were widely scattered over the city, the majority on the north side. Only five (5) were in Negro areas.

By 1940-1, fourteen (14) schools were listed as "double" schools. All fourteen were in the south side Negro area. This concentration of the double shift in Negro areas took place as early as 1935. A study prepared of that year by the Citizens Schools Committee showed that of fourteen schools on double shift at that time, thirteen were Negro. From that time to the present most, though not all, of the pupils affected by double shift have been Negro.

## Has Double Shift Been Reduced by New Building Financed by the School Bond Issue?

In October, 1950, just before the first $50 million school bond issue, there were fifteen (15) schools, 146 classes, 5,386 pupils, on double shift.

In September, 1954, after the proceeds from the first $50 million bond issue in 1951 had been largely spent, the double shift had increased to 11,412 pupil, with 18 schools and 309 classes on shift.

By February, 1957, after another $50 million school bond issue, the double shift had risen to 22,192 pupils.

By October, 1959, 47 schools and 30,457 pupils were on shift. This was after the fourth (4th) $50 million bond issue had been secured but not yet spent.

Thus, new building financed by the first three school bond issues not only failed to reduce the double shift; double shift actually increased with each issue. To be sure the school enrollment was rising during this period but not to the peak number of 1932. Meanwhile all the regular building fund money as well as the bond issues have been increasing the school plant. There are many more classrooms than in 1932.

## Plenty of Room Near Lawndale to Take Its Schools Off Double Shift

In some areas even the classrooms built before 1930 with a smaller enrollment now because of pupils lost to the suburbs and the parochial schools are sufficient to relieve double shift in other areas.

This is the case with Lawndale and surrounding areas. Study of nine (9) Lawndale schools and twenty-three (23) schools within three miles of the area, which have changed little if any in capacity since 1930, shows that there is no real shortage of classroom space. The nine Lawndale schools' enrollment is about 8,000 over capacity, the twenty-three outside Lawndale, nearly 13,000 under capacity.

### Capacity & Enrollments in Certain Schools of Lawndale & Vicinity: Selected Years

| Schools in Lawndale: | Capacity* | 1930-1 Enroll.* | 1959-60 Enroll.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bryant, 1355 S. Kedvale (23) | 1610 | 2227 (4 Portables) | 3385 |
| Gregory, 3715 W. Polk (24) | 1680 | 1983 | 2802 |
| Herzl, 3711 W. Douglas (23) | 2205 | 2300 (4 Portables) | 2844 |
| Howland, 1616 S. Spaulding (23) | 1785 | 1855 | 2730 |
| Lawson, 1256 S. Homan (23) | 1960 | 2099 | 3290 |
| Penn, 1616 S. Avers (23) | 2275 | 2255 | 3041 |
| Pope, 1852 S. Albany (23) | 1120 | 1110 | 2074 |
| Shepard, 2839 W. Fillmore (12) | 945 | 1085 | 1175 |
| Sumner, 715 S. Kildare (24) | 1085 | 1795 (7 Portables) | 1511 |
| Total | 14,665 | 16,709 | 22,852 |
| **Schools north of Lawndale:** | | | |
| Byford, 5600 W. Iowa (51) | 980 | 896 | 551 |
| Cameron, 1234 N. Monticello (51) | 1575 | 1662 | 715 |
| Chopin, 2450 W. Rice (22) | 1225 | 1545 | 574 |
| Hay, 1018 N. Laramie (51) | 1295 | 1069 | 466 |
| Howe, 720 N. Lorel (44) | 910 | 754 | 484 |

| Schools north of Lawndale | Capacity* | 1930-1 Enroll.* | 1959-60 Enroll.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Key, 517 N. Parkside (44) | 700 | 639 | 450 |
| Clark Branch, 1045 S. Monitor (44) | 210 | 291 (2 Portables) | --(Incl. in Key |
| Lafayette, 2714 W.Augusta Blvd. | 2485 | 2479 | 1632(Incl. 10 rooms of Tuley H.S.) |
| Lewis, 1431 N. Leamington (51) | 840 | 953 | 569 |
| Lowell, 3320 W. Hirsch (51) | 1995 | 1787 | 1277 |
| Nash, 4837 W. Erie (44) | 1470 | 1145 | 743 |
| Nobel, 4127 W. Hirsch (51) | 1295 | 1354 | 822 |
| Orr, 1040 N. Keeler (51) | 1190 | 1255 | 605 |
| Spencer, 214 N. LaVergne (44) | 1120 | 935 | 744 |
| Young, 1434 N. Parkside (51) | 1540 | 1726 | 709 |
| Total | 18,830 | 18,490 | 10,341 |
| **Schools south of Lawndale** | | | |
| Corkery, 2510 S. Kildare (23) | 1260 | 947 | 627 |
| Gary, 3740 W. 31st (23) | 1260 | 1031 | 603 |
| Hammond** 2819 W. 21st (23) | 1225 | 1015 | 430 |
| McCormick, 2712 S. Sawyer (23) | 1155 | 927 | 627 |
| Pickard, 2301 W. 21st (8) | 1120 | 1462 | 490 |
| Plamondon ** 1525 S. Washtenaw | 595 | 540 | 302 |
| Spry, 2400 S. Marshall Blvd.(23) | 1260 | 1139 | 1044 |
| Whitney, 2815 S. Komensky(23) | 1155 | 1180 | 615 |
| Total | 9,030 | 8,241 | 4,738 |

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*Capacity is figured at 35 pupils per room for the number of rooms shown in the 1930-1 Directory of Chicago Public Schools, from which the 1930-1 enrollment is also taken. The 1959-60 enrollment is from the Illinois School Directory.
**Hammond and Plamondon are within the Greater Lawndale Conservation Commission's area but are included with other schools south of it because they have under-utilized classroom space.

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DOUBLE SHIFT COMPARED WITH CROWDED CLASSROOMS

Comparison of the table above with the one below shows that pupils must be removed to relieve crowding in addition to those removed to relieve double shift. The Table above shows the need to remove over 8,000 pupils from only nine schools whereas, to take the ten off double shift in the Table below, only about 6,000 would have to be taken out. (In reckoning with double shift, take out half the number and the rest can remain all day.)

Number of Pupils on Double Shift in Lawndale
(Dates for which records were obtained varies as shown)

| School | No. on shift 1/1960 | School | No. on shift 9/59 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bryant | 2653 | Howland | 612 |
| Gregory | 2290 | Lawson | 1892 |
| Herzl | 890 | Mason | 512 |
| Shepard | 397 | Penn | 1244 |
| Sumner | 497 | Pope | 1142 |
| Total | 12,129 | | |

## Dr. Willis Can Recommend that Crowded, Double Shift Schools End Now

Bringing the schools to the crowded areas has proved a failure. Not even $150 million extra school bond money succeeded in ending the double shift, let alone the crowded classrooms.

On the other hand, the classroom space is available outside the crowded areas. Teachers will be more readily available if the conditions are evened out in the various schools.

Superintendent Willis can recommend to the Board of Education a change in the district and transfer procedures to allow for the more even use of the whole school plant. He can recommend the provision of transportation where necessary.

The suggestion was made at a meeting on July 11 at the Sears YMCA that the Upper Grade Center buildings in Lawndale be used for the pupils in the lower grades and the children in the upper grades be transferred to under-utilized schools outside the area within three miles of Lawndale.

Dr. Willis may be addressed as Dr. Benjamin C. Willis, General Superintendent of Schools, 228 N. La Salle St., Chicago 1, Illinois. Telephone number is DEarborn 2 7801.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION CAN PASS THE DISTRICTING AND TRANSFER CHANGES TO END DOUBLE SHIFT AT THEIR WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, MEETING, 2:00 P.M., 228 N. La Salle St.

The members of the Board of Education with their addresses are given below. They serve without pay as a public service. But surely they will be glad to take a little extra time to read thoughtful letters asking them to change their districting arrangements to permit all pupils to enjoy a full school day in an uncrowded classroom.

They will undoubtedly be glad to see a good attendance at their August 31 meeting. The public is welcome to attend all Board of Education meetings.

Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., President Board of Education, 2430 N. Lakeview (14)
Raymond W. Pasnick, 9700 S. Avalon (28) Joseph Pois, 6817 S. Crandon (49)
Mrs. John B. Allen, 1357 E. 56th St. (37) Edward S. Scheffler, 1141 N. Damen (22)
Loraine R. Green (Mrs. Wendell), 5333 S. Maryland (15) Thomas J. Murray, 9130 S. Damen (20) Thomas L. Marshall, 135 S. LaSalle St. (3)
Frank M. Whiston, 55 E. Washington St. (2) Dr. John L. Reichert, 1791 W. Howard (26) William C. Caples, 63 E. Bellevue (11)

# DESEGREGATE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**Question 1** Are Chicago public schools segregated?

**Answer 1** Yes, many of them are in fact (de facto) segregated. That is, some schools contain only or mostly Negro pupils or only or mostly white pupils. Some have teachers of only one race. According to a 1957 estimate, 90% of the elementary pupils attend schools predominantly of one race.*

**Question 2** Is not the actual segregation of Chicago schools due entirely to housing segregation?

**Answer 2.** No. It is true that Chicago is considered to be the most segregated of northern cities in housing. But the Negro ghettoes are long and narrow and schools if districted to cut across these long ribbons could be integregated. (See the attached map.) Some of the actual segregation is caused by schools administrative practices.*

**Question 3** Does the actual segregation in Chicago schools, since it is not caused by law as in the south, have any bad effects on the pupils?

**Answer 3** Yes. Dr. Kenneth B. Clark writes: "School segregation arising from these causes (i.e. in the north) is no less damaging to human personality than school segregation based on laws." #

A. Segregated schools are a poor preparation for living in a modern metropolis.

B. The schools attended by Negro pupils are typically much larger than the average so that the child receives less individual attention.

C. Loss of school time through double shift is very great among Negro pupils, negligible by comparison of either numbers of pupils or length of time among white. One study based on 1957 estimates* found that 40% of the predominantly Negro elementary schools were on double shift, only 2% of the predominantly white. (Compare the attached map.)

D. Poor preparation of Negro pupils through crowded classrooms and inexperienced teachers is common.

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*De Facto Segregation in Chicago Public Schools, issued by the Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1957. Available at the Chicago Public Library, Randolph and Michigan, 4th Floor, Teachers' Room, at Hall Branch, 4801 S. Michigan, and at the Chicago Branch NAACP Office, 3856 South Parkway, Chicago 53, telephone OAkland 4-5400.

#Kenneth B. Clark, Prejudice and Your Child, Beachon Press, Boston, 1955, p.87.

Question 4 Has the $150 million of building bond money since 1951 and prior to the present 1959 bond issue been equitably spent on Negro and white pupils?

Answer 4 No. During that period the white population of Chicago declined slightly. The Negro population increased greatly. Theoretically, therefore, there would need to be no building in white areas and much in Negro. In fact, however, about twice as many buildings and additions were built in white as in Negro areas.

Question 5 Did the 1958 redistricting of Chicago high schools, the first in about 20 years, increase integration?

Answer 5 No. It increased segregation.

A. Shakespeare, 1119 E. 46th St., and Oakenwald, 4071 S. Lake Park Ave., schools with Negro pupils, were taken out of racially mixed Hyde Park High School's district, and assigned to all-Negro high schools. (Hyde Park High School is at 6220 S. Stony Island Ave.)

B. A section inhabited by whites was removed from the district of the racially mixed high school Marshall, 3250 W. Adams St., and placed in the district of an all-white school. A Negro area was also assigned to a predominantly Negro High School.

C. No Negroes were placed in white high schools or whites in Negro high schools to balance these increases in <u>de facto</u> segregation.

D. The Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People suggested to the Board of Education and Superintendent Willis districting which would have integrated all of the Negro high schools and some white high schools. These suggestions and the entire question of integration in districting were ignored by the school administration.

Question 6 In high schools in mixed areas does the Board of Education enforce the district boundaries and attempt to promote integration?

Answer 6 Not consistently.

A. Several years ago, Marshall High School, 3250 W. Adams St., became a predominantly Negro school although its feeder elementary schools were majority white. After two years of meetings and newspaper publicity exposing the excessive transfers of students over the city, of which Marshall was one example, ther was a shift in district superintendents. The permits were no longer easily available and the school soon became reintegrated with about 50% of each race. The experience of segregation resulting from boundary violations continues to affect the school adversely. A disproportionate number of substitute teachers are still there as a result of the loss of assigned teachers from the period of "skipping."

Answer 6 continued

B. At the present time, a large new vocational school, Dunbar, 3000 South Parkway, has a racially integrated district with about half the feeder schools white. There are said to be three white students out of some 2300 attending the day school. It is often noted that Negro students ride the suburban buses daily to and from far outside its district which extends from 22nd Street to 55th and from the Lake to the city limits.

Question 7 Are the new general high schools recently built or in process so located as to increase integration?

Answer 7 No, their location increases segregation. All except one are in white areas. That one, Harlan, 9652 S. Michigan Avenue., withdraws nearly all Negroes from mixed high schools Fenger and Calumet to put them in a new mixed school built in the path of the expanding Negro ghetto. There is thus a possibility that the new school Harlan will become all Negro in the near future unless the housing segregation is checked; and that the formerly mixed high schools will become almost entirely white.

Question 8 Does the Chicago Board of Education have an explicit, positive policy of racial integration in harmony with the 1954 Supreme Court decision on education?

Answer 8 No.

A. Official spokesmen of the school board and administration have stated publicly that they felt the schools had no responsibility in regard to racial integration any more than for the integration of Americans of Polish, Irish or German descent.

B. Early in 1959 a meaningless statement in favor of better human relations was adopted by the Board of Education. It failed to mention either the Supreme Court decision or racial integration.

Question 9 Does Illinois law prohibit racial segregation in Chicago public schools?

Answer 9 Yes. Illinois Revised Statutes, Chapter 122, 6 - 37: "...but no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality."

Chapter 122, 18 - 14: "No State aid claim may be filed for any district unless the clerk or secretary of the school board executes and files with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, on forms prescribed by him, a sworn statement that the district has complied with the requirements of Section 6 - 37 in regard to the non-segregation of pupils on account of color, race or nationality."

"No State aid claim may be filed...unless...a sworn statement that to the best of his knowledge or belief the employing personnel have not discriminated in the employment of teachers on the basis of color, creed, race or nationality."

Question 10 Is the actual or de facto segregation in Chicago schools illegal?

Answer 10 We do not know. To our knowledge, no test case has been brought into court in Illinois.

Question 11 Is there an Illinois law prescribing racial integration as a factor in school districting?

Answer 11 No. A bill to provide for this in Chicago only was introduced by Representative Charles F. Armstrong in the 1957 Illinois Legislature. It passed the House but was defeated in the Senate Education Committee. In 1959, a similar bill applying to Chicago only, H. B. 331, was introduced by Representative Armstrong. It passed the House with a high vote, was recommended by the Senate Education Committee, and received a favorable final Senate vote of 15-4, but failed to obtain the necessary 30 votes to pass.

Question 12 Is a uniform standard maintained throughout the public schools?

Answer 12 No. We know of no comprehensive study of this question, but from observation made by teachers and parents we believe that the failure to maintain uniform standards is one of the important causes of the inferior achievements of Negro pupils.

A. Negro parents moving into white areas frequently find that their children require private tutoring to keep up to grade level even though they may have been top students in their previous Negro school.

B. Pupils in one grade may be using books for a lower grade.

C. Pupils' performance may be that of the grade below although the books are at grade level.

D. High school standards are lowered by omitting courses when the school becomes predominantly Negro and by substituting "essential math" for algebra and "remedial English" for the standard English courses.

E. Failure to provide tutoring as a remedy. (Student tutoring is done in some non-Negro high schools.)

Question 13 Can more nearly equal schooling and more integration besecured in spitd of the segregated housing pattern?

Answer 13 Yes, by proper administration.

A. A full school day for all pupils.

1. Redistricting in places where the crowded schools are near schools with empty or underpopulated rooms.

2. Transportation to schools with empty or underpopulated rooms.*

*Report of the PTA School Education Committee on Vacant Classrooms in the Chicago Public Schools presented to the March, 1958 Chicago Region Assembly.

Answer 13 continued

3. Revision of the building program and postponing the replacement of old schools until the double shift has been eliminated.

B. Keeping the schools small or medium-sized.

1. Building new elementary schools when needed rather than additions.

2. Division into two or more schools of the over-sized schools.

C. Setting a maximum and a minimum number of pupils for each class room rather than an average. An average conceals the spread between 46 in one school and 28 in the classrooms of another, for example, the average being 37 which is about the city average.

D. Assuring a certain percentage of experienced teachers to each school.

E. Equipping the schools with teaching materials which give proper recognition to minority group achievements.

F. Redistricting the high schools to integrate the Negro high schools and as many of the white as feasible.

G. Maintenance of uniform standards and provision for tutoring where needed or desired.

Question 14 What can I as a Chicago resident do to help secure more nearly equal schools for all?

Answer 14 Here are some suggestions.

A. Examine your neighborhood schools with respect to the points in Answer 13.

B. Secure further background information from

1. George T. Wilkins, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Springfield, Illinois. Request, free, The Illinois School Code and the Illinois School Directory.

2. Benjamin C. Willis, General Superintendent of Schools, 228 N. La Salle St., Chicago 1, DEarborn 2-7801. Ask for the Directory of Chicago Public Schools, Facts and Figures, the adopted Budget, and any handbook on procedures which may be available.

3. Chicago Urban League, 2410 S. Michigan, Chicago 16, CAlumet 5-0600. Ask for their latest map on the distribution of the Negro population in Chicago.

Answer 14 continued

4. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Chicago Branch, 3856 South Parkway, Chicago 53, OAkland 4-5400, has Desegregated Chicago Public Schools, De Facto Segregation in Chicago Public Schools, and copies of school budget hearing testimonies.

5. Buy or borrow from the public library Prejudice and Your Child, Kenneth B. Clark, Beacon Press, Boston, 1955.

C. Bring your thoughts and information to an organization concerned with school problems--PTA, NAACP, Urban League, Citizens Schools Committee, a local civic group.

D. Encourage a representative of your organization to attend the Board of Education meetings on the second and fourth Wednesdays 2 P.M., 228 N. LaSalle Street, and make sure that your organization testifies at the school budget hearings.

E. If your child is in a school on double shift or expected to be at the beginning of the school year, why not seek to enroll him in a school with empty or underpopulated rooms? Let the NAACP, 3856 South Parkway, Chicago 53, OAkland 4-5400, know of your experience.

- - - - - -

Schools

## PETITION FOR SCHOOL TRANSFER

As a parent living near a school which has been crowded I request the transfer of my child or children to an uncrowded school in September, 1962, unless the conditions in the school near me are corrected. I further request that any necessary transportation be provided by the Board of Education. I do not wish my child to be instructed in a mobile classroom nor a school whose classrooms contain more pupils than the city average at standard usage of the school building.

My signature_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

My address_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

Date_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

\- - -

Mail to

Clair M. Roddewig, President
BOARD OF EDUCATION
228 N. La Salle St.
Chicago 1, Illinois

Witnessed by my pastor, minister, priest or other person whose name is_ _

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

on this date_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _.

A copy of this petition has been left with the above witness.

A copy has been retained for myself.

Petitions circulated by the West Side Unit of Chicago Committee of Racial Equality, 54 W. Randolph St., Room 305, Chicago 1, telephone Chicago CORE 372 4251 or West Side CORE LA 1 5591.

(labor contributed)

Schools

DUAL EDUCATION DR. WILLIS' POLICY IN SPITE OF JUDGE HOFFMAN'S PRAISES
Schools to Open Next Month Crowded, Unequal, Segregated, Expensive

Dr. Willis' Excuses Phony

M Each year we are given the impression that there has been a school population explosion. In point of fact, there were more students in the public schools in 1932-3 than in 1960-1. Check for yourself in facts and figures, 1953, p. 13, and September, 1961, p. 20, published by the Board of Education. (Four $50 million bond issues in 1951,5,7,9)

Enough Room, We Estimate, But Poorly Administered

M According to Dr. Willis' figures and methods, there is not enough room in the elementary or high schools for the students. Whenever the students move, build a school or a mobile, leaving the previous school empty. We believe it would make more sense to move the students to the schools.

This Summer: Questionable Branches Deprive White Students Mainly

M By assigning a very low capacity to high school buildings, Dr. Willis maintains that they are crowded and establishes branches of freshmen in elementary school buildings. In Marshall High School, at Adams & Kedzie, he filled up nearly half the high school building with elementary pupils and is now putting most of the white Freshmen in a branch in Orr elementary school, because the high school is crowded!

M Wherever the parents have protested vigorously they have succeeded in postponing or changing some decisions on branches. The Southwest parents effected a postponement of the decision on branches of Bogan and Lindblom. On the North Side the parents in the Mather High School district got the time of the Freshmen reduced from a year to a semester for next year. But why even one semester? Why not transfer to Senn?

TRANSFER!

M If your child will be in a mobile, a branch, or a crowded or segregated classroom in September, ask for a transfer. Write to Clair M. Roddewig, President, Board of Education, 228 N. LaSalle St., Chicago 1, Illinois.

Put Your Name in CORE SAC

M If you want to take action for good schools for Chicago children as well as for equal opportunity generally, fill out the Social Action Census (SAC) form on the back and send to CORE. We will call you for action.

(labor contributed)

Social Action Census, 1962

My name _____

My address _____

My telephone _____

My church _____

My pastor _____

My school _____

My company or place of employment, if employed: _____

_____

Employment address _____

PLEDGE

I will do my best to make the neighborhood in which I live, the place where I work, and the school with which I am concerned a place of equal opportunity.

(Please return to Chicago CORE, 54 W. Randolph, Room 305, Chicago 1, Illinois, telephone 372 4251 or LA 1 5591)

(labor contributed)

CHICAGO COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
54 West Randolph, Room 305, Chicago 1, Illinois 372 4251 LA 1 5591
affiliated with CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.

August 5, 1962

Dear Members of the Board of Education:

Chicago CORE calls upon you to "see to it that Chicago schools will be fully integrated and equal" when they open in September. Judge Julius J. Hoffman, in dismissing from the Federal Court the Zuber desegregation suit against you, is quoted in the Aug. 1, 1962, Sun-Times, as expressing confidence that Dr. Willis will see to it that this equality and integration are effected. CORE cannot share his optimism.

We ask you to act now, without waiting for the 20th day enrollment figures in September. Unless drastic measures are taken at your two August meetings, Chicago schools will open, as they closed in June, crowded, unequal, segregated, expensive. All four conditions have been caused by Dr. Willis' proposals adopted by your Board. They are quite unnecessary otherwise, as can be deduced from the enclosed graph.

Dr. Willis' Report 70420-H at your July 11 meeting revealed that the new facilities expected to open in September, minus the replacements, will be insufficient to accommodate the expected increase of 29,200 pupils and students.

Last fall, a report by Dr. Willis, dated Nov. 22, 1961, showed glaring disparities in elementary enrollments as compared with capacities, with the high enrollments mainly in the Negro areas. Many white area schools were under-utilized.

Shortly after, Dr. Willis reported suspiciously low capacities and uneven use of high school buildings, according to which the high schools lack about 20,000 seats. (See enclosed letter).

An expensive high school building program is planned for the immediate future. It was incorporated in the 1962 budget passed by the aldermen and neither corrected nor vetoed by Mayor Daley who must be aware that it is useless to keep the city taxes down if the Board of Education taxes are allowed to rise unchecked.

Buses would equalize the elementary school enrollment inexpensively and in the direction of integration. The inadequate 150 mobile classrooms were placed in Negro areas at an expense at least ten times that of buses.

A second way to improve education economically is to take the elementary pupils out of the high school buildings and the high school students out of the elementary buildings, use both fully, and redistrict.

If you do not at once correct the underlying philosophy by which decisions are made and rescind the decisions of the July 11 meeting creating high school branches in elementary school buildings, the 20th day enrollment figures in September will be taken as the basis for the 1963 budget and we shall continue for another year of inferior education.

Dr. Willis has never proposed to you a plan to equalize and integrate Chicago schools. Goaded by you, he reluctantly acquiesced in possible, limited use of buses at the parents' expense and only if schools become crowded to the point of double shift and there is empty space in a school not far away. He segregates high school students in branches, mainly of one race.

Chicago CORE asks you to instruct Dr. Willis to bring you a plan now to equalize and integrate the Chicago public schools. We ask you to announce and begin to effectuate such a plan before school opens.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel E. Riley, Chairman
CHICAGO CORE

SER/fr

CHICAGO COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
54 West Randolph, Room 305, Chicago 1, Illinois 372 4251 LA 1 5591
affiliated with CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY, 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

August 3, 1962

Claire M. Roddewig, President
Board of Education
228 N. LaSalle St. (1)

Dear Mr. Roddewig,

Our organization requests the basis on which the capacity of the high schools is determined. The difference between the highest and lowest capacities is almost 50,000. Lavish use of high school space, the establishment of unnecessary branches in elementary schools, might lead to a parents' and taxpayers' revolt. You recall the reluctance of the southwest parents at the July 11 meeting to subject their children to the limitations of a Branch in Hubbard Elementary School as compared with the full program at Bogan or Lindblom?

Would you kindly explain to us, for example, how Dr. Willis determined the capacity of Harrison High School last fall to be 2,254 for an 8-period day?

In the 1929-30 Directory of Chicago Public Schools, Harrison is reported to have had 112 rooms. In 1940, with a branch in Jungman Elementary School, its enrollment was 4496. In 1950, with no branch, it enrolled 2848. Strayer gave its capacity as 3805; Dr. Hunt as 3241.

1950

Yet in 1962, Because of a projected enrollment of 2850, the actual enrollment without a branch, Dr. Willis recommended, and your Board passed at its last meeting, to establish a branch of Harrison at Froebel Elementary School. The parents of that area, exhausted and fatalistic after their long battle to save Froebel from being torn down, failed to protest. In 1950, Harrison could accommodate 2850 without a branch. In 1962, Dr. Willis regards 2850 as 600 over capacity. If, as the students say, the lunchroom is crowded, why not use one or more of the mobiles? The branch in Froebel will be almost entirely of one race. The boundary line of the branch follows the racial line at 16th Street.

At the July 11 meeting, you also passed, on Dr. Willis' recommendation, to establish a branch of Marshall High School at Orr Elementary School in the Humboldt Park area. Dr. Willis, last fall, gave the capacity of Marshall as 3534. The projected enrollment is 3595, only 61 over his extremely low capacity figure. ( Capacity given by Strayer, 4608; by Dr. Hunt, 4047). However, 40 of Marshall's high school rooms (total number given by 1931-2 Directory, 113) are used for elementary pupils. Here you have the curious spectacle of a high school being filled with elementary pupils and then establishing a branch in an elementary school for its high school students.

In both cases, there was a substantial increase in racial segregation. Practically all of the white Freshmen will be removed from Marshall High School. The high school unit in Orr Elementary School, composed of students from Austin High School and the northern part of Marshall's district, will be almost entirely white.

In the case of Marshall and Harrison High Schools, there is a difference of more than 2500 between the capacities of Strayer and those of Dr. Willis.

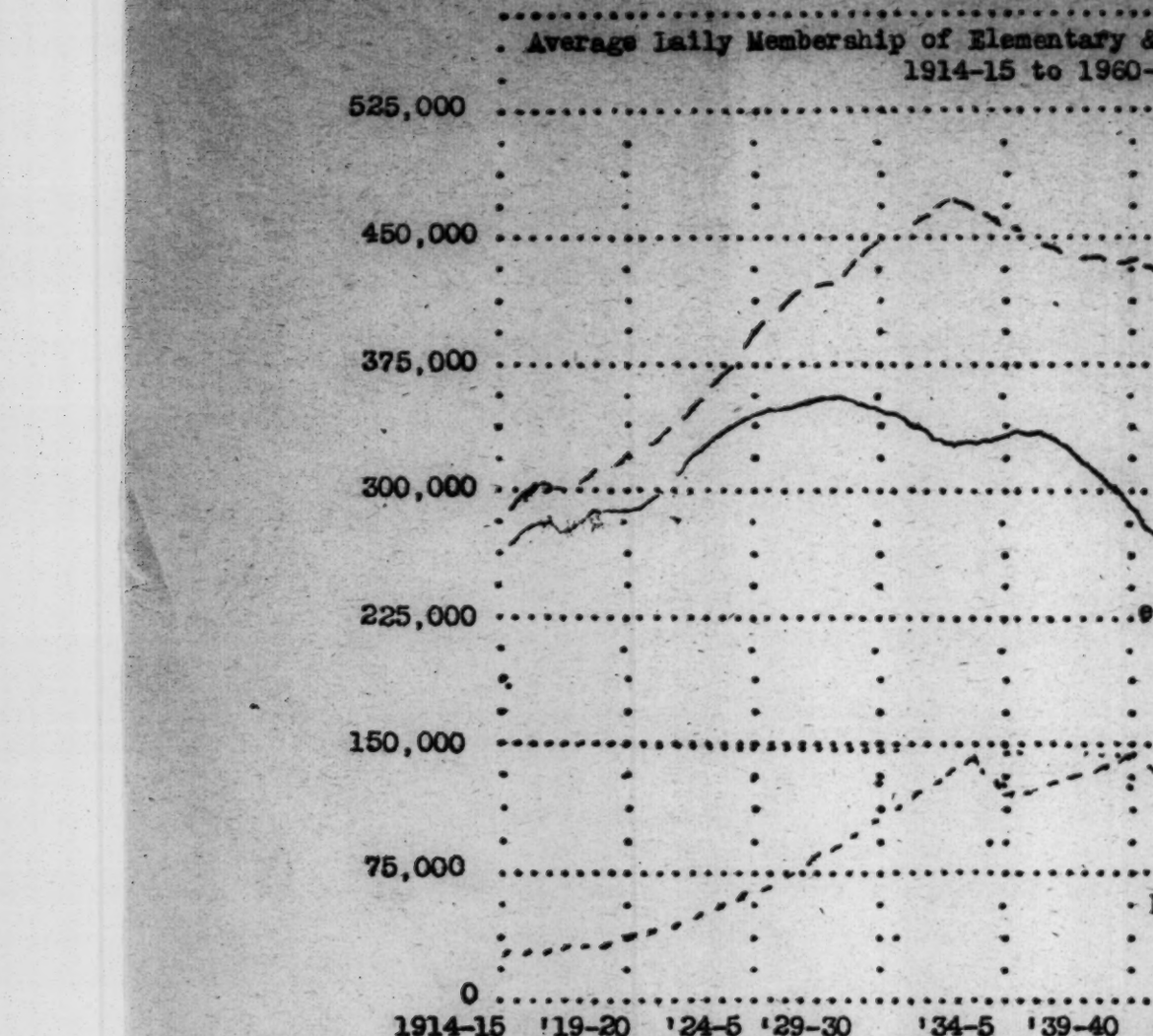
We should appreciate very much your letting us know the capacities of the high schools and the method of figuring them.

Sincerely yours,

Attention Faith Rich,
Schools Chairman

Samuel E. Riley, Chairman
Chicago CORE

Chicago Public



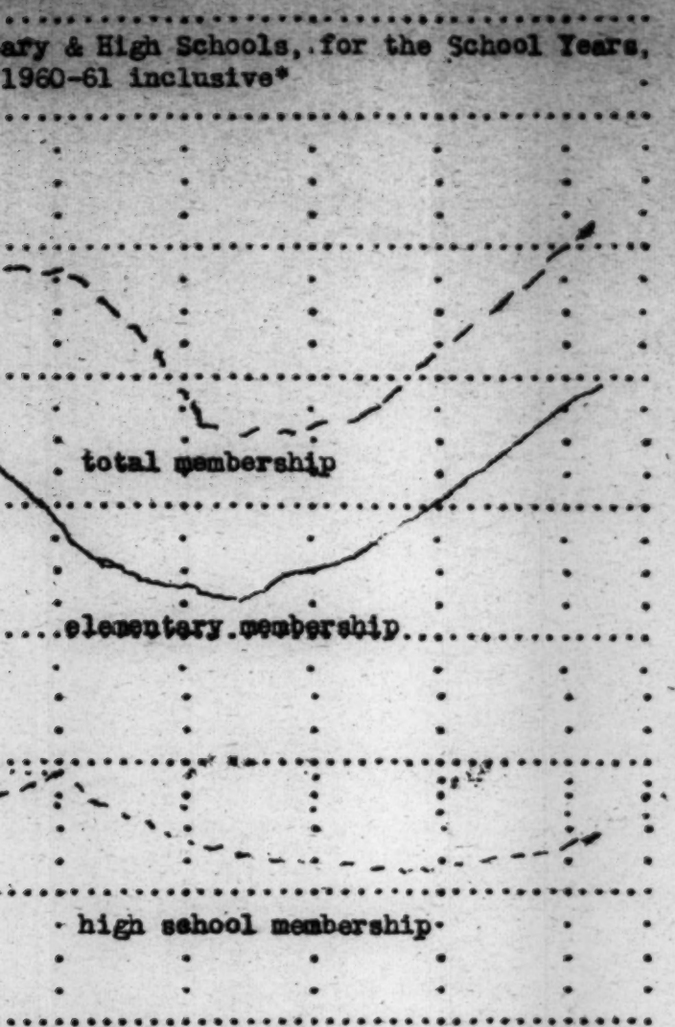

*From facts and figures, publication of t
1953, page 13, and extended to 1960-1 fr
figures, page 20. (Four $50 million bon
totalling $200 million)

** H is high.

Issued by Chicago CORE, 54 W. Randolph, Room 305,

blic Schools

ary & High Schools, for the School Years, 1960-61 inclusive*




| Year* | Total Membership* |
|---|---|
| 1914-5 | 292,823 |
| 1919-20 | 323,330 |
| 1924-5 | 408,423 |
| 1929-30 | 452,794 |
| 1934-5 | 457,714 |
| 1939-40 | 427,786 |
| 1944-5 | 354,119 |
| 1949-50 | 350,895 |
| 1954-5 | 390,611 |
| 1959-60 | 451,276 |
| 1960-61 | 465,740 |
| High Year | |
| 1932-3 | 472,789 |

of the Chicago Board of Education, May,
-1 from the September, 1961, facts and
n bond issues in 1951, 1955, 1957, 1959

305, Chicago 1, Illinois, telephone 372 4251. (labor contrib)

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

# WANTED: MORE NEGRO APPRENTICES AT WASHBURNE TRADE SCHOOL

A Study Initiated and Prepared by

THE CHICAGO AREA CHAPTER, NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL

IN COOPERATION WITH

THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY

JUNE, 1961

RESEARCH AND
TRAINING DEPARTMENT

CHICAGO AREA CHAPTER,
NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
SAM RILEY, DIRECTOR

Labor and Materials donated

## WANTED: More Negro Apprentices at Washburne

While a person can make much progress in industry without having gone through a formal apprenticeship, studies show that apprenticeship is a significant aid to advancement both in pay and in responsibility. With automation the advantages are expected to increase.

The Comptroller of a large national organization with headquarters in Chicago went to considerable trouble to assist his son to enter upon a typographer's apprenticeship. A University of Wisconsin study of 340 men who had completed apprenticeships during 1940-1 found that "nearly 35 per cent had moved to management level positions during the first five years of their status as skilled workers." The writer of this Wisconsin doctoral dissertation had himself been an apprentice.

Yet the estimated number of Negro apprentices in May, 1961, in 12 trades of Chicago's publicly supported Washburne Trade School made up only 1% of those trades' 1960 enrollment of over 2600.

| TRADE | 1960 Apprentice Enrollment* | Estimated Negro** | Trade | 1960 Appr. Enrollment** | Estimated Negro** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carpenters | 241 | 0 | Painters & Dec. | 159 | 2 |
| Electricians | 713 | 10 | Lathers | 147 | 0 |
| Plumbers | 312 | 3 | Plasterers | 49 | 5 |
| Machinists | 157 | 0 | Patternmakers | 29 | 0 |
| Sheet Metal | 270 | 0 | Sprinkler Fitters | 65 | 0 |
| Pipefitters | 323 | | Typographers | 203 | 2 |
| | | | Linotype | 14 | 4 |

Total.....2682 Negro....26

The under-representation of Negroes among apprentices is not peculiar to Chicago. Apprentices, Skilled Craftsmen and the Negro: An Analysis, New York State Commission against Discrimination, 270 Broadway, New York City, New York, 1960, page 15; "Currently, about 2 per cent of the appriximately 15,000 registered apprentices in New York State are Negro."

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*Leaflet issued by Washburne Trade School, 3233 West 31st Street, Chicago 23, Ill.
** In May, 1961

Why are there so few Negroes among apprentices? Is it because Negro young people want to go to college? And despise the blue-collar jobs? Is it because they cannot live on the low pay at the beginning of the apprenticeships? Or because they lack friends and relatives in the trades to tell them about the openings and help them get accepted? Or because the poor schooling in de facto segregated schools prevents them from qualifying? Or does racial discrimination keep them out altogether either because the contractors will not hire them or their names disappear into waiting lists of the Joint Apprenticeship Committees and fail to come forth?

All these are causes. The numerous and complex factors which account for the small number of Negroes in the skilled trades are well described in three studies. Harry Kursh, Apprenticeships in America, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1958, is subtitled "A Guide to Golden Opportunities in Industry for Students, Parents, Teachers, Guidance Counselors, and Leaders in Education, Labor and Industry." Its Chapter 8 "The Negro and Apprenticeships" has two subheadings: "The Penalty against the Nation" and"What the Negro Apprentice Should Do." The University of Wisconsin study of the 340 skilled workers was found on pages 33-34 of this book.

The Negro Wage-Earner and Apprenticeship Training Programs, A Critical Analysis with Recommendations, Labor Department, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York, February 25, 1960, is available free on request.

Also free is the above-mentioned study of the New York State Commission against Discrimination. This is a scholarly analysis covering the history and significance of apprenticeship in the United States as well as in New York State.

John A. Lapp, The Washburne Trade School, Fred Klein Company, Chicago, 1941, expresses no recognition of any racial problems but is informative for

the establishment and early history of the various apprentice trade courses in the public schools.

A study which is important as showing the future needs in the various trades is Vocational and Technical Education in Illinois, Tomorrow's Challenge, Bureau of Vocational Research, College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana, 1960.

The present paper is a practical application of this background information to the problem of enabling more Negroes to become apprentices at Washburne Trade School.

Apprentices enter Washburne Trade School as a rule through the joint apprenticeship committees of the union and the industry, although they may also come directly to the school from the employer. The school assumes no responsibility for the selection of apprentices.

Therefore the first step is to locate the source of apprenticeship information in the particular industry.

| TRADE | APPRENTICESHIP COMMITTEE OR OTHER INFORMANT | |
|---|---|---|
| Carpenters | Mr. Charles A. Thompson, 12 E. Erie St. (11) | Su-7-3076 |
| Electricians | Mr. Ralph Thompson, 228 N. LaSalle St. (1) | St-2-5616 |
| Plumbers | Mr. Lamb, 1340 W. Washington (7) | Ha-7-1028 |
| Machinists | IAM Lodge 113, 5247 W. Madison (44) | Ma-6-1127 |
| Sheet Metal | Mr. Kaberlein, 3350 W. Jackson Blvd. (24) | Ne-8-7800 |
| Pipefitters | Mr. Bielke, 228 N. LaSalle St. (1) | Fr-2-6280 |
| Painters & Decorators | Mr. Vyt A. Lubert, 430 N. Michigan, Rm. 810 | Wh-4-4578 |
| | Home | 586- 2151 |
| Lathers | Mr. James Hamilton, 3233 W. 31st St. (23) | Cl-4-8127 |
| Plasterers | Mr. Hughes, 330 South Marshfield (2) | Se-3-5590 |
| Patternmakers | Mr. Gotham, 105 W. Adams (3) | St-2-9510 x 48 |
| Sprinkler Fitters | Mr. Charles Schwab, 910 W. Monroe St. (7) | Mo-6-0663 |
| Typographers | Mr. Frank O'Connor, 12 E. Grand Avenue (11) | Mi-2-2790 |

From the information given by these sources comes the following tabular overview of the various trades on page 4.

First there must be Negroes seeking apprenticeships. Most of the informants state that there have been few or no Negro applicants. Those who apply often have no idea of the length of the apprenticeship, the starting pay, the

| TRADE | FIRST STEP |
|---|---|
| Carpenters | Get a Job |
| Electricians | Get application from Jt.A |
| Plumbers | Get application from Jt. |
| Machinists | Get a job |
| Tool & Die Makers | Get a job |
| Sheet Metal | Get a job |
| Pipefitters | Get application from Appr |
| Painters & Decorators | Get a job or apply to Coor dinator at Washburne |
| Lathers | Apply at union and get a |
| Plasterers | Send to Jt.Appr.C. for app and state if you have a c to hire you |
| Patternmakers | Apply to Jt. Appr. C. |
| Sprinkler Fitters | Apply to Jt. Appr. C. |
| Typographers | Get a job as Misc. Help in typesetting shop |

*Joint Apprenticeship Committee

| | YEARS | STARTING WAGE | AGE | HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA REQUIRED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4 | $2.05 hr. | 17-25 | Yes |
| Jt.Appr.C.* | 4 | 1.94 | 17-21 | Yes |
| Jt. Appr.C. | 5 | ? | 16-25 | Yes |
| | 4 | 1.80 | 18-21 | Yes |
| | 5 | 1.80 | 18-21 | Yes |
| | 4 | 1.92 | 18-21 | Yes |
| Appr.C. | 5 | 2.10 | 18-21 | Yes |
| o Coor- | 3 | 1.53 | 18-25 | Yes |
| et a job | 3 | 1.92 | 17-27 | Yes |
| or application | | just | 17-25 | No |
| ve a contractor | 4 | under 2.00 | | |
| . | 5 | 1.87or less | 17-21 | Yes |
| . | 4 | 2.15 | 18-25 | No |
| elp in | 6 | About $61 for 36½ hr. wk. | 18 up | Yes (a few not) |

requirement of a high school diploma. When the waiting list and these other requirements are brought to the attention of the applicant he usually does not return.

Since the Negro young person does not as a rule have friends or relatives in the trade, he would be likely to hear of opportunities for apprenticeship only through his school. An interview of a recent graduate of Washburne revealed that he had become an apprentice through prior work in the high school print shop and referral by the school. A source of Negro electrician apprentices is a shop employing Negro electricians who have recently been admitted to the union. In some trades there are a few Negro contractors who employ apprentices. For the most part, however, it appears that the best chance for the Negro to be hired and apprenticed is in a large shop. Large shops are almost certain to be white-owned.

Unfortunately, most schools do not mention apprenticeship in their literature. They speak of college or a job after high school. If the upper grades and high schools, general and vocational, would include apprenticeship in their materials and counseling programs, the first barrier to Negro apprenticeship would be removed.

In the foregoing tabular overview of the 12 skilled trades under consideration the first step varies. In some the first step is to get a job; in others the Joint Apprenticeship Council or Committee sends out the would-be apprentice to a trial period on a job. In most of the trades in which the first step is to get an application from the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, it is best to be able to mention a prospective employer. Whenever the first step is to get a job, the problem is where. Most trades have between 500 and several thousand shops or contractors. Yet of these perhaps only 100 or 150 hire any appren-

tices. How is the young person to know which of the names in the Telephone Red Book might hire him?

If the Washburne Trade School would publish a list of the contractors or shops placing apprentices with them annually in the Proceedings of the Board of Education and make these lists available to high school counselors, the problem of knowing where to start would be greatly simplified.

The waiting list of the Joint Apprenticeship Committee may be another barrier for Negro apprentices. The waiting list may be a bona fide list arranged in order of apparent competence after tests and interviews, or it may be merely a device to discourage unwanted applicants. In the latter case, anyone who applies may be put on the list and then those with "pull" may be selected from it and sent to jobs.

In view of the possible lack of standardized, objective procedures, subject to review, on the part of some Apprenticeship Committees, it would seem advisable for Negro applicants to consult the Chicago Urban League before and after filing applications.

In only one trade, the Lathers, was the requirement of sponsorship by one who had been a journeyman member of the Chicago local union for at least five years found. In most trades, the apprenticeship was theoretically open to everyone on the basis of ability. In a number of trades it was said that the tendency for sons and other relatives of members to fill the apprenticeships was declining.

The problem of qualifying was thought to be the bottleneck for Negro apprentices in the typographers. It is now said to be relatively easy to get hired as miscellaneous help in a shop. But only a few of these are chosen and qualify for the six-year typographer's apprenticeship. A substantial percentage of these apprentices are college graduates and almost half have at least some

years of college training. It is preferred that the apprentice shall have taken in high school algebra, plane, and, hopefully, solid, geometry, as well as many English courses. On the other hand, a few apprentices have not graduated from high school. They must, however, attend night school and produce a high school diploma or its equivalent at an appropriate point in the apprenticeship. A factor favorable to Negroes in this trade is the absence of an age limit. It was recalled that one apprentice had started at 40.

In a number of trades high school shop work, courses in blue print reading, and mechanical drawing were favorable points.

Only one union informant reported the continuous presence of Negroes in the union and among its officers over the years both in Chicago and in the south. This is the Plasterers' Union. It is interesting to note that this is the only trade among the 12 studied in which the estimated percentage of Negro apprentices is relatively high - 10%. It was stated that the union had had a clause in its by-laws for over 30 years - it was not known when it was adopted - providing that anyone practicing racial discrimination must come before the Executive Board.

It is shocking to find the number of Negro apprentices at Washburne so small with none at all in 7 of the 12 trades studied. To change this situation, the remedies already suggested might be tried, namely information placed before the upper grade and high school students by school brochures and counselors, the lists of the contractors sending apprentices to Washburne Trade School to be made public, the Negroes seeking apprenticeships to consult the Chicago Urban League.

A further step which might open up many practical possibilities would be to interview the Negro apprentices now at Washburne as well as a number of the white apprentices.

# Hearts and Minds

"To separate [children in grade and high schools] . . . from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone . . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The United States Supreme Court,
May 17, 1954

Published by

**TEACHERS FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS**

**May 17, 1962**

Ten Cents

"Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does."

U. S. Supreme Court,

May 17, 1954

Fellow citizens:

The following pages describe the extent and effect of school segregation. We have been specific and balanced in our presentation, but we have not ignored the facts.

We are speaking of your city's school system, your city's school children, and your city's future citizens. Find out from us, the teachers whom you have asked to educate your city's children, the truth about our segregated schools. Read this pamphlet, and then, as an informed citizen, write to your Mayor and ask him to correct the situation. Let others read your pamphlet and encourage them to express themselves to the Mayor. He can and will do whatever you demand of him if it is for the good of your city. Integrated schools are a necessity if Chicago is to survive as one of the great cities of the world.

DEAR MAYOR DALEY:

Chicago's public schools are segregated. We know because we teach in them.

Segregation harms children, both Negro and white. That is why we are against it.

The city's children need everyone's help—yours especially.

If while reading this pamphlet you detect in it an undertone of impatience, you are right. We teachers are impatient with excuses and evasions. We are disturbed at the failure by school authorities thus far even to admit a problem exists.

Chicago's reputation for good schools is being destroyed. Integration can help restore that reputation.

Without a strong school system, Chicago's future will be bleak. The world of automation and technical skills is here and Chicago is still supplying citizens trained for the horse-and-buggy age of hard physical labor. Who will care to move here or stay on? Industry will not.

As mayor, you have recently recognized this fact in an eloquent way. In your statement of March 28, 1962, commenting on finding employment for the city's large Negro population, you said:

> *The problems of the lower economic group result from their being deprived of what they were entitled to—a better education. We mean to see to it that they have these opportunities.*

Exactly!

ures to save the city's children from the evils of segregated schools. Now is the time to plan immediate measures to save the city's children from the evils of segre gation.

Respectfully yours,

*Teachers for Integrated Schools*

## CHILDREN OF THE GHETTO

A ghetto is a living space in which certain people are forced to stay as though an iron gate kept them there. Chicago's Negro people live in a ghetto — virtually 825,000 of them.

Children are the ghetto's gravest victims. They live in cramped quarters; they play in crowded areas; they are systematically shortchanged in the schools. They are deprived of the most basic human rights: hope for the future and a confidence in their own capacity. What a heavy price for young people to pay!

Children of the ghetto make up more than 40 per cent of all public elementary school pupils in Chicago and 30 per cent of all high school students. By 1970, Negro children will make up more than half of all public school students. Continued segregation in the schools will blight the entire school system.

Segregated in neighborhood and school, the child of the ghetto is a stranger to white children. Both white and Negro children grow up isolated from one another. The Negro child quickly learns that he is underprivileged but that the white child will receive the privileges of childhood. The white child comes to think of the Negro child as strange and unworthy. Negro children may be led to consider themselves inferior; white children may be led to consider themselves superior. Both views are unreal and unhealthy. Such attitudes can prove the death of a good education and a progressive community.

Segregated schools are ghetto schools. Ghetto schools mock the promise of American democracy.

## GHETTO SCHOOLS ARE SHORT-SHIFT SCHOOLS

Roughly every sixth Negro child is in a "second-shift" elementary school. Such students attend school four hours a day as contrasted with all other students who attend school five hours. Thus, spread over an entire

school year the double-shift student loses one-fifth of his educational opportunity. *Over one year, it is equivalent to his being kept home for forty of the two-hundred school days.* Some students never get off second shift losing one-fifth of their entire elementary school career. Is it any wonder that children of the ghetto are often poorly educated?

Unfortunately for the children, double shifts appear very economical. Each of the shifts is packed full with overcrowded classes. School facilities are used over eight hours for two sets of students instead of five hours for one set. Per-student costs are very low. Another saving comes in the form of teacher salary costs. These are low in double-shift schools for two reasons. One, such schools have many substitutes who are paid considerably less than regular salaries. Two, in many double-shift schools, a regularly-assigned teacher will teach the first shift at his regular salary but teach the second shift for substitute pay.

Short-shift classes seem to be a permanent part of the ghetto system. At times, public pressure leads to a reduction in the number of second-shifts. Too often, this is not a real improvement. For example, during January, 1962, the number of short-shift classes at one elementary school was reduced. As a result, class size increased in a number of full-time rooms from 41 and 42 pupils to 47 pupils. Nothing was gained. Some teachers, frustrated at the already high class-size, became cynical about such "improvements."

In fall, 1962, only 4 percent of the children on short shifts were in all-white schools. The rest of the children were in ghetto and some few integrated schools.

Every child suffers from short shifts, even students from comfortable neighborhoods in which population has expanded rapidly. For the latter, however, their home atmosphere is a powerful factor in helping them overcome the handicap of short-shifts. For many Negro students, however, difficult home conditions preclude much

help from the family. They need more help from the school. But they get less.

At one double-shift ghetto school, three students recently wrote essays containing the following sentences:

1. "Some of the children in our school go in the mornings; some in the afternoon, and the lucky ones go all day."
2. "Some of the people in one school are more advanced than others. If we had more rooms and more teachers, ALL of the children in our school would be ten times as advanced as they are now."
3. "If I could change anything about school, I would have no crowded schools in all the world. You need plenty of space, so you are not cramped, to really learn."

Their teachers comment that they are eager to learn, and that they know they are not receiving equal treatment. What a terrible waste of young people!

## CROWDING OUT LEARNING

Sheer numbers can suffocate learning. In a ghetto school, 40 to 50 students are often stuffed into a single room. If they were angels, they would sit quietly. But they are children, often deprived children. Some have neither slept well nor eaten well. They are deeply confused by school. Receiving no special attention in school. they become resentful. Teachers tend to be reduced to custodians whose greatest accomplishment is physical order and quiet.

Some teachers in such conditions despair and leave at the first opportunity. They are not escaping from this or that race, however. They are rebelling at wretched learning and teaching conditions.

Many teachers stay on and try their best. We are proud of these colleagues. Their devotion is in the best tradition of our profession. Devotion, unfortunately, cannot thin out classes to manageable size.

Overstuffed classrooms are a reality not to be hidden by arithmetical operations. As bad as official figures of crowding are, you can be certain the actual situation is worse. There is only one sure way of measuring the degree of overcrowding—by counting the number of children in the classroom in relation to the number of classroom teachers. Too many special teachers and master teachers are used by principals as clerks and substitutes. On school records, however, they are counted as net additions to the teaching force. Counsellors who never teach a class are nonetheless counted as teachers, furthering the illusion of plenty amidst scarcity. For many years, organizations of Chicago teachers have called for a more straightforward way of measuring the student-teacher ratio.

The size of a class should be determined by the needs of the students. Children of the ghetto desperately need individual attention from their teacher. They need continued attention, but they do not receive it. To do so we would have to reduce class size from 50 students per class to about 15 per class.

Chronic overcrowding is bad not only because it is uncomfortable. It is bad because it condemns the overcrowded child to an inferior education. Overcrowding is the single greatest obstacle to educating the Negro child.

## SCHOOLS NEED REGULAR TEACHERS

One of every four Chicago public school teachers is a substitute. But many ghetto schools are staffed predominantly by substitutes. In some schools, nearly three-fourths of the staff are substitutes.

On an average day during September-November, 1961, nearly 13,000 students were, in effect, on a no-education basis: On that day some 333 classrooms were without any teacher at all. Most of these teacherless students were in ghetto schools. For reasons of safety, if not of education, many of the students were assigned as

temporary additions to already overcrowded classrooms —thus diluting even the best teacher's efforts. (Such additional students are added a few minutes after the regular teacher arrives at school. She has made no plans for them and their presence probably upsets the plans she made for her regular students.) Others of these teacherless students are "put under the charge" of selected eighth-grade students who manage brilliantly, considering their youth. But it remains a travesty on that part of the School Code of the State of Illinois which guarantees every child in the state "a good common school education."

## GHETTO STUDENTS ARE SHORTCHANGED

Negro-segregated schools are systematically deprived of equal per student money appropriations in the Board of Education budget. In the 1961 school budget, an uncontraverted Urban League report shows, numerous inequalities were enforced. Per pupil expenditures on Negro schools totalled one-fifth less than on white schools.

Teachers' salaries per pupil for Negro schools are 15 percent lower than for white schools. This reflects the lower salaries of substitutes and the free use of eighth-grade students as teachers. The disparity is even greater with regard to operating expenditures other than teachers' salaries: Negro schools receive one-third less per pupil than do white schools.

A Board of Education dollar spent in a Negro school buys only bare necessities; one spent in a white school buys necessities and extras. Few Negro schools, for example, are permitted to use rooms for anything but classes. Many white schools, on the other hand, use rooms for libraries, counselling rooms, home mechanics, and the like. The result is the same: children in Negro schools receive an impoverished rather than an enriched education. The "extras" that make for a good school are withheld from them.

## GHETTO SCHOOLS EDUCATE POORLY

Even if there were no school segregation, the quality of education would need to be improved. Segregation makes this need more urgent, especially in ghetto schools. Once a school becomes a ghetto school, it is as though a signal were given to lower educational standards.

Textbooks are basic tools of schooling. In ghetto schools, too little care is given to supplying textbooks which are of the appropriate grade level. Fourth-grade pupils may end up with third grade books because these happen to be available. Until very recently, children on double-shifts were not permitted to take their textbooks home; they were needed on the next shift. Due to parental complaints, this policy is only now beginning to change.

Academic standards are cheapened in ghetto schools. Less and less work is asked of students. Less and less is accomplished; instruction is watered down. A graduate of a ghetto school is expected to know less than a graduate of a non-ghetto school. He does. Why aren't poor students failed or held back? First, because this would further crowd the crowded lower grades. Second, because super-crowding would force school authorities to undertake remedial measures to educate children in small groups. Such expensive steps are avoided now by pretending that acceptable progress occurs even under segregated overcrowding.

Poor schooling snowballs into still poorer schooling. A child is placed in a overcrowded first-grade room. By the time he gets to an overcrowded second grade, he is less prepared than ever. And so on. By the time he reaches eighth grade, his inadequate education has prepared him for little more than failure. Only, he won't be failed. In January, 1962, for example, an attempt was made at a South Side elementary school to graduate all children over 14 years, regardless of schol-

arship and even grade placement. Sixth and seventh grade students graduated. They are now problems of the high school in their neighborhood.

The failure of ghetto schooling is evident in the city junior colleges. There, hundreds of graduates of Chicago high schools are found to have insufficient training even in reading and writing. A set of sub-college courses is offered in an attempt to bring these students up to standard. Be it noted that (1) very few of these students are graduates of high schools outside Chicago, and (2) the problem is present among others but in an extreme degree with ghetto students. In the pre-college remedial classes of one junior college branch were found three students who had been valedictorians of their high school graduating classes. One can only wonder at the extremely low academic standards of ghetto high schools which elevated sub-standard readers and writers to an artificially high status of valedictorian. How poorly educated must the non-valedictorians be!

The end-result of school segregation is educationally-handicapped citizens who are ill-equipped to function adequately in our community. The educational handicaps are primary obstacles in the way of earning a living. Being handicapped, they drain rather than contribute to community resources.

## DISTURBING RESULTS

The state labor director observes: "The educational base has not been sufficient to offer many young Negroes the opportunity to get better paying and higher skilled jobs." The executive director of the Mayor's Commission on Human Relations is reported as commenting on "the gap between the requirements of modern jobs and the deficiencies in Negro education and training." A Chicago specialist in problems of Negro employment "is disturbed by the evidence in inferior education" and "is especially incensed because the schools promote students whether they learn or not."

Ghetto schools cannot succeed in educating youngsters except to live as failures in a ghetto. We do not wish to be party to such a heartless and undemocratic outcome. Nor can we believe the people of Chicago do.

## DISCIPLINE IN GHETTO SCHOOLS

Discipline standards in ghetto schools reveal a lack of personal regard for students. In one ghetto high school, students are even required to sign their names before they go to the toilet. They know that similar rules do not exist throughout the school system. In another ghetto high school, students are "kicked out" without sufficient regard by administrators to the consequences. In ghetto elementary schools, extreme behavior problems are permitted to remain as disrupters in regular classes. Waiting lists for the centrally-located social adjustment schools are impossibly long. Meanwhile much more could be done to open additional social adjustment centers in the neighborhoods.

Discipline becomes a problem when the educational needs of children are not being met. Primitive methods and a crack-down approach will not solve the educational problems of ghetto children. However, special schools and special classes should be reserved for special behavior problems. Normal children everywhere need a calm, quiet classroom.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR PRINCIPALS AND TEACHERS

An unwritten rule in the school system is: Never assign a Negro principal to a white school. Thus, while numerous principalships change hands every year, and while retirements are followed by new assignments, racial considerations are used to stop any of these changes from placing a qualified Negro principal into a white school. **There are no exceptions.** The probability that this results from pure chance rather than discrimination is infinitesimally tiny.

The policy of staff segregation controls almost to the same degree in the case of teachers. Hundreds of schools in the city have no Negro teachers. Thus is lost a splendid chance to educate white students to the fact that great numbers of Negro teachers are as well-prepared and effective as their white colleagues. Many Negro teachers would be encouraged to apply for transfers if they knew that the principals of the receiving schools would welcome them.

## THE PLEASURES OF TEACHING

Teaching can be very pleasurable. We like putting our knowledge and training to work. We like helping young people to find their own way. We like the feeling of accomplishment when a youngster says: "Now, I understand." We like to help students see the need for a better world than we and their parents have made for them.

Teachers in ghetto schools, however, may as well forget about much of this. Their job is terribly frustrating and unpleasurable. To know what must be done and to suffer the lack of any opportunity to do it—this is torture for the teacher. The overcrowding, the shortage of materials, the lack of time, the knowledge that teachers in more favored areas of the city do experience the pleasures of teaching—all of it bunches up into fistfuls of frustration. **Here is the most basic reason why experienced classroom teachers flock from ghetto schools, and why potentially good young teachers prefer to stay away in the first place.**

## ABOLISH SUB-STANDARD EDUCATION

Our city's school system is in an emergency condition. Many thousands of children are simply not receiving the education to which, by law, they are entitled. We must abolish all sub-standard education. This is the highest priority in the school system. Every

school must operate at a certain minimum leve of quality. Otherwise, the blight of low standards will undermine the entire system.

## WHAT TO DO RIGHT NOW?

1. **Relieve overcrowding by a comprehensive and, if necessary, permanent policy of open transfers.** The city-city-wide average class size is said to be 36 students. The school system should itself arrange a transfer whenever the city-wide average is exceeded in any school. Children on second shift should be transferred at the earliest opportunity. Students on an overcrowded full-time schedule should be transferred next.

When you have an average of 36 it follows that the less-crowded neighborhoods have individual classrooms containing from 25 to 35 students. In each of these schools, at least several ghetto children could easily be accommodated. Distributing them widely throughout the city would be a wise policy for two reasons: (1) The room is widely available, and (2) the educational advantages of integrated classes would be experienced by a maximum number of chilren.

Transporting school children by bus is traditional in many areas. The suburbs and countryside do it; many parents of students in private and parochial schools do it; even the Chicago Board of Education does it for physically handicapped children. In New York and Cleveland many children in public elementary schools are transported by bus. In none of these cases have there been any bad effects on the children arising out of bus transportation. Also, bussing is very economical; in Cleveland, it costs only ten cents per student per day.

Transfers should not depend upon parental initiative. A transfer of the type described here is an educational decision which the school system itself is competent to make. Nor should transportation of the transferred

children be charged to the parents. Overcrowding is not caused by parents of ghetto children. Why should they be forced to pay the cost? Public education in this country has always been founded on community-wide cooperation to educate all the children of all the people.

2. **Children of the ghetto must receive enough special help to give them an equal chance.** Plainly, this means that for a long time ghetto children will need drastically lower-than-average class sizes. There is no other way that teachers can help deprived students make up for lost time. It takes prolonged, patient, personal contact which is impossible even in a class of 36 students. Lower class-size in the earliest elementary grades is especially urgent. It is of prime importance for children to experience success in the earliest grades.

Children of the ghetto can learn much, much more than they presently do. But teaching children who have been systematically deprived is an extremely difficult task. Given favorable classroom conditions, however, it is a task that cannot help but be an inviting challenge to experienced teachers.

3. **The teaching staff must be integrated, city-wide.** The city's children are growing up in a new world of race relations. We may hope it will be a world in which mutual respect is increasingly based on first-hand personal knowledge. To accept people on their merits is a mark of a truly educated person. White children who have a competent Negro teacher learn more than their school lesson. They learn, too, that color is of no importance in evaluating human beings. Is this not a critically important lesson to learn in today's world?

The school system must first announce a positive policy of integration of faculties. Invidious considerations of race should be forbidden in processing assignments of teachers and principals.

**DEAR BOARD OF EDUCATION MEMBERS:**

School segregation has become a much debated topic in the community. Charges and counter-charges have been exchanged. But none has been resolved. This is dangerous. Crucially needed now are several bold actions by the Board which will demonstrate its good faith. You are the key to solving the problems of school segregation. The community will long remember such leadership.

Integrated schools will mean that more students who have not fallen behind in their education will be graduated from high school. Over a period of years, this will save the millions of dollars which non-high school graduates more often need in public assistance.

These high school graduates are actually capital added to our City. They are capital assets because in the new era which automation is ushering in at an incredible speed only the educated need apply for jobs. Many jobs will go begging because educated Americans will not be available for them.

Thus, in the midst of plenty, in a future with unlimited possibilities, in a space age that will demand the highest intellectual accomplishments from an exceptionally well educated populace, we are creating an under-educated mass of human beings whose bitterness can only result in increased racial tensions. When every citizens does not have the same rights and opportunities as every other citizen, it is a denial of the spiritual excellence which democracy claims for itself before the world. Let us affirm our democratic beliefs by offering equal educational opportunities to all Chicago's school-children in an integrated school system.

## TEACHERS FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

T.F.I.S. is an organization of Chicago public school teachers who favor integrated schools.

We believe that the best possible education can only take place in integrated schools.

We know that education under segregated conditions is a travesty on the very idea and purpose of education.

We will work for and with every group which is seeking genuinely to bring about integration in the Chicago Public Schools.

We are in favor of any moral means which can be used to bring about integration in the Chicago Public Schools.

We shall present in every way possible our unique professional observations and information to the public, to parents, and to other teachers.

We will work for the integration of faculties in the Chicago Public Schools.

We stand willing to actively participate with all educational groups seeking to achieve equality of educational opportunity for all of Chicago's school children.

---

☐ I would like further information about your organization.

☐ I would like more copies of this pamphlet (10 cents per copy).

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TEACHERS FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS,
1424 N. Orleans Street, Chicago 10, Illinois

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AGO DAILY NEWS, Thurs., Sept. 20, '62

# Women Disrupt School Hearing

## *Racial Equality Group Assails Willis; Asks to Be Heard*

BY HELEN FLEMING

A loud ,prolonged demonstration Thursday disrupted a South Side hearing on the school board's proposed 1963 budget.

About 30 women, members of the South Side Chapter of the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE), chanted and waved placards.

A spokesman for the 4th Ward Independent Voters of Illinois demanded that Benjamin C. Willis resign as superintendent of schools.

Willis, pale and busily jotting notes, threatened to walk out unless the commotion subsided.

* * *

"IF YOU WANT to know what I'm thinking about," Willis told the 200 spectators when it was all over, "get a copy of Kipling's 'If.'"

(The Rudyard Kipling poem begins: "If you can keep your head when all about you/ Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;/ If you can trust yourself when all men doubt you/ And make allowance for their doubting, too . . .")

The disorder started after seven speakers had already read

Turn to Page 8, Column 6

Political Batt

# School Hearing Disrupted

**Continued from First Page**

statements into the record at the hearing in Beulah Shoesmith School, 1330 E. 50th St.

* * *

**MRS. JOAN** Hamilton, 29, of 5639 S. Cottage Grove, a representative of CORE, attempted to get the microphone ahead of the eighth scheduled speaker.

The chairman, District Supt. Curtis Melnick, gaveled her out of order.

About 30 other women began chanting, "Let CORE speak!" while Melnick continued to bang his gavel and Mrs. Hamilton read her statement.

* * *

**THE** demonstrators waved placards that read, "General Willis," "The Superintendent Belongs in Mississippi" and "Let's Get Hep to Ben and His Wagons."

("Wagons" is a reference to mobile classrooms, which Willis critics charge are a device for avoiding transferring of Negro pupils to undercrowded schools in all-white neighborhoods.)

The bedlam continued for 15 minutes until Willis rose and said, "I want to assure you I will soon be on my way if this continues. I have a number of other things I can do."

* * *

**SCHOOL OFFICIALS** had scheduled Thursday's hearing for community organizations. They said they would not recognize CORE because they consider it as a city-wide organization, and as such should be heard at a city-wide hearing Nov. 19.

CORE spokesmen argued that theirs is both a community and a city-wide organization, just as the PTA is recognized in the dual capacity.

* * *

**LATER IN** the hearing, Mrs. William J. Rogers, of the 4th Ward Independent Voters of Illinois unit charged that Willis "has failed to date in his respect for human dignity and consideration for the rights of the individual."

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OCTOBER LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

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# Demonstrators Je

By Ruth Dunbar

Jeering, unruly demonstrators, angry over school segregation problems, repeatedly disrupted a school budget hearing Thursday in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area.

At the hearing for District 14 in Shoesmith School, 1330 E. 50th, they waved placards and clapped loudly at attacks on Schools Supt. Benjamin C. Willis.

**Chant A Demand**

Several times they took over the microphone and refused to sit down, shouting their bitterness above the pounding gavel of District Supt. Curtis C. Melnick, who chaired the hearin

The demonstrators chanted demand that Melnick shou "Let CORE speak." CORE, th Congress on Racial Equalit was denied a place on th schedule on the ground tha it is a citywide organizatio School officials, who have con sistently refused CORE's re quest to speak at every distric hearing, contend CORE is eli gible to be heard only at th citywide hearing that will b held Nov. 19 at the Chicag Board of Education.

CORE members contend tha the organization has communit units that are concerned abou the schools in specific areas.

Willis listened grim-face throught he noisy, two-hour ses sion. At one point after a 15 minute demonstration, the super intendent said they were wastin time.

"If this is what the peopl here want, I assure you I have a lot of other things to do and will soon be on my way," he said.

**Wave Placards**

The demonstrators finally yielded to Melnick's pleading— "Won't you please sit down?"

When Willis rose to speak

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# er, Disrupt A School Hearing

following the last scheduled presentation, about 50 persons stalked out shouting and waving placards.

Typical placards read: "Wanted — Chicago school superintendent," "Get hep to Ben the gyp and his Willis Wagons" (a reference to mobile classrooms), and "We love Uncle Ben — Signed Uncle Tom."

Willis told the 150 remaining in the room:

"If you want to know what I've been thinking, get a copy of Kipling's poem 'If.'"

The poem begins:

*'If you can keep your head when all about you*
*Are losing theirs and blaming it on you . . .'*

Several speakers condemned mobile classrooms, which they called "Willis Wagons." Mrs. Mamie Mitchell, 1504 E. 62d, contended that the school board is spending "double money" to prepetuate segregation in Chicago — "namely, money for empty classrooms and money for trailer camps."

**First Demonstration**

The first demonstration followed a statement by Kenneth Gillis, speaking for Ald. Leon M. Despres (S.L.) He insisted Chicago schools are segregated and asserted that the school board "has a solemn moral and legal obligation not to permit schooling to be racially separate and therefore inadequate."

Mrs. William J. Rogers, speaking for the 4th Ward unit of Independent Voters of Illinois, was loudly applauded and cheered when she said:

"Dr. Willis to date has failed in his respect for human dignity and consideration of the rights of the individual . . . He has preferred to insult and belittle interested citizens rather than to speak to the issues at hand . . . We ask for the resignation of Dr. Willis as superintendent of Chicago public schools."

**Pastors' Group**

The longest demonstration followed a presentation by the Rev. Charles T. Leber Jr. of the Greater Woodlawn Pastors' Alliance.

He urged the school board to save money by utilizing all vacant classrooms and to adopt a statement favoring racial integration. Referring to Willis' $48,500-a-year salary, he said: "We believe that Chicago should expect, for the money being spent, much more than it is getting."

Although several speakers commented favorably on the board's plan to permit students to transfer out of overcrowded schools into some underused schools, it was faint praise.

They said the formula is unfair in that it will permit children to transfer only when classes have more than 40 pupils, into schools that average less than 30 per room. They said the board should pay transportation costs of those in the plan.

**Another Outburst**

Another outburst came when a dissenting group from the Tesla PTA tried to keep Mrs. Juan Sinclair, their treasurer, from speaking for the group. Mrs. Betty Brown, 6461 S. Kenwood, seized the microphone and shouted defiantly that Mrs. Sinclair had been hand-picked by the school principal.

She was followed by Lawrence Young, 6156 S. Vernon, who shook his finger at Willis and said: "I'm from the South Central Council of the PTA. The people chosen to represent the PTA are not being heard. The PTA may as well not be in existence." Young said he is recreation chairman for the council.

After the meeting, Deputy Supt. James H. Smith observed that such demonstrations "only make the job of trying to integrate the schools more difficult."

He predicted it will be harder to carry out the voluntary transfer program, scheduled to start next month, because of reactions to the demonstrations.

## Erhard Returns

FRANKFURT, Germany (UPI)—West German Economic Minister Ludwig Erhard Thursday returned from a one-week trip to the United States "deeply impressed by the firm

Boarder

DR. CURTIS C. MELNICK, District 14 Supt. of Schools (2nd from left), consults with General Supt. Benjamin C. Willis at local budget hearing at Shoesmith School, 1330 E. 50th, last Thursday morning. Dr. Melnick served as chairman, and met much resistance during the half day task.

# Ald. Despres' Statement

(Continued from page 4)

boundaries.

--permanent or temporary abandonment of unfit schools.

--accurate methods for appraising actual use of classrooms.

--analysis and correction of teacher-load figures.

--transfer of pupils in districts or combinations of districts.

--transportation of such pupils.

--arrangements with suburban schools for unilateral or reciprocal transfer of students to or from suburban schools.

--formulation of Chicago's educational goals in consistency with basic American principles of freedom and equality.

Supplied with adequate staff, appropriations, and power; backed by the will and resolution of the Board to achieve integration in education; and supported by a school administration imbued with a desire to achieve such a policy, the recommended Bureau on Integration in Education could be an enormous step forward in the improvement of Chicago.

Unfortunately the Board has not yet adopted an affirmative policy for integrated education; the Board's administration has not yet given up its rigid defense of segregated education, sometimes euphemistically referred to as "Chicago's neighborhood school policy"; and School personnel have not been allowed to express or implement plans for integrating education.

# Woodlawn Conference Demands Info

Exerpt from statement by UNITED WOODLAWN CONFERENCE, 1230 E. 63rd, presented on behalf of Lorenzo W. Smith, President, by Miss Esther Davis, Member, Board of Directors

"There is a rumor current in the Woodlawn community that a ship from outer space landed at 61st Street and University Avenue during the summer — and took off again in panic after its occupants had absorbed the strange picture around them. On the northwest corner stands a huge parking lot, sparsely dotted with autos; near the southeast corner stands a smaller lot, lined with rows of mobile classrooms — 18 in all — and with less space between them than the cars on that parking lot enjoy.

The creatures from that other world concluded that the earth belongs to things on wheels with motors; that the fate of small, two-legged animals like themselves, with hearts and minds instead of motors, must be confinement in groups of 30 to the crowded box-like units. They decided to take off before they too were trapped. . .

"Your budget, Dr. Willis, is, like all other budgets, no more than a translation of your policy —and if, as you claim, your purpose is to provide equal educational opportunity for all the children of Chicago, then we must ask, with apologies for the crude vernacular, that you "put your money where your mouth is", and that the Board of Education spends that money as it has been budgeted.

"And finally, your budget for 1963 should list in clearcut language the full information the public has for so long asked about each school - its capacity, enrollment, facilities, the exact assignment of teaching personnel, and, of equal importance, how many more teachers and what new facilities it requires to provide a full education with 30 pupils per class. . ."

Mrs. Esther Davis

# Jeers Upset School Hearing

(Continued from page 8)

and money for Trailer Camps."

Dr. Charles T. Leber, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, representing the Greater Woodlawn Pastors' Alliance, defended the right of CORE and others to be heard. Mrs. Alice Brown, 7318 Blackstone, representing T.W.O., called for Supt. Willis' resignation.

When Supt. Willis rose to make concluding remarks, almost half the auditorium emptied, led by the demonstrators waving their placards and shouting denounciations.

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## EDITORIAL

# Public's Right To Criticize

Supt. Benjamin Willis is the most arrogant host we know. He invites the public to come to district budget hearings and if they dare to criticize he insults and harangues them. There have even been comments from PTA leaders that pressure has been exerted on them by school officials to eliminate criticism of school policies from their testimony.

Supt. Willis seems to feel that people should come to the budget hearings and cheer everything loudly. Exactly where they are supposed to go if they want to criticize he doesn't make clear.

The superintendent's behavior has succeeded in intimidating his own staff. They live in fear of his wrath. He now seems to be trying to do this to the public. It would, however, be more helpful if Supt. Willis would remember that public education is the concern of the public, that they pay for it, that it is their children who get educated, and that it is the general public's good which is served.

Characteristically, Supt. Willis concluded the hearing by arising to say that, "If you want to know what I'm thinking about, get a copy of Kipling's 'IF". The Kipling poem begins: "IF you can keep your head when all about you/ Are losing theirs and blaming it on you;/ IF you can trust yourself when all men doubt you/ And make allowance for their doubting, too..."

Kipling, of course, was the poet of English imperialism, of the subjugation of less fortunate nationalities. But there was a poet of American democracy, James Russell Lowell. In his "Stanzas Of Freedom", there too may be found lines beginning with the word, "IF". Lowell declared one unfit: "IF ye do not feel the chain, when it works a brother's pain", and, "IF ye hear without a blush/ Deeds to make the roused blood rush..."

Considering the segregation in Chicago's public schools, it would seem Lowell might have been more appropriate than Kipling for a fit Superintendant of schools to quote at the end of a hearing such as occurred last week in district 14.

## GUEST COLUMN

# What Makes T.W.O. Powerful

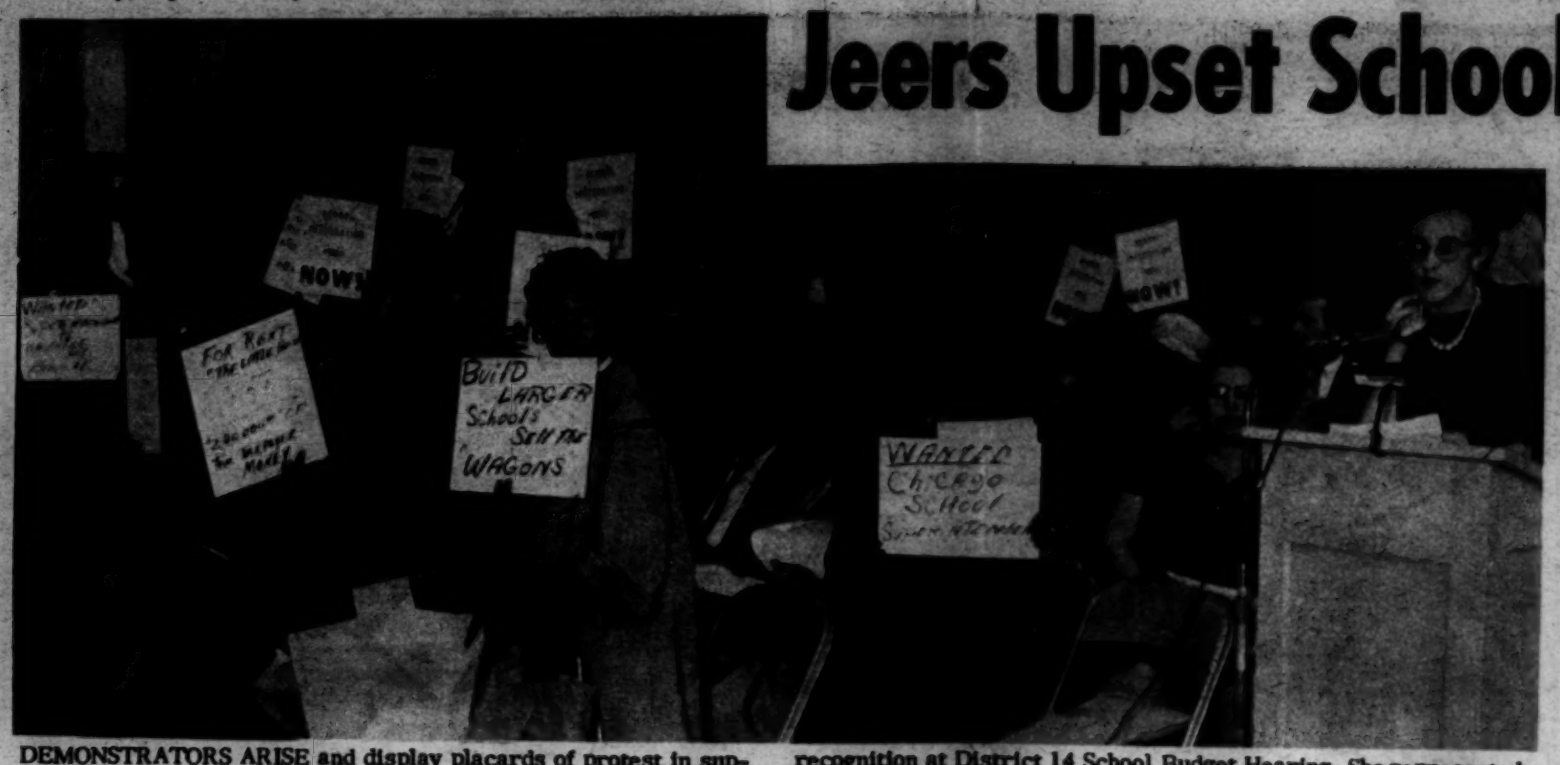
### By Rev. Martin Farrell
### Holy Cross R.C. Church

A few days ago a prominent very sincere civic leader on came to my office ask me membership that the City accept the plan of the community rather than the plan of someone outside our community. Everyone in Woodlawn is interested in a good ion for our children. crowded

ALDERMAN REPORTS

Schools

# Jeers Upset School Hearing




DEMONSTRATORS ARISE and display placards of protest in support on Mrs. Joan Hamilton (at microphone) who was denied recognition at District 14 School Budget Hearing. She represented CORE.

## District 14 Explodes In Angry Scene

### T.W.O. Leads Protests

Anger over school segregation and the arrogance of school officials exploded in unruly demonstrations and protests last Thursday at the District 14 School Budget Hearing. A group of some 50 persons led by The Woodlawn Organization, crowded into the gymnasium of the Shoesmith School, 1330 E. 50th, with protest signs and determination to air their grievances.

The biggest explosion came when Mrs. Joan M. Hamilton, 5639 Cottage Grove, representing the Southside unit of The Congress Of Racial Equality, was denied recognition by acting chairman, Curtis C. Melnick, District 14 Superintendent of Schools. Mrs. Hamilton had been refused the right to speak at the hearing in a letter from Melnick, dated Sept. 17, ". . .on the grounds that Chicago CORE is a city-wide unit and should seek to speak at the city-wide hearings. One has already been announced for Nov. 19 . . .

The letter continued, "I fond nothing in the telephone book, nor any other evidence to substantiate your claim that there is a south side unit of CORE: nor have I seen any mention of CORE in any newspaper, either community or metropolitan, which refers to it in any other terms than Chicago CORE, a city-wide group.

However, the 4th ward unit of the Independent Voters of Illinois was permitted representation at the local hearing.

During the ensuing demonstration, placards were displayed. Some read: "The Superintendent Belongs in Mississippi", "Let's Get Hep to Ben the Gyp and His Willis Wagons", and "We love Uncle Ben — signed, Uncle Tom."

At this point, Chicago School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis threatened to leave the hearing. However, only the unrelenting gavel of Melnick quieted the throng.

Another controversy arose over who would properly represent the PTA of Tesla School, 67th and Kimbark. Mrs. Juan Sinclair, treasurer, was recognized by Melnick. Mrs. Betty Brown, 6461 Kenwood, took the floor and protested above the hammering of Melnick.

Mrs. Sarah Black of 6110 Greenwood, who has children attending Fiske School, also protested not being allowed to speak. She made three points in a mimeographed statement circulated about the room: 1) Sell the 'Willis Wagons' back to the Gypsies and use the money to transport Negro children from segregated schools to empty classrooms in white schools; 2) Stop wasting money to persecute mothers for going into public schools (I refer to the 'Truth Squad Mothers'); and 3) Tell the truth about segregation in the schools, and then you will not have to spend money hiring a lot of Human Relation 'experts' to tell people night is day and day is night."

Mrs. Mamie Mitchell, 1504 E. 62nd, representing Scott School PTA, branded mobile units as "a serious misappropriation of school funds. . . General Ben," she exclaimed, "Do not spend double money to perpetuate segregation in Chicago — namely, money for empty class rooms

(Continued on page 9)

**A BOOSTER FEATURE :PART 1**

# Much Good Some Bad Found In Statements At Hearing

A CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER WAS ASKED TO ANALYSE STATEMENTS BY WOODLAWN REPRESENTATIVES DELIVERED AT THE DISTRICT 14 SCHOOL HEARING. HIS NAME IS WITHHELD FOR OBVIOUS REASONS. HIS ANALYSIS FOLLOWS.

The following quotes seem representative of those made at the District 14 school hearings. Only those statements which were considered to be pertinent are here reprinted for comment. It should also be noted that nearly all of the statements discussed identical topics of general interest. These shall be discussed first.

**Mobile Classrooms (alias Willis Wagons and Ghetto Go-Carts):** All of the organizations agreed that the mobile classrooms are expensive and shiny vehicles of segregation. After seeing how they have been employed throughout the city, I can only agree.

The Greater Woodlawn :Pastor's Alliance, represented by Dr. Charles T. Leber, presented many interesting suggestions. Several of these are controversial and worthy of extensive comment. Most controversial of these proposals, in my estimation at least, is "a voluntary nursery and kindergarten for children of ages 3 to 6 where they will be taught to read and write."

Though there are several sides to this program, I would strongly suggest that a lot more thought and research be done before anyone makes a final decision. Among the problems which must be considered are several of great importance.

First, should the child be removed from the home at such an early age? Three is an early age to expose the child to outside influences, assuming that the home environment is a good one. If the home environment is poor, will the school be able to overcome it? There is much doubt in my mind that a child of 3 or 4 can learn to read.

A child of 3 has a listening span of no more than a few seconds. Even if he can be taught to read, should he be pushed at this early age? Childhood is a wonderful and necessary part of growing up, and entering the child in school at 3 may prove more harmful than helpful to his or her development as a capable, mature citizen.

The child at age 3 is a very sensitive, susceptible being. It is susceptible to indoctrination, for example. Russia and China both remove the child from the family environment at age 3 to begin indoctrination. There are many dangers and few benefits in such a program.

Dr. Leber's second proposal asked "an extension of the school day to 5 p.m. so that children will have the best incentive and atmosphere for homework and supervised physical fitness programs." This program demands careful thought, but I feel that it is worth trying on an experimental basis before a city-wide program is brought up for serious consideration.

On the negative side, a child who is not stimulated during a regular school day will probably not be stimulated during an extra 105 minutes of school. The cost would be large, too, since teachers would have to receive overtime or extra pay.

There is a great deal to be said for the positive side. More supervised physical fitness pro-

Mrs. Betty Brown

grams are desperately needed, not only to raise the level of physical fitness, but to make the school a more stimulating place in the child's eyes. I would prefer that the time be used for the development of a "Higher Horizons" project similar to one in New York City.

In this project, children, usually those of ethnic minorities, are treated to a cultural enrichment program. Included in this program are visits to universities where the children meet and talk with members of their own minority who have achieved great success in life. This boosts incentive and helps to remove the stigma of membership in a minority where "nobody gets anywhere." The children are also taken to symphonies, operas, and sports events. The program is a proven success. Chicago needs it badly, very badly.

Another suggestion of the Greater Woodlawn Pastors' Alliance is "compulsory summer school for all children who have not made satisfactory progress during the regular school year." I feel that this has merit, but only if it is tied in with a "Higher

Mrs. Alice Brown

Horizons" program. A teacher cannot pound knowledge into the head of a child; he can only make him want to learn. This is the secret of good teaching. A school year 12 months long will only make a child hate school that much more unless something is done.

The fourth suggestion presented by Dr. Leber suggests that principals be paid by the percentage of students placed on the "fast track" or highest level in high school. High school principals would be paid by the percentage of college students they turned out. Presently, principals are paid on the basis of the number of teachers working under them. I am opposed to this suggestion for several reasons.

First, instead of correcting the injustices of the present system, this proposal would create serious, new problems. Principals would all try to avoid neighborhoods which they feel would not turn out top students. There would be no desire to stay and fight problems, but a desire to leave the area. An exodus to the suburbs might easily follow.

Moreover, principals who did stay would be all to eager to place undue pressure and stress on both teacher and student. The teacher transfer list would grow by leaps and bounds. The end result would be less learning and more fear, suspicion and mistrust. Competition of this type breeds chaos; cooperation yields learning.

One suggestion which I am totally in favor of is the one which states: "Teachers should be available to parents of their students at school at least once a month during the evening hours from 7 to 9 p.m." Few and far in between are the teachers who would not welcome the chance to meet their children's parents. It is an excellent opportunity to find out about the home environment and the forces acting on the life of the child, as well as a chance to educate the parents to the needs of the child. Dr. Leber hit the mark with this proposal.

Several organizations, T.W.O. and C.O.R.E. among them, suggest that free use of school facilities for community functions should be a Board of Education policy. I agree completely. The school should lead as well as serve the community, and there should be no question about the use of school facilities for community functions. I might point out that this is especially important in highly disorganized areas where no other facilities are usually available.

T.W.O. 's accurate probing found a large soft spot in our universities' teacher education program. They complain of ". . . the Superintendent. . .permitting far too many substitute and unqualified teachers to be assigned to the schools. . ." To my mind, no teacher, upon leaving a teacher training institution, is properly prepared to teach in a low socio-economic level area.

What is needed is a special curriculum that will train the future teacher to be prepared for the culture he will meet in a socially disorganized area. The middle-class oriented teacher is not prepared to receive the many shocks he or she receives upon interaction with a strange and unfamiliar culture. Even though several institutions have offered or are offering a course of this nature, this is but an initial step.

(Continued Next Week)

LAWRENCE YOUNG, 6156 Vernon, Recreation Chairman of the PTA Central Council, coldly faces the banging gavel of Dr. Melnick and makes point despite lack of recognition from the chair. He advocated that all present leave because of alleged improper representation from Tesla School PTA. The principal of Tesla influenced her selection, it was charged, to secure a statement not critical of the administration.

Schools

the Hyde Park herald

Chicago's oldest community newspaper

September 26, 1962

Bruce Sagan, Publisher

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Editor

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Production Manager

Mary Louise Stauffer
Advertising Manager

# No cheers for Willis

Supt. Benjamin Willis is a most arrogant host. He invites the public to come to district budget hearings, and if they dare to criticize, he insults and harangues them.

Nor is that all. The hearings are not really public, not as long as the superintendent or his deputies decide who shall appear. This year in district 14, only one person was permitted from any group, and some groups were not permitted to appear at all.

We even hesitate to use the word "hearings", for it is a misnomer. The ground rules provide for registration ahead and for filing of six copies of a prepared statement. Instead of a hearing, then, we listen to a course of selected readings, which would be more easily absorbed at home than at the noisy auditorium.

Willis seems to feel that people should come and cheer everything loudly. Exactly where they are supposed to go if they want to criticize, he doesn't make clear.

The superintendent's behavior has succeeded in intimidating his own staff. They live in fear of his wrath. He now seems to be trying to do this to the public.

We are glad he is not succeeding.

its own Woodlawn plan and will insist by the power of its huge a highly organized community that loves all of its people.

(Continued on page 5)

WOODLAWN BOOSTER
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and have made great contributions to the city's welfare and culture.

... the plans and dreams of today will be realized.

# Despres Statement At School Hearing

I urge creation of a Bureau for Integrated Education and a substantial appropriation in the 1963 Budget to cover its staffing and operation. The reasons for such a Bureau and its appropriation are:

To meet Chicago's unmet needs, the suggested Bureau for Integrated Education would be a powerful force for school improvement. It is especially important for this District. On a citywide basis, it could at least make relevant educational research, findings, and opinions, available to the school system. It could devise and implement plans to improve the school system by the following measures, or some of them:

—improvement of teacher assignment and transfer systems.

—open registration in districts and combinations of districts.

—improvements in curriculum content.

—use of qualified advisors on integration, curriculum, and methods of integration.

—establishment of freedom for school personnel to express itself on integration.

—re-drawing of school

(Continued on page 8)

# Here is what Hyde Parkers said at school hearing Thursday

Ken Gillis, representing ald. Despres:

With comparatively few honorable exceptions, pupils in Chicago schools are being educated in racial separation from each other. The result deprives our children of adequate education and inflicts incalculable damage on Chicago.

Unfortunately, the board has not yet adopted an affirmative policy for integrated education; the board's administration has not yet given up its rigid defense of segregated education, sometimes euphemistically referred to as "Chicago's neighborhood school policy."

The suggested bureau could devise and implement plans to improve the school system by the following measures, or some of them:

—improvement of teacher assignment and transfer systems.

—open registration in districts and combinations of districts.

—improvements in curriculum content.

—use of qualified advisors on integration, curriculum, and methods of integration.

—establishment of freedom for school personnel to express itself on integration.

—re-drawing of school boundaries.

—permanent or temporary abandonment of unfit schools.

—accurate methods for appraising actual use of classrooms.

—analysis and correction of teacher-load figures.

—transfer of pupils in districts or combinations of districts.

—transportation of such pupils.

—arrangements with suburban schools for unilateral or reciprocal transfer of students to or from suburban schools.

—formulation of Chicago's educational goals in consistency with basic American principles of freedom and equality.

• • •

Mrs. William J. Rogers, 1226 Hyde Park, representing the fourth ward IVI:

Dr. Willis, to date, has failed in his respect for human dignity and consideration for the rights of the individual. He has repeatedly demonstrated arrogance toward taxpayers in scheduled conferences. He has preferred to insult and belittle interested citizens rather than speak to the issues at hand.

While Dr. Willis may seek to build his self-esteem and status by denying security and status to others, it is a false and unstable security, not based on solid and realistic personal achievements. This type of individual can only be a liability eventually in the struggle for attainment of a democratic world. We ask for the resignation of Dr. Willis as superintendent of the Chicago public schools.

• • •

Vories Fisher, 5707 Blackstone, representing Hyde Park High school PTA:

Of great concern to us is the so-called Woodlawn urban renewal plan.

We were shocked, in the initial reading, that Hyde Park high school was not even mentioned. We promptly asked for a conference with Mr. Ira Bach and were informed by him that it was merely an oversight.

We subsequently wrote Mr. Bach, asking for a further clarification. We will not burden you with Mr. Bach's long and rather involved reply, except to quote one paragraph from his letter:

". . .While we can certainly understand your viewpoint that the area immediately to the south of the high school should be cleared at the earliest possible time because of its environmental influences, the facr that the high school plant is currently used at about only two-thirds of its capacity has raised some serious doubts on the part of the board of education as to the advisability of early expansion of the school plant. . ."

It is not only our opinion, but that of persons more knowledgeable that the Hyde Park high school plant is fully utilized. Many teachers do not have their own rooms, divisions are meeting in the lunch room, gym facilities are over taxed, and many extra-curricular programs have had to be cut back.

We have in the past opposed, and still continue to oppose, the presence of the Scott branch in our high school, when there is obvious evidence that space in neighboring elementary schools could better serve these youngsters. But with the elimination of the Scott children, we are sure that our plant would not be only two-thirds used.

• • •

Mrs. Joan Hamilton, 5639 Cottage Grove, representing South Side Congress of Racial Equality. Mrs. Hamilton was one of the speakers prevented from speaking:

Administrative and clerical personnel in our neighborhood schools should be chosen on the basis of a successful background in intergroup relations, and on the ability to maintain the respect of the whole community in which they work. Seek out people skilled in human relations—they can be trained in administration if necessary.

Millions in tax money have gone into urban renewal in our district; some strain and tension has resulted. It is vitally important how manifestations of this that involve children of different backgrounds are handled. Hostility on the part of school administrators and too ready reliance on the police can have terribly serious consequences in this district.

We all have a grave responsibility to see that minor behavior problems are not aggravated into large ones by mishandling and insult.

• • •

Mrs. William Bentley, 5511 Hyde Park, representing the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community conference:

We ask for expansion of the social adjustment programs, with emphasis on early identification of children with behavior problems, in the hope of reducing the number of children who will need special schools. To implement this recommendation we urge an immediate increase in the number of social counsellors and social workers who can deal with problems at the home level.

We urge the board of education to consider the immediate need of Hyde Park High school for clearance of land adjacent to its buildings, particularly directly to the south, to create a real campus and recreation area. We also ask the board to seek some solution, with appropriate city agencies, to the serious problem of taverns on 63rd street near the school.

We again emphasize our conviction that high school students need to be housed in high school buildings having appropriate facilities, and that elementary students need the elementary school environment to achieve the best education. We ask that these factors be considered of prime importance in establishing any kind of branch school operations.

• • •

Mrs. Bernice Bild, 4819 Kenwood, representing Kenwood-Shoesmith PTA:

The Kenwood-Shoesmith PTA has been very pleased with the joint arrangement between our schools and the park district.

Our immediate concern is for the designation of Kenwood school as an upper grade center. We are very disappointed to find that after serving for all of last year as a predominantly seventh and eighth grade school, we were not included in the list officially designated last June as upper grade centers.

We request an after-school remedial program for Kenwood school. The response to such a program manned by parent volunteers last year showed the overwhelming desire of children to make up their deficiencies.

• • •

Mrs. Gerald Matchett, 5536 Kimbark, representing Ray PTA:

A matter which has assumed a greater urgency because of the re-districting of Ray as an upper grade center for children from the area bordered by 60th and 63rd streets and by Ellis and Woodlawn is the increased overcrowding of the already inadequate lunchroom facilities.

The number of children from this new district who are compelled to remain at school for lunch is about 170.

In addition, some 50 more lunches are served daily, thus giving a total of 220 lunches served in two shifts in a room which, at a very liberal estimate, might be sufficient for 80.

These figures do not include those children who, for one reason or another, bring bag lunches to school.

We urge that adequate lunchrooms should be provided so that children may eat their food in an atmosphere which is at least minimally comfortable and which provides for a reasonable amount of relaxation during the lunch period.

• • •

Irving King, 4810 Drexel, representing Reavis PTA:

This year two things have occurred affecting the Reavis school for which we are glad to express our sincere appreciation to the board of education. First, the fine addition to our school now nearing completion has increased our classrooms to 27 and provided needed non-classroom space and facilities. The present enrollment is 818, including two kindergarten classes. Additional classrooms will be available upon completion of the addition. The fact that 12-1/2 out of a total of 32-1/2 teachers are substitutes however, is a condition which requires correction.

We appreciate the designation as a receiving school under the pupil transfer policy. We will welcome transferring students and render every possible assistance to them. We are glad that our school is able to assist in relieving overcrowded conditions in other schools and o aid the victims of these deplorable conditions to which the board of education has so long been blind or callously indifferent.

We deeply regret, however, that by reason of the inadequacies of the transfer policy itself our school is not able to participate in a more meaningful program. The failure to provide transportation to transferring pupils will seriously cripple the utilization and effectiveness of the program.

Those families who, by reasons of economic status, race and consequently limited opportunity are forced to live in the neighborhoods in which the schools are most crowded are likely to be the least able to provide the cost of transporting their children to schools outside of the neighborhood. We urge the board of education to arrange with the CTA to transport transferring students.

• • •

Mrs. Ruth Summer, 5440 Ridgewood, representing Murray PTA:

One year ago we asked that the unused cottages on the school playground be removed, because they constitute an eyesore, an attractive nuisance, and a potential hiding place for undesirables who might prey upon our children, our teachers, or passersby. We emphatically repeat our request.

We emphasize this now, because we realize that we may receive students from other areas on a transfer basis. We welcome children who come to us because their own schools are crowded.

We fervently hope, however, that they will become an integral part of our student body, in our comfortable main building.

We respectfully urge that neither they nor our currently enrolled children, be asked to occupy the substandard cottages. In this, as in all other areas, we seek the best possible education for all children.

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human relations review

# A Challenge to Public Schools in Our Great Cities

by FRANCES R. COUSENS

As doctors pledge to uphold the Hippocratic oath, teachers subscribe to the concept of equality of opportunity as a basic tenet of our democratic society.

The concept of equal opportunity for all is, in itself, a distinctive characteristic of our society. Equally distinctive, however, is the use of the American public school as an instrumentality through which our society strives toward true equality of opportunity.

As schools seek better ways of dealing with this aspect of democracy's challenge, two basic principles become increasingly meaningful. First, each student must be judged on his individual merit; and, second, there must be recognition of and provision for individual differences. Of course, both of these principles have been accepted in theory by educators for many decades. All too frequently, however, the acceptance of these principles in theory has not been reflected in actual classroom practices.

Certain individual differences which are innate always have been troublesome to teachers. It is a tribute to the profession that teachers have coped as well as they have with differences in ability, in rate of growth and development, in temperament and the like. If, at times, teachers have behaved as if all children were alike in their values, capability, background and readiness for learning, some of the blame lies elsewhere. Much of our graded teaching materials and unimaginative, "lock-step" school organization has not been conducive to realistic treatment of differences among children. Regardless of where the blame lies, however, the challenge is now clear to all.

*(continued on page 2)*

In general, each issue of the HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW deals with a particular aspect of this area. The November 1963 issue discussed separation of church and state. This issue addresses itself to racial concerns in the problems of equalizing educational opportunities.

## Challenge to Public Schools in Great Cities (continued)

Today, teachers in our great cities face the task of making school truly effective in the lives of increasing numbers of children whose innate differences are widened further by environmental factors. In a society where the nature of employment and required skills has changed overnight, the effects of environmental factors on learning are observable as never before. The child of impoverished circumstances, low aspiration, and low motivation ultimately must make his way in the same world of work as his more advantaged fellows. Our society expects the school to make the difference — to equalize his opportunity to compete in that world.

The city in American society is characterized and enriched by the heterogeneity of its people; and this fact can be construed as a problem or met as a challenge by the school as it attempts to transmit the values of both the total society and the local community. In the latter, the school can emerge as a leader or simply as a mirror. In either instance there are many social and individual problems, in a world which the school did not create but with which it must cope, in maintaining a tradition of equality guaranteed as a human right to all people in our society.

The school's role in maintaining a tradition of equality is made especially perplexing today by patterns of residential housing based upon race.

The Northern city, in particular, in mid-twentieth century is confronted with a dilemma. It is neither racially segregated by law nor integrated in practice. This "gray area" of ambivalence and ambiguity finds the schools in a frustrating position as they attempt to uphold their counterpart of the Hippocratic oath while seeking the support and identification of the total community in which they exist.

Whereas total urban areas reflect the heterogeneity of the society itself, local communities or neighborhoods, i.e., the geographic area served by a single school, tend to be homogeneous in the racial status of their populations. This situation makes the socialization function of the school more difficult; for how can we help prepare youth for participation in a *pluralistic* society when they live in a racially homogeneous local community?

Another imperative faced by the school is the need for flexibility to deal with constant population mobility. Many neighborhoods in every large

*(continued on page 7)*

Dr. Cousens, a sociologist, brings to this article several years of experience as a researcher and practitioner in intergroup relations. Before joining the "Great Cities" staff as Research Associate, she was a public school teacher and Director of Research for the Michigan F.E.P.C. She is now engaged in an important research project at Wayne State University.

"RACIAL ISSUES BESET SUBURBAN SCHOOLS" (New York)

"BIAS FIGHT PRESSED IN L. I. AND JERSEY"

# EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

"ZERO HOUR FOR SCHOOLS" (N. Y.)

## Another

"RACE TENSIONS IN CHICAGO"

## American Dilemma

"RIGHTS STRATEGY WEIGHED ON COAST"

"SCHOOL SEGREGATION REPORTED HIGH HERE" (Philadelphia)

Newspaper headlines across the nation reflect recently intensified community discussions of disadvantagement and inequity in opportunities afforded American youth. An appreciable measure of sentiment and support have polarized around each of two extreme positions generating much heat and comparatively little light in the process.

At one extreme are those who feel that the solution is simple: disperse Negro children among all schools of the city, thus assuring them the same quality of teaching, curriculum, materials, and school buildings available to other children. At the other extreme are those who adamantly oppose what they call "artificial mixing of the races" in the school (by which they mean *any* mixing). That the latter extremists often do not voice their positions openly does not detract from the fact or the force of their feelings.

Both extremes are unrealistic, of course — first, because of the complex nature of the school's responsibility; and second, because of the many externally imposed limitations confronting the schools. Furthermore, both extremes ignore and obscure the fact that, in its attempts to fulfill each child's right to equal opportunity, the school cannot take total credit for success, nor total blame for failure. The fulfillment of *many* "rights" is required to bring about true equality of opportunity.

Every child has the right to a wholesome, stimulating out-of-school life to reinforce school learnings; the right to competent, insightful, empathetic teachers; the right to instructional materials which promote his self-esteem; and the right to expect that hard work and success in school will lead to an occupation of his choosing and improvement of his lot in life.

At least three major adaptations in the structure of our community life are required to secure these rights which are basic to truly equal opportunity for all children. Restrictive residential patterns which tend to bring about an artificial separation of children in schools must be changed. Employment opportunities must be broadened so that Negro children generally can see a real relationship between success in school and success in life. The tone and quality of total community intergroup relations must be improved so that designations of superiority-inferiority

*(continued on page 4)*

## Equal Opportunity: Another American Dilemma (continued)

become matters of individual quality and competence rather than racial identification.

> *Furthermore, and above all, special school programs and procedures must be increased to offset the effects of cultural and economic blight which show up in poor academic attainments of many children.*

Certain aspects of these changes can be approached effectively only through a mobilization of community understanding and action by agencies more appropriately geared to this task than are the schools. In the meantime, how best can the initiative and resources of the schools be brought to bear in ways that are educationally sound? A review of some pertinent steps already taken in our Detroit schools will indicate some beginnings and may suggest further paths to progress.

Among the nation's great cities, Detroit pioneered in establishing Citizens Advisory Committees to study school needs and problems and to advise the Board of Education on appropriate solutions. The Committee on School Needs (1957-58) and the Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities (1960-62) are outstanding examples of such citizen participation in school affairs.

Three Board of Education actions growing directly out of Citizens Advisory Committee recommendations have special relevance to this discussion. A decision was made (November 1959) to transport children from excessively overcrowded schools to the nearest schools with available classroom space. As a by-product of this action, some racial desegregation occurred. This happened because most schools in predominantly Negro areas were overcrowded, and the nearest schools with available classroom space usually were those attended predominantly or entirely by white pupils. In connection with bussing, it is important to note the emerging practice of selecting children to be transported by geographical area rather than by class groups. This enables the receiving school more easily to absorb and disperse the new pupils among its population.

The second Board action with some desegregation as a consequence was the liberalization of the pupil transfer policy (September 1961). Under this policy any child may attend any public school in the city as long as the chosen school has room for him.

HAVE YOU TRIED. . .Pupil exchanges with other schools. Several schools have used this means to have their pupils meet and work with children who differ in religion and/or race. If you try it, remember: (1) the groups should have something in common, i.e., age level, interests or function (such as safety patrol): and(2) the visits seem to give best results when they lead pupils to plan or work together on something important to the young people.

These two actions though meagre and slow in coming represent important recognition of the Board of Education's responsibility for equal educational opportunity for all.

The third action was the Board of Education's approval of School-Community Relations Recommendation 4 of the Citizens Advisory Committee on School Needs. In preparing this recommendation, the Citizens Committee referred to the public school as "the mortar of American beliefs and ideals — the institution which serves to cement relationships among our people." The recommendation itself follows:

> A complete analysis be made immediately of all school boundaries within our city for the express purpose of establishing school districts that will be based on major principles: safety of the child; distance involved; efficient use of school plant; and the inclusion of all ethnic, racial and religious groups residing in each school area.

Some boundary changes have brought about "inclusion of all ethnic, racial and religious groups." Similarly, a marked increase in Negro children now attending heretofore "all white" schools reflects the value of the pupil transfer policy. It is clear, however, that neither these actions, nor bussing to relieve overcrowding, has eliminated the all-Negro, all-white schools which follow the segregated residential pattern of the city; nor will they do so as long as a segregated housing pattern remains. If desegregation of schools is to be, in itself, a major objective of the school system, despite existing residential patterns, then other approaches must be found.

When school desegregation is viewed as an aspect of the responsibility for providing equal educational opportunity, some other developments in Detroit schools appear significant. Notable among these are communications with teachers colleges requesting more attention to training for proper intergroup attitudes and a "no discrimination" agreement from all employers having contracts with the Board of Education.

More dramatic, perhaps, are the recent pioneering actions pertaining to text materials which, by commission or omission, are discriminatory toward members of minority groups. New reading texts developed originally for use with early school-age children of the inner city have proved to be valuable additions to instructional materials in other parts of the city as well. A special supplement to American history materials at the junior high school level has been helpful in providing a broader, more accurate portrayal of American history with the Negro more realistically included. These materials, produced by Detroit school teachers themselves, take into account the detrimental effect of traditional text materials on the self-image and motivation of Negro children. Furthermore, they recognize the subtle but important influence of text materials on the formation of attitudes white children hold toward Negroes.

*(continued on page 6)*

## Equal Opportunity (concluded)

In a closely related step, the Board of Education (December 1962) reaffirmed its policy of "having the schools contribute in maximum degree to understanding and good will among different racial, religious and nationality groups" with the following statement:

> The Detroit Board of Education is directing its textbook selection committees and committees for the review of all audio-visual aids to make sure that all textbooks, supplementary books, library books and audio-visual aids are consistent with the human relations policy of the schools and that these materials do contribute significantly to understanding and good will among different racial, religious and nationality groups. The content, the illustrations and the general tone of all instructional materials to be used in the Detroit schools should be such as to constitute fair treatment for all groups in our society.

The Board called upon publishers and makers of all instructional materials to present a more "balanced and satisfactory picture of all groups in American life."

Another factor held to be of significance in the provision of equal opportunity for all lies in the assignment and promotion of staff personnel. Detroit's stated policies in these matters have been clearly non-discriminatory in intent. The operation of factors such as personal choice (in assignment and transfer) and seniority, however, have created an appearance of racial discrimination. Recent revisions in assignment and placement procedures provide an improved basis for reversing a trend toward predominantly Negro staffs for schools serving Negro neighborhoods and all white staffs for schools in white neighborhoods.

The foregoing represents a brief summary of actions aimed at improving educational opportunities for all Detroit children. Dealt with here were matters of policy, of practice, of procedure. In all of this, however, it must be remembered that it is not policy or procedure alone which will determine ultimate quality of educational opportunity. It is the people who make policies and procedures work who are the final determinants. It is people working together — parents, non-parents, teachers, administrators and service personnel. In 1964 let's have more of such cooperative effort aimed at improving our schools.

## COORDINATING COMMITTEE SUPPORTS OPEN OCCUPANCY

On December 3, 1963, the Detroit Public Schools Coordinating Committee on Human Relations officially endorsed the *covenant card campaign* for open occupancy now being carried on by the Greater Detroit Committee for Fair Housing Practices.

Covenant cards can now be obtained from the Detroit Commission on Community Relations (963-9550) or the Greater Detroit Committee for Fair Housing Practices, 705 Fine Arts Building, 58 W. Adams, Detroit 26.

## Challenge to Public Schools in Great Cities (continued)

city have experienced a pattern of transition from a population predominantly middle class white to one which is lower class and non-white. Inasmuch as the teacher has, in her classroom, the children who live within the set boundaries of the school, population changes in the area produce concomitant changes in the classroom.

The factor which remains constant is the teacher; and ironically, this is where the problem may begin. If the methods, expectations, and attitudes of the teacher also remain fixed, with little reorientation and modification for the new and different population in the classroom, one can reasonably predict that a conflict may arise between the values and life style of the teacher and those of the students. This will result, at best, in frustration for both and, at worst, some irreparable damage to the child's self-image and achievement as he attempts to reach the unrealistic expectations set by the teacher.

Perhaps the most sensitive and potentially damaging aspect of the present race-relations situation is a tendency to equate or confuse characteristics of race with those of social class. This tends to jeopardize and make more difficult a good identification between teachers and children of different social status but of the same racial group. The problem may be intensified if the race of the children differs from that of the teacher.

The values conflict stemming from race and/or social class difference cannot be compared to a values conflict between a teacher of Slavic origin and a Scandinavian child. Distinctions of a purely ethnic nature do not carry any connotations of superiority or inferiority; whereas, Negroes in American society have, historically, been ascribed a subordinate status with concomitant social class characteristics.

*If open occupancy were a reality instead of a yet unattained goal, the problem confronting the classroom teacher would be immeasurably simplified. Negro and white children of comparable socio-economic status would be attending the same school and bringing very similar kinds of motivation and goal orientation.*

One method employed, in a few cities, to achieve a better distribution based on race has been the voluntary bussing of children. The consensus of intergroup relations professionals is that bussing as a means of integration, while having some value, is both superficial and artificial. It is of a temporary variety, i.e., only during school hours, after which each group returns to its respective segregated environment. Another argument is that bussing tends to upset the integrity of a neighborhood where a wide range of contact takes place. Moreover, many fear that use

*(continued on page 8)*

## Challenge to Public Schools in Great Cities (concluded)

of such temporary measures may tend to conceal the need for continuing action to achieve the long-range goal.

On the other hand, some argue that bussing is an expedient which has some merit. Although limited, it does provide an opportunity for interracial interaction. If the Negro's drive for equal access to all residential areas continues, voluntary bussing might serve to demonstrate that racial integration in a school can work to the benefit of both groups. Negro and white youngsters might begin to learn what is perhaps the most important lesson to be learned in our society: the worth and dignity of each individual, evaluated as an individual rather than as a member of a group.

Finally, an oft-overlooked value of bussing and other temporary integration measures is the positive psychological effect on Negroes. For many Negroes, plagued by difficulties in housing and employment, the school is the only direct contact with the official community. It will be reassuring to hear this official community representative say, "The schools belong to all the people. As long as there is room, any child may attend any school in the community."

Obviously, teachers and schools cannot do the job alone — it requires the coordinated effort of every major institution, agency and organization in the community. But teachers can lead the way, because of the professional respect and status they enjoy and because a teacher comes to know a great deal about his charges. When the teacher uses this knowledge wisely, to adapt curriculum and his own teaching style to group differences as well as individual differences, the schools and the teaching profession will have taken a giant step in becoming as effective as they are universal in the lives of the vast majority of Americans.

HUMAN RELATIONS REVIEW is a publication of the Coordinating Committee on Human Relations of the Detroit Public Schools. Publ. 1-108 TCH

WE BELIEVE:

*... that, in a culturally diverse society, man can learn to live and work together in harmony and mutual respect.*

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Schools

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtland 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Bob Gore

CORE Members Begin Hunger Strike

Chicago, Ill., July 17: An inter-racial CORE team began its eighth day of a sit-in at the Board of Education here, protesting segregated schools. Yesterday, nine of the group went on a hunger strike to "intensify our involvement with the CORE cause."

CORE alleges that present neighborhood school zone lines in Chicago foster segregation. The members plan to continue the sit-in until the school board does something about this. A school board meeting is scheduled for August 14, but CORE is asking for a special session on what it considers "this highly important issue."

According to a CORE spokesman, the August 14 date is too late to make any meaningful changes for the coming school year. The spokesman, Jack Harkins, said that action by the school board is mandatory under a new Illinois law designed to prevent de facto segregation. He charged that zone changes made at a board meeting last Wednesday achieved the opposite result and called for a rescinding of those changes.

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School Segregation

201/62

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Creeping Segregation In Chicago Schools

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 13: Segregation--not only of Negroes, but also of Jews--moves from block to block as members of these two minority groups change their residences.

So testified Dr. Faith Rich of Chicago CORE, a one-time Chicago teacher, on the basis of a study she made in 1956 and 1957. Her testimony was before a state examiner investigating charges of de facto school segregation.

"There appeared for a while to be integration as Negroes moved into new neighborhoods, but the integration was only temporary," she said. "Oddly enough, this applied to Jews as well. This trend of spreading segregation runs contrary to a Board of Education prediction that Negroes would eventually be assimilated."

At a recent budget hearing, Samuel Riley, chairman of Chicago CORE, urged "that placement of teachers be on a democratic basis and that neither race nor color be a determinig factor as to whom or where one teaches."

Carter D. Jones, Jr., chairman of the West Side CORE group told the committee: "I was born and brought up on Chicago's west side. The schools I attended were integrated for the most part. Those my son will soon enter are almost 100% of one race. This is the experience of most Chicago Negroes and their children."

###

# *Integration in Action*

## Dixie Teachers Report Their Pupils Learn Well In Mixed-Race Schools

### Negro Students Lag at First But Study Hard to Catch Up With Whites, They Say

### After Snubs, 15 Autographs

By JAMES C. TANNER
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NASHVILLE—Lesa Gibson and Cynthia Thornton, nine-year-old girls at Buena Vista Elementary School, consistently score high marks in fourth grade reading, writing and arithmetic. A few blocks away at North Nashville Junior-Senior High School, Geneva Ware, 12, is speedily stepping into the ranks of honor students in the seventh grade, and also is president of her home room class.

The experience of these youngsters is significant for three reasons. They're Negroes attending school with mostly white classmates. Their academic and social gains are being made in an Old South city where classroom integration began with racist bombing of an elementary school seven years ago. And, say many Southern educators, their progress is not at all untypical of Negro children studying under such circumstances.

A large number of Southern whites refuse to believe this—and, their stubborn conviction that school desegregation lowers academic and moral standards for both Negro and white children is a major reason why classroom integration is still the South's most explosive racial issue. Nor is this view confined to extreme segregationists. "Education suffers" from integration, insists a white businessman in St. Augustine, Fla., who's regarded by many as a moderate on the race question. "Regardless of merit, the fact remains that when you integrate classes you dilute the level of education."

**"Normal or Nearly Normal"**

But Southern schoolmen who have had actual experience with desegregation tell a different story. W. H. Oliver, Nashville school superintendent, readily concedes that Lesa, Cynthia and Geneva are outstanding among the 800 Negro youths now attending Nashville schools with whites. But, he says, the Negro students generally "are achieving normal (levels) or nearly normal from a social, emotional and scholastic standpoint, and the achievement of white students has not been adversely affected to an appreciable degree."

Other educators concede that the first Negro children to enter formerly white schools often lag behind their white classmates scholastically, because of their environment and the poor education many had been receiving in Negro schools. But once in school with whites, teachers say, the Negroes usually study hard to close the gap—and the white children often study hard to prevent having the Negroes pass them. Typical result: Tests made the year before and the year after integration in Louisville, Ky., show substantial gains in scholastic achievement for both Negro and white second, sixth and eighth graders, with the Negroes making proportionately the larger gains.

Socially too, teachers report, the Negro children usually win gradual, if grudging, acceptance from their white classmates. It's true many draw jeers and rebuffs at first, and some drop out. But educators relate many such incidents as that of a Negro high school girl in Atlanta who was snubbed all during her senior year. On the last day she was approached by more than 15 white students who asked to autograph her yearbook.

**Easing Other Race Tensions?**

Altogether, despite some remaining problems, many Southern educators think classroom integration is working well enough to prepare the way for eventual Dixie harmony on other race issues, too. "Students are making more rapid progress toward race acceptance than are parents," assert Southern college teachers Herbert Wey and John Corey in Action Patterns in School Desegregation, a guidebook for Southern schools that expect to integrate. "When the students now in school become parents, many of the problems that seem insurmountable will decrease in importance."

This, of course, would be far in the future. For the time being school desegregation seems rather to be inflaming Southern racial tensions, as can be gauged from some of the incidents that attended the reopening of Southern schools last fall. In Birmingham, classroom integration and white resistance to it stirred passions that led to a church bombing in which four Negro children were killed. In Tuskegee, Ala., white students have boycotted the previously all-white high school following admittance of 13 Negroes. Surry County, Va., closed its only white public school this year when seven Negroes were assigned to it by the state's pupil placement board.

Nevertheless, desegregation is making continual Southern gains. In the 17 Southern and border states which had compulsory school segregation prior to the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against it, more than one-third of the 3,053 biracial districts now have some desegregation, according to the Southern Education Reporting Service. Mississippi is now the only U.S. state with no mixed schools. In all, 318,039 of the South's 3,412,799 Negro students, or 9.3%, now attend classes with whites, and the number grows almost daily.

**What Happens**

As a result, Southern teachers are gaining more experience with the results of desegregation, and many Northern educators have been studying their progress and problems. Here, in some detail, is what they say usually happens when a Southern white school begins admitting Negroes:

The first Negroes to attend a formerly white school are often one to two years behind their new classmates in scholastic achievement, educators say. That's partly because their social and economic environment had given them little incentive to learn, and partly because many of them had received inferior teaching in Negro schools. Many of the children have had "traumatic experiences in learning" in

*Please Turn to Page 6, Column 2*

# Integration in Action: Teachers Say Biracial Classes Work Out Well

*Continued From Page One*

poor Negro schools, and feel hopelessly behind their white classmates at first, says a school psychiatric consultant who has studied the effects of desegregation.

However, schoolmen say, once they do begin attending school with whites the Negro children usually develop a burning desire to learn enough to catch up with their new classmates. This "motivation factor compensates for deficiencies of past academic records in many cases," says R. W. Stephens, deputy superintendent of Atlanta schools. "Although we have found that Negro high school students generally are about two years behind white students, they are highly motivated, and they tend to be over-achievers in desegregated schools. The Negro student does better actually than his tests might indicate."

As a result, most teachers report, the Negroes learn more rapidly than they did in segregated schools, and soon begin closing the gap with their white classmates. When Negroes were first admitted to San Angelo, Texas, high school, says Superintendent G. B. Wadzeck, those who had received A marks in Negro schools usually dropped to B, those who had been getting B dropped to C, and so on. "Then they began to pull up," he reports.

In Nashville, Glenn Hale, principal of the Buena Vista Elementary School, finds many Negro pupils entering the second and third grades about a year behind their white classmates in learning. But, he says, by the time they leave his school at the end of the seventh grade, they "knock three or four months off" that deficiency. After one class of Negroes has gone through all 12 years of elementary and high school with whites, he believes, the gap will disappear.

Studies of the Washington, D.C., school system, which began integrating immediately after the 1954 Supreme Court decision, give strong support for Mr. Hale's belief. In the early months of integration in 1954, achievement tests showed Washington students generally far below national standards. In progress reading tests, for example, the typical Washington sixth grader scored 4.9—the level he should have reached the ninth month of the fourth grade—against a national norm of 6.6.

In the most recent comparable tests, however, Washington sixth graders—a larger proportion of them now Negro—fell only two to four months below the national norm in reading, world knowledge and social study skills. And they surpassed the norm by two months in arithmetic, by three months in language usage, and by five months in spelling and language study skills. Some 84% of the students in Washington public schools now are Negro.

While Negro students thus learn rapidly in desegregated schools, the achievement of white pupils doesn't seem to suffer. "Even the strongly segregationist (white) children we have followed for two years have continued their studies without impairment," reports Dr. Robert Coles, a Boston child psychiatrist who spent two years in extensive research on how desegregation affects Southern students. He tells of one white student who worked much harder after integration because of the fear that several of his Negro classmates might get better grades.

The end result, says Dr. Coles: "We have yet to hear a Southern teacher complain of any drop in intellectual or moral climate in a desegregated room or school."

These happy results, of course, are not uniform from child to child. Some mediocre and poor Negro students have turned up in classes with whites. And, says Dr. Coles, "if the younger (Negro children beginning to attend class with whites) manage well, the older ones sometimes have the burden of their former years" of limited educational opportunity and incentive.

On the other hand, some Negro students have made outstanding records in desegregated classes. A Negro girl who was graduated recently from Oklahoma City's desegregated Central High School made the National Honor Society and won a scholarship to the University of Oklahoma, where she's now studying for a medical degree. In Little Rock, where Federal troops first had to be used to end violent resistance to integration, two Central High Negro seniors last term won college scholarships.

In general, J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Women's College, Lynchburg, Va., concluded in a study of classroom race-mixing that desegregation has had no "adverse effect on the achievement of the most gifted (students) of either race."

On the social side, younger white and Negro children attending desegregated classes seem to accept each other better than the older ones. Negro and white youngsters can be seen playing together on the slides and swings of almost any desegregated Southern elementary school's playground. At Nashville's Buena Vista Elementary School, Negro boys have won two of the three positions of captain on the school's safety patrol. And in Birmingham, often called the most segregated U.S. city, a Negro boy was chosen vice president of a sixth grade class that was desegregated last fall.

Even in desegregated high schools, some Negroes win quick social acceptance. When a lone Negro was admitted to the 10th grade of one high school in a small Texas town, he was elected vice president of the class his first day. A Negro also has become president of Oklahoma City's integrated Central High School student council.

Educators concede, however, that desegregation poses some other social problems for Southern schools. At North Nashville Junior-Senior High, where Negroes now are in the seventh grade, school authorities worry over whether they should permit school dances to be held this year. "We might have to curtail some of these things," says W. J. Mullins, principal. But he's enthusiastic about the reception 20 Negro parents got the other night from white parents at a school chili supper, the school's first biracial social affair.

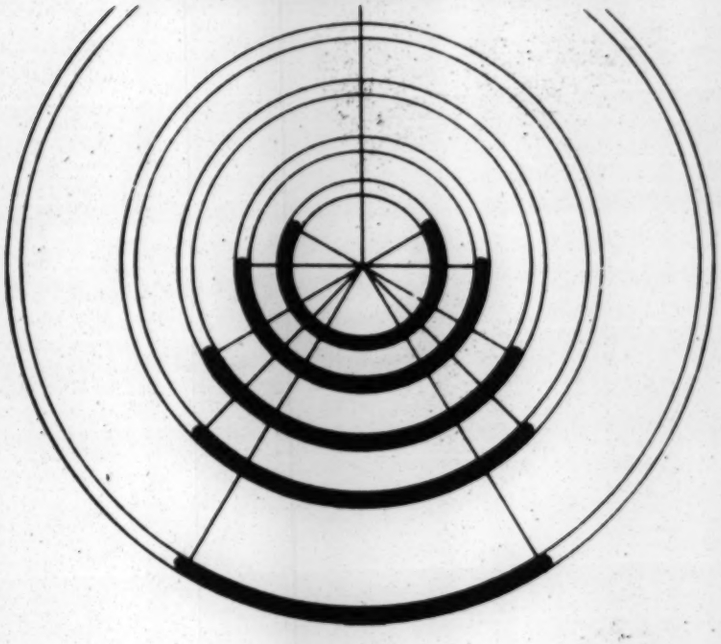
Mr. Mullins and other school officials who know desegregation first-hand dispute segregationist arguments that race mixing brings new problems in discipline, delinquency, morals and health. They do not deny, however, that it accentuates those problems already present in the schools. It brings about some teaching changes, too.

Incoming Negro children, for example, often are grouped with whites according to their academic abilities. The ones who lag far behind scholastically are taught alongside whites of comparable academic achievements, even if these white children are younger. The brighter Negroes go into more advanced groups. This permits a speedier education pace for the fast learners.

And one Nashville teacher is making her new Negro pupils feel at home by "integrating" the bulletin board. She clips pictures of Negro children from magazines and pastes them on the board.

James T. McCain

The Institute Of Educational Research, Inc.



# INTERACTIONAL STUDENT–TEACHER PROGRAMMING

MYRON WOOLMAN

Washington, D. C.

A paper presented to the District of Columbia Elementary Principals Association, Washington, D. C., June 18,1964.

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# INTERACTIONAL STUDENT-TEACHER PROGRAMMING

Myron Woolman
Director

The Institute of Educational Research, Inc.

Washington, D. C.

## Introduction

Not too long ago, the teaching machine was considered, by some, to be the magic ingredient in making effective use of programmed materials in the classroom. Some boldly held that it would produce greater motivation for learning, would be cheat-proof, and would provide the learner with a new sense of power and independence as he turned a knob or handle and/or pushed the appropriate button or lever.

More realistically, the teaching machine and programmed book may be viewed as vehicles through which programs flow to individual learners. These self-instructional programs (SIP's) are essentially solipsistic in that the boundaries are set by the adequacy of the program and the characteristics of the individual learner.

The SIP is fundamentally non-interactive; the learning process is limited to the individual (whatever he may be) and the program (whatever it is), and the

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learning gain is a function of the operations which are performed between the man and the program. The fact is that the SIP attempts to ignore the fact that the classroom is a social system. A major problem in the American classroom centers on the fact that our teachers tend to reward the wrong students; classroom rewards have favored selectively the docile and obedient student, capable of good recall. Beyond this, the quality of classroom operation and organization varies enormously. The exclusion of the teacher simplifies the problem of delivering the correct information in the best sequence to the largest body of students.

The Interactional Skill Program

In 1956 the research problem faced, was to design a method of training Nike missile operators. What ultimately evolved was a method in which an operator possessing some skill was termed an "instructor". He was the vehicle through which the program (embodied in the USARADCOM Training Guide) flowed. The program contained: (1) a detailed sequential organization of equipment-operation and safety information; (2) a six-step method by which an untrained instructor could produce operator skills in trainees with speed and efficiency; (3) an evaluation and quality-control system; (4) an administrative framework for conducting the training in the on-site situation (Woolman, 1960). Following an experimental field test covering 24 operational Nike batteries, the programmed method was adopted by the U. S. Army for training Nike Ajax and Nike Hercules operators.

In this "Interactional Program" the instructor totally lacked any instructional background and was often uncertain of the required tolerances and procedures.

The trainees used the same guide as the instructor. The instructor was required to utilize selectively the instructional information; the trainee was expected to focus on trainee-related information. The fact that the instructor and his trainees had the same program offered some advantages; instructors often became trainees to learn new operator positions, and conversely, trainees often phased into instructor status on these operator positions which they had mastered.

The above type of reciprocal program (in which the instructor and trainee have the same program) would not be suitable for a classroom containing a teacher and 20 to 40 children. The classroom was viewed as requiring three interlocked and synchronous programs which would interact dynamically with each other. These were:

1. Learner's Program: A program for each learner, organizing the information into a rigorous program format.
2. Teacher Skill Program: A specification of the procedures to be used in the classroom to optimize the effectiveness of the learner's program. This program covers such factors as presentation, classroom atmosphere, techniques of

correction, illustration, informational feed-back and ongoing evaluation.

3. Conceptual Program: A self instructional program to provide the teacher with the psycho-educational concepts underlying the learner's program. The aim of the program is to develop in the teacher an ability to make increasingly independent judgments, as her experience increases.

The conviction that Interactional Programming of the student-teacher relationship could offer major advantages, ultimately led to a series of presentations at the National Institute of Mental Health and the Office of Education. It was suggested that reading skills offered a major test area for evaluating the efficiency of this approach; and that the population of choice for making the experimental demonstration should involve the teaching of mentally retarded children through an Interactional Programming approach.

A proposal was presented involving the programming of a reading method, the Progressive Choice (PC) Reading Method, designed in 1950 (Woolman, 1963). The PC Method has been experimentally tested a number of times with normals (Bloomer, 1961), and has been shown to be capable of teaching retarded children to read by an experienced teacher (Davy, 1962). The plan was to provide a set of meticulously programmed reading materials for each student (the Perceptual Program) and a teacher's manual containing: (1) a precise specification of each objective and required learner response whether oral or

written, and (2) a step-by-step procedure detailing how the teacher was to achieve the objective and obtain the required response. In addition, increased flexibility was sought by offering a variety of suggestions to solve special learner problems and to offer increased lattitude to the teacher (the Skill Program). Finally, an SIP was provided to give the teacher the underlying psycho-educational basis for the reading method (the Conceptual Program). Thus, in theory at least, the teacher could put concepts into operation while observing the consequences on an immediate feed-back basis in the moment-to-moment flux of the classroom. #

The Basal PC Reading Program

The Basal PC Reading Program is now in its second year of field testing with retarded children. In the first year, results were very encouraging, indicating that most retardates could learn to read as evidenced by gains in reading scores and significant statistical differences (Woolman and Davy, 1963). Reactions by both teachers and parents were positive. Ratings by teachers on verbal fluency, social interaction and task involvement also favored E over C students. The second year data are now being collected, but have not yet been analyzed. A survey form was developed for the second year to obtain ratings of the Interactional Programmed Method as compared with other approaches to the reading problem in the classroom. The data tabulated so far indicate a marked tendency for teachers to rate the Interactional Program favorably

and to comment warmly on its effectiveness as a classroom tool.

The Accelerated PC Reading Program

The Accelerated PC Reading Program (extract illustrated in Figures 1 and 2) was designed for use with underachieving teen-agers and functionally illiterate adults. The first pilot data have now been received. It had been our ultimate objective to obtain an eighth grade reading level within a year through this approach; we now have more ambitious aspirations. On the basis of the pilot data, we are very hopeful that a substantial proportion of drop-outs and pre-dropouts can reach an eighth grade reading achievement level within 300 hours (through Interactional Programmed Instruction), regardless of their initial reading achievement level.

The Job Skill Programs

This type of program is now being used for training Nike and Ajax missile operators (Woolman, 1960), and is also being used routinely in the GERSIS (General Electric Range Safety Instrumentation System) at Vandenberg Air Force Base for training personnel in operational procedures, adjustment, interpretation and malfunction analysis. In contrast to training individuals and groups in complex missile and aerospace systems, the Interactional Program has been designed for training Air Force mechanics to operate and maintain the Republic F-105 Fire Control System.

## The Progressive Choice Reading Method

The PC Reading Method encompasses five levels which are repeated for each learning element taught. At the first level, meanings of words containing a given sound are taught until understanding of these words is assured at the level of speech (Audial Meaning Level). At the second level, the learner proceeds through a series of perceptual exercises in which he learns to discriminate the distinctive features of given letter shapes; he then prints the letter (s) independently. Completion of both operations is required at the Discrimination Level. Next, (the Identification Level) the learner is given the sound(s) made by the letter shape(s), associates the sound(s) and the letter(s), demonstrates that he can print the correct letter(s) for the new sound(s) (and all previous sounds), and can voice the correct sound(s) for any previously learned letter(s) as well as the new letter(s). This completes the Identification Level. At the fourth level (Compounding Level) the learner demonstrates that: (1) he can correctly blend the sound of the new letter(s) when presented with various combinations of previously learned letters; and (2) demonstrates that he can correctly print the sequence of letters which corresponds with various blended meaningless sounds. Finally, the learner selects those compounds which are most relevant and meaningful from amongst a set of alternatives. This involves a demonstration that the learner can both utter and/or print the words he initially learned at the Audial Meaning Level

(loop words), under conditions which require him to select the best option for the given context. When the learner has demonstrated that he can obtain the same meanings from the printed word that he initially could obtain only from the spoken word, he has closed the "meaning loop". When he closes the "meaning loop" he has completed the Visual Meaning Level.

A Learner's Workbook page from the Accelerated Progressive Choice Program, illustrating the shift from the Compounding Level to the Visual Meaning Level follows (Figure 1). The synchronized double page spread from the Instructor's Manual, required to teach the Workbook page shown, has also been extracted (Figure 2).

(1)→ The Overall Learner Objective states in abstract terms the program goals specific to both pages. The first four columns detail in concrete terms, the requirements necessary to attain the Overall Objective.

(2)→ The Learner Objectives column specifies those sub-goals which must be achieved successfully to complete the Overall Learner Objective. The first subgoal requires that the words, "meat" and "deal", be "looped" and also that the learner print the proper meaningful generalized words even if he has never seen them before ("reverse loop").

To the left of the Learner Objectives column are two vertical lines which provide the instructor with the cross-reference code for the relevant items on the Learner's Workbook page (see

4

ADD ea (7)

m ___ t

d ___ l

r ___ d

h ___ r

b ___ m

b ___ st

st ___ l

cr ___ m

st ___ m

PRINT (8)

IQB

5 (6)

| PICK | PRINT | PICK |
|---|---|---|
| s<br>r | ea | t<br>s |
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| s<br>b | ea | s<br>l |
| r<br>b | ea | b<br>t |
| f<br>u | ea | w<br>r |
| c<br>l | ea | d<br>t |

(9)

IQB

6

Tom _____ as fast as Bob prints.

At dinner Dad cuts _____ .

Liz can _____ better if near a lamp. (16)

Ham is _____ .

Tom's doctor can help _____ Tom's cut hand.

A _____ is an animal.

Lots of cuts _____ fast.

A bad person acts as a _____ .

(15)

read

heal

meat

reads

beast

Figure 1: A WORKBOOK PAGE

from The Accelerated PC Program

IQB

3 (4)

| Page (3) | Item (5) | LEARNER OBJECTIVES (2) | REQUIRED LEARNER RE |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) → OVERALL LEARNER OBJECTIVE: | | To select, print and compre meaning loop for generalize | |
| 3 | 4 | Compounding to Visual Meaning<br>1. To add (ea) to other letters, thus closing the meaning loop for the words MEAT and DEAL and reversing the meaning loop for the words READ, HEAR, BEAM, BEAST, STEAL, CREAM and STEAM.<br>2. To obtain ✓ from I. | 1. Prints (ea) in s provided, formin words.<br>2. Prints in boxes.<br>meat<br>deal<br>read<br>hear<br>beam<br>beast<br>steal<br>cream<br>steam |
| 3 | 5 | Compounding to Visual Meaning<br>1. To select the appropriate letters to form meaningful EA words.<br>2. To obtain ✓ from I. | 1.<br>Selects s & t; form<br>Selects r & l; form<br>Selects s & l; form<br>Selects b & t; form<br>Selects f & r; form<br>Selects l & d; form |

(4) (6)

Figure 2: First page of the Double Page fro

| (10) ER RESPONSES | Instructed by: | (11) BASIC INSTRUCTOR PROCEDURE |
|---|---|---|
| comprehend looped words MEAT and DEAL and reverse the ralized words at the Visual Meaning Level. | | |
| (12) | | |
| in spaces forming 9 | SIS (13) | 1. Learners read printed directions and complete exercise. |
| oxes. | I (14) | 2. Observe work and assist where necessary, explaining procedure or meaning of words learners do not understand. |
| | I | 3. Make ✓ in bottom right corner of item in workbook when learners satisfy RLR. |
| | I | 4. See SFI for learners having difficulty. |
| forms seat<br>forms real<br>forms seal<br>forms beat<br>forms fear<br>forms lead | SIS | 1. Learners read printed directions and complete exercise. |
| | I | 2. Observe work and assist where necessary, explaining the procedure or the meaning of words learners do not understand. |
| | I | 3. Make ✓ in bottom right corner of item when learners satisfy RLR. |
| | I | 4. See SFI for learners having difficulty. |

ge from The INSTRUCTOR MANUAL, cross-coded to Figure 1

| Page | Item | SUGGESTIONS FOR INSTRUCTION |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | 4 | CORRECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR SLOWER LEARNERS<br><br>A. If learners have difficulty with the procedure, I should:<br><br>1. Do the first two examples for them, filling in (ea) and then printing (meat) in the corresponding box; filling in (ea) and then printing (deal) in the corresponding box.<br>2. Have learners proceed when they demonstrate an understanding of the procedure.<br>B. If learners have difficulty understanding the meaning of the words, I should:<br><br>1. Give definition of word.<br>2. Have learner use it in a sentence. |
| 3 | 5 | CORRECTIVE PROCEDURES FOR SLOWER LEARNERS<br><br>If learners have difficulty in selecting the appropriate letters, I should:<br><br>1. Go through first word with them.<br>2. State: "Let's pick "s" on the left."<br>3. Ask: "What would this sound like so far?"<br>4. Learners respond "sē".<br>5. State: "Let's pick "s" on the right side."<br>6. Ask: "What would this sound like?"<br>7. Learners respond "sēs".<br>8. Ask: "Does this mean anything?"<br>9. Learners respond "no".<br>10. State: "Pick the letter that would make a word."<br>11. Learners respond "t".<br>12. When learner demonstrates comprehension of procedure, have him complete item.<br>13. Make ✓ in lower right corner when learner satisfies RLR. |

Figure 2: Second page of the Double Page f

PROGRAM RATIONALE (18)

FILL IN EVERY ITEM

2c. The Overall Learner Objective provides the _____ for each Level of the Program.

2d. An Instructor should use the Reading Program flexibly in order to achieve _____.

3. Column 1 (Learner Objectives) specifies learning goals, Workpage by Workpage or item by item.

3a. Learner Objectives are found in Column _____ of the Instructor's Manual.

3b. _____ are more specific than the Overall Learner Objective.

4. The specific behavioral activities to be performed by the learner are shown under Required Learner Responses (Column 2).

4a. Learner Objectives are _____ specific than Required Learner Responses.

ANSWERS: 2c-3; 2d-33; 3a-18; 3b-33;4a-7.

(19)

CHOICES

1--Instructor's----40
2--Learner('s)------39
3--goal(s)----------38
4--learn(ed)--------37
5--mimick(ed)-------36
6--more------------35
7--less------------34
8--complete(d)------ 3
9--must------------32
10-limit(s)---------31
11-change(d)--------30
12-response(s)------29
13-pass------------28
14-flexible---------27
15-elaborate(s)-----26
16-need(s)----------25
17-fail(s)----------24
18-proceed(s)-------23
19-technique(s)-----22
20-standard(s)------21
21-review(s)--------20
22-mastery----------19
23-one--------------18
24-two--------------17
25-three------------16
26-four-------------15
27-Pass Requirement------14
28-Program Rationale--------13
29-Overall Learner Objective---------12
30 Required Learner Responses--------11
31-Student's Workbook---------10
32-Student's Manual-----------9
33-Learner Objectives--------8
34-Suggestions for Instruction-------7
35-Basic Teacher Procedure---------6
36-Checkout Test-----5
37-Progressive Choice----------4
38-steps------------3
39-Method(s)---------2
40-Answer(s)---------1

age from The INSTRUCTOR MANUAL, cross-coded to Figure 1

Figure 1). In the upper left corner ③→ of the Instructor's Manual, WB Page refers to the specific Learner's Workbook page (in this case, page 3 ④→ ). To the right of the WB Page is the WB Item ⑤→ (in this case, Items 4 and 5 ⑥→ ).

Note that to complete Item 4 the learner is required to add "ea" within the blanks in the left column ⑦→ of the Item, and then to print each of the words in its entirety (meat, deal, steal, etc.) in the boxes immediately to the right ⑧→ . Once this has been completed, his responses are checked by the instructor or a fellow student, who has already completed the entire Cycle (Student-Instructor). If the work is correct (100% required), a check is entered in the IQB (Instructor Qualification Box) ⑨→ which appears in the lower right corner of each item. Only after the IQB check is obtained does the learner proceed to the next item, (in this case, Item 5).

The specific responses required of the learner to complete Item 4 are detailed in the second column (Required Learner Responses) ⑩→ . As Figure 2 illustrates, the exact responses required of the learner are indicated: the digraph (ea) to be printed in the blanks; the number (9) of words to be formed; the complete words to be printed in the boxes; and the letters (s&t, r&l, etc.) to be selected to form meaningful words (seat, real, etc.).

The procedures to be used by the instructor to attain the objectives of

the first column are given in the third column (Basis Instructor Procedure) (11)→ . The double vertical lines between the second and third columns (12)→ contain indications to the instructor of whether the procedure in the third column is one performed by the learner, with little or no instructor assistance (SIS, Self-Instructional Student Item) (13)→ , or whether it is a responsibility of the instructor alone (I, Instructor) (14)→ . For the most part, the third column specifies a set of instructions for the instructor which corresponds exactly to the tasks to be performed by the learner. This column specifies effective ways of delivering necessary information to the learner before he is expected to perform the Workbook exercise. It also determines for the instructor the most efficient way of telling the learner exactly what is required of him in order to complete the exercise.

The level of detail shown in Figure 2 presumes a substantial amount of prior learning by the instructor; earlier sections of the program are somewhat more detailed in the third and fourth columns. However, even with the less detailed presentation in these particular facing pages, it was possible to program only two of the three items on the cross-coded Learner's Workbook page (Items 4 and 5). Item 6 (bottom of Figure 1) requires the learner to select the appropriate term from the list at the right (15)→ to fit the context of each sentence. On completing the exercise, the learner folds the page back along the vertical line, (16)→ and immediately checks the adequacy of his responses.

When the learner has obtained IQB checks for Items 4, 5 and 6, the instructor has brought him to the point where he has achieved the Overall Learner Objective.

At the end of the Basic Instructor Procedure column, the instructor is referred to the fourth column (Suggestions for Instruction) (17)→ , which provides supplemental procedures offering alternatives to the Basic Instructor Procedure to help those learners who have failed to satisfy the Required Learner Response column. Illustrative material and suggestions for varying the presentation of material already covered are contained in this column to give the instructor greater flexibility.

The instructor should have been progressively completing the fifth column (Program Rationale) (18)→ , which is designed to provide him with the conceptual,psycho-educational frame of reference for the program. Its aim is to provide a general overview of the structure of the PC Reading Method in order to give greater significance and point to his moment by moment activities in moving through the program. Note that if the learner is forced to check his answer through use of the Answer List (19)→ , he can simply scan the list before responding or proceed to the bottom of the page, locate the item, and obtain a number which locates the correct response. However, as each item is numbered on both the left and right side, each number designates two possible correct responses. The instructor is then forced to make a choice between the two

alternatives rather than simply copy the correct response.

Summary

The Interactional Program may be viewed as an effort to utilize the knowledge, status, mobility and flexibility of the human adult in the classroom situation while attempting to maintain the rigorous organization, ready digestibility, growth of independence, informational feed-back and ongoing evaluation made possible through programming. Beyond this, the Interactional Program offers the opportunity to treat the classroom as a social system. In this way, proficiency development is linked to the powerful motivational forces involved in maintaining and increasing status and obtaining and extending responsiblity and authority.

A key aspect of the Interactional Program is that -- level of program mastery can be unambiguously related to improved status in the society of learners. The road to upward mobility as a group member is reduced to the speed and efficiency with which the program materials are learned. This relationship is held to be crucial to the fact that learners in Interactional Programs have obtained significantly higher morale scores.

Interactional Programs should prove themselves effective in conceptual areas such as psychology, mathematics and basic electricity. Although some Interactional Programming techniques were incorporated into a Basic Electricity Program designed for the Bell Telephone System (Woolman, 1962), no fully developed Instructional

TABLE 1

MEAN OF TEACHER RATINGS
OF PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING PROGRAM
AND OTHER READING METHODS*

| Category of Education | Method Evaluated | Number of Ratings | Mean of Ratings** |
|---|---|---|---|
| General Classroom Effects (5 items) | Progressive Choice Reading Program | 27 | 6.73 |
| | Other Reading Methods | 23** | 4.72 |
| Reading Attitudes (5 items) | Progressive Choice Reading Program | 27 | 7.24 |
| | Other Reading Methods | 23 | 5.22 |
| Classroom Atmosphere (5 items) | Progressive Choice Reading Program | 27 | 7.04 |
| | Other Reading Methods | 23 | 5.04 |
| Transfer Effects (5 items) | Progressive Choice Reading Program | 27 | 6.99 |
| | Other Reading Methods | 23 | 4.57 |
| All Categories (20 items) | Progressive Reading Program | 27 | 7.00 |
| | Other Reading Methods | 23 | 4.88 |

* Mean of ratings obtained for each category from all teachers reporting to date represents returns from 27 teachers (approximately 70% of the sample of experimental teachers), using the scale below.

Reading Method Rating Scale

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Completely Useless | | Of Little Value | | Moderately Effective | | Very Effective | | Supremely Effective |

** Note that four experimental teachers rated only the Basal Progressive Choice Reading Program. These four teachers did not rate Other Reading Methods because of their lack of experience with any other method.

Program has yet been tested, (though we are not working on an Interactional Mathematics Program). Sterility, monotony and lack of challenge plague self-instructional programs in conceptual areas. The cross-stimulation, upward mobility and controlled synchronization between the instructor and the student may well offer greater intellectual opportunity and freedom along with the increased rigor and directional control implicit in the use of programming methods.

The programming process, in the last analysis, is an effort to obtain control over the quality of information delivered and absorbed by the learner. Minimizing the function of the instructor by means of programs (in whole or in part), reduces the classroom to sets of contiguous, but non-interactive bodies. The Interactional Program has taken the alternative option, i.e., to make the instructor an organic part of the programming process, and to utilize his greater knowledge, authority and status as part of a programmed classroom system.

The most powerful mechanism for educational advancement is, of course, the school system itself. Unless research methods can obtain the approval of principals and their cadres of teachers, advanced techniques become mere curiosities which occasionally emerge at conferences as "cases in point" to prove the unwillingness of educators to modify teaching methods. As our work specifically requires active teacher involvement, it was especially important to obtain some indication of teacher reaction.

Accordingly, a 20 item rating form, "The Reading Methods Evaluation Scale", was designed to permit teachers to rate the Basal Progressive Choice Reading Program in comparison with other reading materials which they had used. The survey items were distributed among four categories to permit comparisons on (1) General Classroom Effects; (2) Attitudes Toward Reading; (3) Classroom Atmosphere; and (4) Transfer Effects. For each item, teachers rated both our experimental program and the reading materials used by the school system. The teachers mailed in the forms and all responses were confidential. An illustrative item from each of the four areas follows:

> General Classroom Effects - "As an aid in activating and involving slow learners, non-responsive and resistant children to develop reading skills--"
>
> Attitude Toward Reading - "As an aid in improving attitudes of children toward learning to read--"
>
> Classroom Atmosphere - "As an aid in reducing the amount of frustration, monotony and/or tension children experienced while learning to read--"
>
> Transfer Effects -"As an aid for improving diction and pronunciation--"

The results of these ratings are given in Table 1. It is apparent that teacher ratings favored the experimental method for all items in each category; and, in fact, each of the 20 items showed a mean difference favoring the Basal PC Reading Program. A second kind of rating

was obtained for the purpose of evaluating the experimental program in comparison with all reading materials used in the course of each teacher's experience (see Table 2). The Basal PC Reading Program was again favored in this comparison. This type of rating data was further buttrussed by positive comments from teachers in the open-end responses to the survey form. The following teacher comments are given verbatim to illustrate fairly typical teacher reactions to the use of the Basal Progressive Choice Reading Program. A relatively inexperienced teacher commented:

> I came into the research program a doubter and really rather disappointed that an added burden had been placed upon me ... . ... I believe the response I got from my children turned my thinking in the right direction. Little ones who had not read before seemed so anxious and interested ... . ... when I noted hypertension developing, out came Progressive Choice, and all was calm and an atmosphere conducive to the learning experience prevailed . ... these techniques are sound basic approaches in building meaningful workable concepts of learning and can be adapted to fulfill the individual needs of all children in the classroom, regardless of what those needs might be.

A highly experienced teacher said of the program:

> The Progressive Choice Reading Program contains a reservoir of material, which, with a little ingenuity on the part of the teacher will provide correlated learning in all classroom experiences, such as social living, numbers, spelling, writing, reading and science. The classroom comes alive as children's interest soars. ... In fact, their lives have been enriched because of the program.

Of course, we do not yet know whether these first reactions will prove to be typical or to be somewhat exuberant. However, at the outset of the study, we observed that school systems and teachers remained quite neutral to the PC Program for sustained periods of time. No one on the research staff anticipated the high level of acceptance which was ultimately reflected on the survey form.

Of course, now that we have gotten similar reactions from teachers and staff in two successive years across a variety of school systems, in different sections of the country, we feel fairly confident that the overall reaction of school personnel will tend to remain favorable.

In summary, educational research techniques can be justified only if they can: (1) demonstrate increased learning efficiency in the classroom context; and (2) provide the teacher and the administrator with a tool which will be found useful in performing their own very complicated jobs. We are part of a complex

TABLE 2

RANK ORDER OF READING METHODS*

| Reading Method Rated | Number Of Ratings | Mean Of Ratings | Rank Order Of Reading Method |
|---|---|---|---|
| Progressive Choice | 24 | 7.09 | 1 |
| Ginn | 3 | 6.33 | 2 |
| Houghton Mifflin | 6 | 5.83 | 3 |
| Scott-Foresman | 7 | 5.70 | 4 |
| Experience Charts | 8 | 5.50 | 5 |

* For reading methods rated by three or more teachers.

interlocking social system. As we face the mammoth educational tasks imposed by our dynamic technology, educational research should become a more and more useful tool to aid the school administrator.

The researcher must gear his work to the realities of administration and classroom operation. Above all, he must provide methods which are adaptable for use as the schools now exist, and team with the administrator in using the available facilities and teacher resources to the best advantage of that most important consumer of both our products, the child. We face a task which offers both challenge and inspiration ... or stated in another way, the times offer our educational system great opportunities to respond imaginatively and confidently to the accelerating social and technical thrust of an ever-evolving society.

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KANSAS STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

TO THE

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

# Report on Civil Rights Aspects of Vocational Education Programs in Secondary Schools

This report was prepared by the Kansas Advisory Committee and submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in accordance with the Civil Rights Act of 1957, pursuant to which the Commission and its Advisory Committees in all 50 States and in the District of Columbia were established.

Dr. Harry Levinson, Topeka - Chairman
Honorable A. B. Howard, Kansas City - Vice Chairman
Dr. Howard Baumgartel, Lawrence - Secretary
Mrs. Raymond Cerf, Lawrence
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Mr. Samuel H. Marcus, Wichita
Honorable John McCormally, Hutchinson

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Kansas Advisory Committee

January 1, 1963

REPORT ON PUBLIC INQUIRY

into:

Possible discrimination in secondary school vocational education programs.

The Kansas Advisory Committee held three public inquiries, in Topeka on September 8, 1962; in Lawrence on October 13, 1962; and in Wichita on Nobember 10, 1962. We believe the findings of these inquiries to be representative of what we would find in other metropolitan communities in the state.

## Procedure

Invitations to participate in these public inquiries were sent to the superintendents of schools in each of these three cities, requesting also the participation of the directors of vocational education and the directors of teacher selection and placement. It was particularly requested that those having to do directly with the distributive education program be invited to participate. In addition, the presidents of the local NAACP chapters, the GI Forum (Mexican-American) chapters, the executive secretaries of Chambers of Commerce, of the Human Relations Commissions in Lawrence and in Wichita, of the Urban League in Wichita, a representative of the Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy, the director of the Kansas Civil Rights Commission, and members of the local press were invited to attend.

The NAACP representatives appeared only at the Topeka meeting, the GI Forum representatives only in Topeka and Lawrence. The Human Relations Commission representatives appeared in Lawrence but not in Wichita, although we had written communication with them both. The Urban League representative reported that he was representing all of the minority groups in Wichita. Only in Topeka was there an observer from the local Chamber of Commerce; the educators in Wichita said that they also represented the Chamber of Commerce there because they served on committees of the Chamber of Commerce. The superintendent of schools and a group of five of his immediate subordinates appeared in Topeka; three representatives of the superintendent, but not the superintendent himself, appeared in Lawrence; the superintendent, plus a large delegation of principals, guidance personnel, vocational training personnel, and supervisory personnel appeared in the Wichita meeting.

No representatives of the press attended any of the meetings.

Following each meeting, advisory committee members discussed the events of the inquiry and summarized for themselves the conclusions to which they had come. These conclusions appear in the minutes of regular monthly meetings. The present report represents a summary of these

conclusions, further discussed, analyzed, and elaborated by the committee in its meeting of December 8, 1962.

## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Program of vocational education in the public schools are supported by public funds from state, local, and federal appropriations. Federal funds are available through the Smith-Hughes and George Barden Acts, as amended (20 U.S.C. 11-34) to promote and stabilize the vocational education programs. Each dollar expended by the federal government must be matched with state and local funds.

Local schools are reimbursed for 25% of the salary paid for vocational teaching up to a maximum of $1,400 for each full-time vocational teacher of trade and industrial, agriculture and homemaking education.

All vocational educational programs now being offered in Kansas come under the general classification of agriculture, homemaking, trade and industrial, practical nursing, distributive education, area vocational or technical, and office practice. Day programs in these areas, with the exception of area vocational, are offered to serve those youth who are regularly enrolled in school. Evening programs are provided to serve adults. The area vocational program is an adult program, too.

The agriculture, homemaking, and practical nursing programs seem to pose no particular problems with respect to discrimination. The first two are attended by children of farm families and the last, because of the heavy demand for practical nurses and the historic lack of discrimination in semi-custodial work, encourages the participation of minority group students. Since area vocational or technical programs are not for youth in school, we concentrated our attention on business training -- distributive education and office practices -- and on trade and industrial training.

The State Board for Vocational Education is responsible under federal and state statutes for these programs. Vocational education, by the definition of that Board, is that educational service in the public schools which prepares boys and girls, 14 years of age and over, to enter useful employment upon graduation from high school. Training opportunities for young people and adults are provided in each of the special areas noted above, and coordinated toward the goal of developing socially competent useful citizens of Kansas. Vocational education has for its main purpose to increase the productive capacity, and to increase the skills and technical knowledge of the working force in the state.

Business Training: Distributive education is part of the general business education program. It is designed to prepare high school boys and girls, 16 years of age and over, for entrance in wholesale, retail, or serviceselling occupations and to provide instruction in a variety of related subjects to increase the skills and knowledge of employed workers in these distributive occupations.

Office practice, often referred to as Business Education, is a cooperative program in the high school designed to prepare students 16 years of age and over for entrance into office occupations.

These two programs are designed to provide basic and supplementary training in the occupation in which the student is employed, and at the same time permit him to complete his high school education. Students in secondary schools who take part in these programs are legally employed at least 15 hours per week in a job in which the employer has agreed to work jointly with the schools in a cooperative program. The employers give instructions to students on the job during half the school day.

If the student is not able to obtain a job, he is not permitted to take the academic component of these courses because the academic and the practical are designed to complement each other.

Trade and Industrial Training: Trade and industrial education is designed to prepare boys and girls 14 years of age and over, for successful entrance into skilled industrial occupations. Instruction and training in industrial education is provided for in-school youth having aptitude and interest and who need a specific trade and related subject training for entrance into a trade in industrial pursuit. Trade and industrial education also includes preparation for apprentices, students who have dropped out of school and who now need training, and for those who want to advance skills which they already possess. These parts of the program, as well as those aspects of the business education program directed to adults, we have omitted from our study because our concern is with the enrolled high school student.

Essentially, that part of trade and industrial education with which we were concerned is preparatory training. Such training is provided to enable the student to continue his general education while at the same time preparing for a specific occupation. Vocational work is taught by special instructors on the high school staff while general subjects are taught by instructors regularly qualified for teaching the subject. The same is true for the business classes, the distributive education and office practices classes.

Conditions: According to the pamphlet, "Public Vocational Education Programs," produced by the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, vocational education is intended to develop abilities, skills, understanding, and attitudes needed by a worker in his occupation; it is of greater value to a worker in his occupation than to a person not in the occupation; it is of value to all workers in the same occupation on the level to which the training is given. These programs are directly related to employment opportunities

in local communities determined by school officials in cooperation with local advisory committees. Training is to be carried out to the point of developing marketable skills, abilities, understandings, attitudes, and work habits sufficient to enable the trainee to get and hold a job on that occupation.

As a condition for receiving federal money, each cooperating state must prepare a plan that outlines the kinds of vocational education for which the state will use the money, and relate how it will operate the program and how it will train vocational teachers and counselors. The U.S. Office of Education must approve the plan, after which it is authorized to certify payment of federal funds to the state. The state then reimburses local districts through the State Board of Vocational Education.

In the "Administration of Vocational Education", (regulations for the administration of vocational education programs under the provisions of the federal vocational education act), published by the U.S. Office of Education in 1958, Section 102.18 states that "In the expenditure of federal funds and in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education, there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color."

Support and Enrollment: According to the biennial report of the Kansas State Board for Vocational Education for the period ending June 30, 1962, the Board disbursed $121,678 in Smith-Hughes and George-Barden funds for trade and industrial education during the 1960-61 fiscal year. Of this, $108,224 was disbursed to local school districts. These funds were for trade and industrial education. 1,825 persons were enrolled in the day-school part of this program during the year. The reports do not differentiate between the cost allocated to day school and those to night school.

In the distributive education programs in Kansas for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, there were 342 students in the day school. and 247 students were enrolled in the day school office practices program. Under the George-Barden Act, $29,809 received by the state for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, for disbursement in distributive education was intended apparently to include office practices as well. $18,729 was distributed to public schools, the remainder going to state institutions for training and being allocated to supervision.

According to the reimbursement report of the Kansas State Board for Vocational Education for the year ending June 30, 1961, 74 day trade classes were conducted in 19 cities, representing an enrollment of 1,729 boys and girls, preparing for advantageous entrance into skilled occupations. Eighty-six day trade classes were conducted in 19 cities with a total enrollment of 1,918.

For the three communities studied, the following statistics are revelant for the year ending June 30, 1961: 484 persons were enrolled in trade and industrial classes in Topeka for which the federal support was $13,159.50. 125 were enrolled in distributive education and office practices and $1,400 in federal funds were involved.

In Lawrence, 311 persons were enrolled in trade and industrial education and at a cost of $3,670 to the federal government. Sixty were enrolled in distributive education and office practices for which the federal government reimbursed the Lawrence school system in the amount of $1,425.

In Wichita, 1,404 persons were enrolled in trade and industrial education, and a cost of $17,284 to the federal government. In distributive education and office practices there were 2,242 students; federal funds were $4,057.50.

These allotments are not further divided into day and evening programs.

## Findings of the Committee

There are disproportionately fewer minority group members in office practices and distributive education programs than would logically be expected if the numbers of minority group students in those programs paralleled their proportion in the general population.

This disproportion seems to be the cumulative result of many forces. In some instances, particularly in Topeka, we heard that Negro parents believe that the school counselors do not encourage their children to take part in these programs because there are few possibilities for practical experience for them. Teachers and counselors universally deny that they discourage Negro and Mexican-American participation in these programs. In all three cities it was reported that there were more vacancies in these and other vocational training programs than there were people to fill them. The faculty said they tried their best to encourage participation of minority group members. They pointed out, however, that usually there was only one counselor to several hundred students (one to 800 in the Wichita school system) and it was therefore impossible for the counselor to give much attention to more than a few of the needs of all students.

Placement: The teachers involved in vocational and distributive education varied in their initiative in placing students in work settings as part of these programs. Some said they did no placement, that each student had to find his own job among the approved settings. Others indicated they went out of their way to find job settings and to refer students when there were vacancies. It was clear that despite the denials by some teachers, there was placement by members of the faculty and, in particular, that there had been problems in the placement of minority group students both as a result of employer resistance and student failure.

There was no special effort to place minority group members in on-the-job training. With respect to distributive education, without the experience part of the training, the student could not take part in the academic program which related to distributive education. Although in most cases the teachers denied that they had problems in placement as a result of local business pressure, in Wichita it was made quite clear that a significant barrier to the free placement of minority group students lay in some of the community attitudes, particularly those in business circles outside the Negro districts.

The opportunities for job placement for present high school students are greater than they were a few years ago. There are, however, as a result of earlier employment discrimination, relatively few minority group members in responsible occupational positions. This lack of models of Negroes who have achieved is seen as a serious handicap for young Negroes in their formative years. A sense of handicap and hopelessness is reflected most vividly in the quotations from Lawrence cited below. Present students have difficulty visualizing that there is something concrete and realistic by way of a higher level job toward which they could or should work. In none of the three communities do more than a few Mexican-Americans hold positions above that of foreman or straw boss. An occasional teacher or professional person is the rare exception. There are a few more Negro lawyers and physicians in Wichita and Topeka than in Lawrence, and a good many more Negro teachers. There are no Negroes, to our knowledge, in responsible positions in the business community in any of the three cities.

Being without images of people who succeed in business and industry, particularly in retail business, there seems to be little motivation, according to the counselors and teachers for Negro and Mexican-American students to enter such programs.

Furthermore, there is today a certain press to move ahead rapidly which means that the minority group member students are frequently to be found in one of two circumstances: 1) Either they have set high goals for themselves in the form of university training, which is particularly true in Lawrence; or, 2) unable to compete for university training, and seeing nothing possible at a lower level except menial work, they withdraw from school.

Additional Barriers to Participation: Recognizing the realities of the situation, it is not beyond possibility that the teachers and vocational counselors should unconsciously discriminate. That is, they may be reluctant themselves to confront the community prejudices and also reluctant to bring pain and discomfort upon minority group students. These attitudes may be communicated in subtle ways which serve to discourage the minority group students from these programs. This, however, is only speculation based on ways in which the various teachers involved sought to deny any responsibility for either reforming community attitudes or making special efforts with the Negro students.

One director of vocational education said vehemently that it was ". . . no part of my job to tell the local businessman how to run his business." A number of times school officials raised the question, "Is it our role to be agents of social change, is that really our job?"

We do not mean to imply that the teachers were not serious in their efforts and did not do their best to carry out their responsibilities. Rather, we do suggest that the teacher, dependent as he is upon public approval for his very livelihood, cannot readily see himself as flying in the face of the mores of powerful members of his community. It is extremely gratifying to the committee to note that the educational administrations in these three cities were far ahead of their community climates in recognizing and working toward fulfilling their social responsibilities.

There is no formal agreement between the school officials and the employers who offer the work settings that the employers will not discriminate in the assignment of students to these work settings. School officials do not think that it is their job to press employers on this matter. They do not believe that, were there a legal requirement that the employers not discriminate, it would help the situation any. (As a matter of fact, there is a state law against discrimination in employment in Kansas). Some point out that, though they obtain the agreement of the employers to provide a work setting, it is up to the student himself to obtain and hold his own job, and that the employer has the right to select which among the students he may want to have. It is therefore impossible, these teachers and administrators say, for them to control discriminatory practices even if there were a formal agreement.

Parental Concern: Another factor which may have contributed to lack of participation is the feeling on the part of some Negro parents that if their children do enter vocational and professional training, the children will be weaned away from the families and will ultimately leave the communities in which they are living. This is the perennial problem of the separation of the generations when the experiences of the younger generation so out-pace those of the older generation. The parents see also that in Topeka there are few Negroes in customer-contact jobs, in Lawrence none at all, and in Wichita a very limited number. There are equally few Mexican-Americans. The parents would be somewhat less than realistic if they did not discourage their children from entering occupational avenues that were bound to bring them frustration; the same is true of the teachers.

Lawrence Experience: A few figures reported by the Lawrence Human Relations Commission summarize the situation in Lawrence and serve as a barometer of the occupational climate for minority group students over the state. In 1961, the Commission reported, out of a total of 1,000 high school students, 51 were enrolled in the vocational education program: 11 in trades, 20 in office training, and 20 in distributive education. Of these 51, 13 were minority group members.

This finding surprised that Commission and it undertook to find out how helpful the vocational education program was to minority group members by surveying all Negro graduates of the Lawrence High School for the previous four years. Of 32 graduates reached, 19 had had some vocational training. Of these, 8 girls had taken typing for one or more years (4 of them took shorthand as well), and 8 boys had taken printing. Three boys had taken auto mechanics. Only one of the 19 had been enrolled in on-the-job training. None of the 8 girls ever got a job as a typist. None of the 11 boys ever obtained a job as a printer or auto mechanic.

More impressive than these figures were some of the individual responses from which the following are excerpts:

A young man took printing, welding, and woodwork in high school. He now works in a laundry. His response to inquiry was, "No, my high school training has not helped me, but I hope some day it will."

A young lady took three years of typing and shorthand in high school. When interviewed, her only employment after graduation had been irregular baby-sitting. She said, "I felt qualified as a typist when I graduated but I'm afraid I've forgotten it all by now."

Another young woman said, "My typing teacher encouraged me and said I did well. I knew it would be hopeless to apply downtown. I applied to a school in Kansas City after graduating from high school, to take a key-punch course but they said they didn't take colored. I am certainly not satisfied with this job (as a maid). I feel I am qualified for better work."

In the same community a leading business man was quoted in the University Daily Kansan as saying (January 20, 1961), that before Negroes will be accepted by whites as equals, they will have to raise their standards of living to the accepted level of the community. "It is up to the Negro and Negro leaders to raise the standards of their race," he said. The juxtaposition of these cases and his statement tells its own story of the failure of white business leadership.

## Summary and Recommendations

1. While there is little apparent active discrimination in the operation of these programs, a combination of many forces is keeping minority group members from taking advantage of them.

The main barriers to reducing de facto discrimination in on-the-job training programs are discriminatory practices of employers and prevalent stereotyped thinking about Negroes. The latter not only prevents hiring Negroes but also has adverse effects on the self-image and the development of job aspirations of young Negroes.

2. At the same time there is apparently a crying need for people who have the training which can be obtained in these programs. The teachers themselves told the committee that there were far more openings for students in vocational training programs than there were students to fill them and that they were constantly being pressed by employers for prospective students.

3. Nobody takes it to be his responsibility, neither the schools nor the employers nor the Chambers of Commerce, nor the community human relations agencies, to do something about this particular problem, despite its high cost to the individuals and to the local community.

4. There is an imperative need for school officials to bring this problem out in the open with local Chambers of Commerce, to recognize its reality and its price, and to formulate active programs which will specifically recruit minority group students by the promise of jobs and opportunities for advancement.

5. There is particular need for business leaders themselves to indicate publicly they recognize the nature of the problem and their willingness to do something constructive about it.

6. They must also recognize, and be patient with, the limitations of the experience and training of the Negro students who might come through these programs, just as they must with all young people. There is a tendency to demand perfection of minority group students as if somehow they must prove themselves more than others need to do.

7. The federal government should condition financial support of vocational education program upon the provision of non-discriminatory work sites by cooperating employers. Such federally supported secondary school programs should be evaluated over three-to five-year periods to ascertain whether the number of minority group students in the program is reasonably proportional to the total number of minority group students in the school population.

While the Department of Health, Education and Welfare regulations of 1958 (45 CFR Sec. 102.18, 1960) governing vocational education say that there shall be no discrimination, these regulations have already been interpreted to permit segregation, according to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission 1961 employment report (page 97). We believe this interpretation should be revoked. Furthermore, there is presently no provision for examining the functioning of these programs to see whether they do in fact discriminate. The establishment of such a condition for financial support is in keeping with already established federal and state laws (the Kansas Act Against Discrimination, 1961), and officially announced policies.

8. In order that non-discrimination provisions be enforceable, appropriate federal statutes should be amended to require that all state plans for vocational education establish responsibility for student placement. Kansas, however, need not wait for federal action; the State Board of Vocational Education could make that specification a part of its own already established plan for administrative action.

## Conclusion

It will take considerable support from both educational and business leaders to enable minority groups to develop a generation of models so that subsequent students have goals toward which to strive in the economic community, people on whom to model themselves, and an attitude of optimism and hope rather than defeat and discouragement. The elimination of stereotypes takes a long time and there is no doubt that the reaction of the community affects the performance of the minority group student. School authorities, including boards of education, and business advisory committees to vocational education programs, being closest to the immediate problem and the facts of the situation, have no alternative but to assume the initiative in discussions with local business people.

If, indeed, the various vocational training programs cannot serve a more constructive social purpose at a time when their enrollments are decreasing, we can only wonder whether they serve any useful purpose at all and whether they merit continued federal support.

# 13-Week Vacations: 'Sabbaticals' Fall Short In Creating New Jobs

*Continued From Page One*

some green operators training to take over from vacationers.

"I predict we'll lose more money in slower production than we will in extra wage costs because of this plan," says an Armco Steel Corp. plant official.

While the sabbatical agreement is falling short of union hopes on new jobs, it also strangely enough is failing to win wholehearted acceptance from those who might be expected to cheer it most—the first men to get the long holiday. Half of some three dozen steelworkers who will get the long vacations this year and who were interviewed on the subject expressed little enthusiasm for the arrangement. And except for the fact that many figured they'd at least be making room for a less fortunate man on the street, the opposition to taking so much time all at once might have been more extensive.

**"Don't Know What to Do"**

Part of the disenchantment comes because the new plan cuts down on vacation flexibility. "I don't think much of it," says towering 58-year-old Charles Michaels, an Armco employe at Butler, Pa. "This is too long to be off at one time. I used to be able to split up the weeks I had coming—maybe take off a week now and then to go fishing. Now I can't. I don't know what to do with all the time." A provision of the vacation agreement requires the sabbatical to be taken all at one time.

Often, it's a case of a steelworker having the time but not the money to take advantage of the situation. "I have a daughter in school so we can't go anywhere and I don't like sitting around home," says Lewis Nagy, 54-year-old stock recorder at the Armco plant.

Naturally, not all the workers are worrying about what to do with their long vacation. Hardee Heplar, an operator on No. 39 cold mill at Butler, can't wait to leave. First, he will head for Washington, D.C., to visit a son and then he will set out for San Francisco to visit another one. "I'll still have some time for golf," he smiles.

In general, those most pleased with the plan are the ones with a bit of the wanderlust. But they are in the minority. Only half the men interviewed said they had plans for using their time off, a situation that deeply concerns personnel men in the industry.

"There's been no education for this thing," says Dr. Joseph Llewellyn, Armco's plant doctor in Butler. "These men aren't the traveling type" and many won't know what to do with the time, he contends. "I'm only borrowing on my other experiences in 30 years here, but I'm concerned whether these enforced vacations are going to precipitate degenerative disease symptoms in these people. I predict some of these men are going to be in bad shape when they get back—some of the older ones keep going only because they work."

**Avoiding a Controversy**

Most of the mills aren't going to give the returning vacationers a physical before they go back on the job, as they would to a man called back after a layoff. Despite their concern over the effects of the idle period on health, the companies don't want to get into any controversies over whether a man is physically fit to return.

The union is less concerned about such problems. "Steelworkers are adults and they'll know what to do with the time," says one

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## odity Letter

### eport on Production Trends Affecting s and Factories

**TIVES hard for his two key l House vote nears.**

p measure, which would boost l purchasing power, is slated e today. The cotton-wheat bill House action tomorrow. The me is most popular with city- men while the other bill is g rural legislators. Neither bill without the votes of both city gressmen.

nt rides the Democratic House rsonally and by telephone to for the two bills. Farm Secre- seeks the support of individual Republicans, some conservative d private interests, such as the focus opposition on the wheat- They charge the wheat section a "bread tax" on the poor. The n counters that any rise in bread 't be blamed on the bill.

*te House considers passage of crucial to building rural and ort for the Democratic ticket*

* * *

**AL UNREST in Chile threatens to en copper supplies.**

t activity prior to the Sept. 4 elec- erfere with production, copper men ccounts for over one-tenth of world ut. Salvador Allende, a far-left can- president, threatens to nationalize per mines owned by U.S. firms if

shortage of the red metal already s a hefty lift. Domestic producers ces 1 cent a pound to 32 cents on but they still are forced to rigidly plies. Dealers say sales now take gh as 39 cents and report that even l, the metal is difficult to obtain.

* * *

**RODUCERS mull a price boost as r costs pinch profits.**

rs study the added costs resulting ew contract with the United Mine ion. The $1-a-day wage hike, plus ich went into effect late last week, uch as 15 cents a ton to costs of s. Costs will go up another 10 cents second $1-a-day hike goes into effect ary.

operators will make an attempt to cost increase along to users," says official. Island Creek Coal Co. has notified contract customers it will ices under escalation clauses when ors have been worked out. A utility ncedes: "There's not [illegible] much fat

# *13-Week Vacations*

## Long Steel 'Sabbaticals' Fall Far Short of Goal In Creating New Jobs

### Juggling Hours, 'Spreading The Load' Avoid Hirings; Doubts Among the Workers

### Plan Worries Armco Doctor

By JOHN F. LAWRENCE
*Staff Reporter of* THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

PITTSBURGH—The 13-week vacation, conceived by the United Steelworkers of America as an answer to long-term unemployment, is shaping up as a failure in creating any sizable number of new jobs.

Though negotiated in the steel industry just last summer and effective only since the first of this year, early experiences and emerging steel mill plans make it clear the long steelworker "sabbatical" is destined to fall far short of union estimates that it will add 20,000 to 25,000 new "job opportunities." It's still too early to come up with any precise employment figures, but one industry analyst predicts privately that only 5,000 new jobs—at most—will open up.

If such proves the case, the controversial vacation agreement wouldn't begin to stem the long-term decline in steel employment brought on by the big post-war shift to automation. Since it hit a high of 544,000 a decade ago, steel industry employment has skidded an average of 14,000 workers a year until today it rests at an estimated 400,000. Payrolls have been more stable since 1961 but only because steel output has been on the rise.

The mills are softening the blow of the long vacation partly by some adept scheduling which will time many of the sabbaticals to seasonal slowdowns, maintenance shutdowns, other short-term fluctuations in manpower requirements and through further automation. But the mills also are falling back harder than expected on the time-honored practice of having non-vacationing workers "carry the load" for a fellow employe who is on a holiday.

**Union Complaint**

"The companies are killing the idea behind the 13-week vacation by getting by without bringing in new men anywhere they can," complains Michael J. Zahorsky, recording secretary of Steelworkers Local 1211 at the Aliquippa, Pa., works of Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. A J&L spokesman acknowledges the company is trying to minimize vacation replacement but only "within the contract."

Any major success in restricting new em-

what a teacher does on a sabbatical."

There's some further evidence that suggests a lack of worker enthusiasm for the long vacations. While the men covered by the contract must take the time off, every mill has a certain number of non-executive salaried workers not covered by the pact. Many mills have given these people a choice between a 13-week vacation and a payment into a company savings plan. A heavy majority are choosing the money. In the case of Armco, 80% took the payment although under Armco's plan the employes have to contribute some funds of their own to get a matching payment from the company, reports Brookes D. Billman, vice president.

U.S. Steel Corp. and Inland Steel Co., which are offering similar "extra vacation or pay" plans, are having much the same experience. At Inland, where clerical workers get a choice of two extra weeks vacation or two weeks extra pay each year, only 31% of the employes chose the time off; 45% picked the cash payment and the rest split it up between a week's extra pay and a week's vacation.

Another indication that workers are not altogether convinced that the vacation plan is best comes from the course of recent bargaining at the Torrance, Calif., plant of Armco. Represented by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union, the Torrance workers asked for the money instead of the long vacation. Though eventually settling for the vacation plan—as the company demanded—OCAW officials acknowledge there was a strong feeling among its members that money was more desirable.

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**AFOOD FANCIERS** will pay more for crab and salmon as a result of Alaska's t earthquake. Damage to canneries and g vessels probably will result in some ...future production. Canners now get $17 ...e of 24 half-pound cans for the Alaskan ... about $1.50 more than prior to the earth- ...e. Packers have withdrawn a $1 a case ...otion allowance previously allowed on ... salmon.

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**ARLY ASPARAGUS** gets much cheaper. ... weather in California slowed development ...e crop, but now picking is in full swing. ... vegetable brings $8 a 12-bunch crate in ...ago, $3.50 less than a week ago and $1 ...v a year ago. Emergence of Midwest as- ...gus later this month probably will pull ...s still lower.

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**EAT PIES** stage a sales comeback. Re- ...s sold 188 million pounds of the frozen ...uct in 1956 but by 1961 volume was down ...58 million. Last year sales topped 160 ...ion. One major producer reports his sales ...anuary and February jumped 12% above ... year earlier level. Higher quality and ...er prices attract buyers, one firm says. ...s that retailed for 24 cents in 1956 now ...erally sell for 20 cents or less.

* * *

**SILVER BONANZA:** A coin dealer in New ...k sells a 50 ounce silver bar for $100. They ... a popular gift item, the dealer says. He ...orts them from England. At the official ... price of $1.293 an ounce the silver in the ... is worth $64.65.

* * *

**EEF ABUNDANCE is expected to hold ...s at bargain levels in the months ahead.** ... the start of 1964, the nation's cattle popu- ...stood at a record 106.5 million head, ...lion more than a year earlier and 15.3 mil- ...nore than at the recent low in 1958. With ...al weather, this expanding cattle herd ...ield about 17 billion pounds of beef in ... or 97 pounds for each person in the ...y. That is 2 pounds above 1963 and 16.5 ...han six years ago.

...le beef prices will move up seasonally ... weeks ahead, they should hold well be- ...ear ago, livestock men predict. Choice ...he predominant grocery store grade, ...lls in Chicago for $22.50 a hundred ... That's a slim 25 cents above the seven ...v touched in February but $2.75 under ...go. Prices may climb as high as $25 ...her but then are likely to slide below ...nt level by fall.

*...rought this summer would force ...s to liquidate some of their cattle ...uld probably drive beef prices ... lower.*

* * *

**...ER OYSTERS** are even better to eat ... caught in winter. The U.S. Depart- ...e Interior debunks the taboo against ...shellfish in May, June, July and Au- ...months without the letter "R" in ...ters are fatter and taste better in ...icials insist. They aim to boost ... U.S. catch last year was 55 mil- ... far below 1908's record 152 mil-

from the long vacation plan and slow its spread to other industries. Though Steelworkers union president David J. McDonald still stoutly defends the plan ("It's a step in the right direction, however many jobs it creates"), it is noteworthy that other unions have so far failed to make it a major contract demand. The United Auto Workers, for example, appears to be ignoring the idea entirely in preparing for this summer's bargaining talks with the auto makers. "Other unions will watch the plan for two or three years to see how it works before pressing for it themselves," figures a Steelworkers official.

Basically, the steel sabbatical program gives the senior half of a mill's employes a quarter-long vacation once every five years. The holiday is financed out of a fund into which steel firms pay 12.5 cents an hour for each employe—an amount which is now running about $100 million annually. Versions of the long vacation plan have been carried by the Steelworkers into the aluminum and metals fabricating fields and the can manufacturing industry.

**One Mill's Experience**

For an idea of how companies are working with the new plan, look at the way it is handled at one medium-sized mill. About 320 men are scheduled to get extended vacations this year but instead of sending out an average of 80 a quarter, only 41 are gone now. Later in the year 120 or more will be going at one time. "We checked back and found we run higher in the first five months each year, then we have a dip," explains the plant's labor relations director. The mill official says by juggling jobs and schedules it has managed to send the 41 men off on vacation and replace them with only 16 new workers. It expects similar successes later in the year.

Other companies are following similar policies. In the aluminum industry, where all but the newest workers will get a 10-week holiday in the next five years, a Reynolds Metals Co. official says, "We'll use the long holidays in lieu of layoffs as much as we can."

Replacement of vacationers will be held down, too, by getting along with smaller crews. This isn't possible on some direct production jobs but company and union men says it's almost certain to be done in the maintenance department which accounts for about 20% of the men in a steel mill. "There's always some flexibility in the maintenance force," says one company's labor expert.

Most mills also have a small pool of lesser skilled workers who perform odd jobs or fill-in assignments. Occasionally some of these men will be used to replace vacationers and the spot left open in the pool won't always be filled, personnel men say.

**A Loss of Efficiency?**

The long vacations, however, haven't come entirely without problems for the companies. One which concerns mill officials is the possible loss of efficiency because of the plan. Under the complex agreement, the next man in line in terms of seniority and job rating gets first crack at a higher paying production job when it opens up. Thus, when a top-ranking production man goes on vacation, a chain reaction can be set off as half a dozen or more men step up to better jobs. This means that many jobs are temporarily filled by men "green" to the posts. In some cases, this is bringing slower operations and more breakdowns.

Pittsburgh Steel Co., for instance, reports that in December it had three unexplained breakdowns on one rolling mill on which it had

*Please Turn to Page 20, Column 3*

CORE Congress of Racial Equality
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# LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

## Purpose

The Institute Program is designed for young people who, for the first time, have begun to find themselves in the civil rights movement. Their demonstrations, their sit-ins, their jail-ins, have given them a hope that there may be a place for them in America that is worth a fight, and a new America they can help create which is worth the discipline. Thus they have become aware of books and learning as a means of deepening their understanding of the political, social and economic landscape which is essential to intelligent action. The task of the Institutes is to open doors to these kinds of knowledge --not to provide pat answers or narrow concepts, but to supply tools and to show how and where they can best be used.

The League for Industrial Democracy Training Institutes for Civil Rights Activists came to a close the weekend of April 4-5. Five weekend sessions, which began on Feb. 8-9, have thus been held. A full evaluation of the Institutes is in preperation and will serve as a useful guide for future educational activity in this field. Meanwhile, the outline below summarizes the topics and speakers presented. (Astericks indicate speakers on cultural topics. We sought, with only partial success, to make such topics a regular Saturday evening feature of the Institutes.)

I. A Historical and Theoretical Framework -- Feb. 8-9

A. An Outline History of the Civil Rights Movement

1. August Meier, Prof. of History, Morgan State College; author, Negro Thought in America, 1880-1915

* 2. Jazz and the Ghetto
Nat Hentoff, noted author and jazz critic

B. The Socio-Political Framework

1. Social and Economic Institutions
Prof. Martin Fleisher, Political Science, Brooklyn College

2. Political Institutions
Prof. Robert Koblitz, Political Science, Bard College

II. Two Crucial Periods of Social Change -- the Reconstruction and the New Deal -- and their Impact on the Negro -- Feb. 22 - 23

A. Reconstruction after the Civil War
Robin Myers, historian and free-lance writer

B. Populism and Progressivism
Prof Martin Fleisher

C. Discussion of Hofstadter's The American Political Tradition
led by Professors Fleisher and Emanuel Chill (Columbia)

D. The New Deal
Michael Harrington, author of The Other America

III. The Relationship of the Labor Movement to the Negro Revolution -- March 14-15

A. Problems and Perspective of the American Labor Movement
Jack Conway, Executive Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

B. The AFL-CIO and Civil Rights
Donald Slaiman, Director of Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO

C. Getting Jobs for Negroes: A Panel Discussion
Donald Slaiman
Jack Howard, Special Assistant to the Undersecretary of Labor
Brendan Sexton, Director of Staff Education, United Automobile Workers

D. Probems of Mobilizing Group Action in the Labor and Civil Rights Movement
Brendan Sexton

IV. Making New York a Fit Place to Live -- March 22

A. Political Structure and Parties
Arnold Fein, President, N. Y. C. Committee of Democratic Voters

B. Dealing Effectively with Community Problems
Prof. Herbert J. Gans, Teachers College, Columbia University; author of the Urban Villagers

C. Organizing the Ghetto
Horace Sheffield, Vice-President, Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Michigan

D. Alienation in Urban Life
Harvey Swados, author, Nights in the Gardens of Brooklyn, The Web

V. A Critical Evaluation of Modern Ideologies relevant to the Civil Rights Movement -- April 4-5

A. Ideology and the Soviet Union
Prof. Alex Garber, Dept. of Sociology, University of Colorado

B. Pacifism, Non-Violence, Christian and Utopian Socialism
Prof. Martin Fleisher

*C. Negro Prose and Poetry
Prof. Sterling Brown, English Department, Howard University; co-editor, The Negro Caravan

D. The American Free Enterprise System vs. Democratic Socialism: A Debate
Murray Weisz, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Labor
Prof. Alex Garber

E. A Non-Ideological View of Social Progress
Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers of America

# THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES

## Course Outline

1. The African Background
   - The continent, people and history
   - The Africa Europe discovered (15th-16th centuries)
   - The slave trade: Africa and America
   - The African heritage

2. The Slavery System (1607-1860)
   - The economics of slavery
   - The north-south division (17th and 18th century)
   - Social and political aspects of the Slave State (post cotton-gin south)

3. The Negro in Emerging America (1700-1830)
   - The first free Negroes
   - Early slave revolts
   - The development of institutions
   - Colonization

4. The Negro in the Freedom Movements (1830-1865)
   - Abolition
   - The Civil War
   - (Colonization)

5. Reconstruction and Counter-revolution (1865-1900)
   - The Negro Role in Reconstruction
   - Education
   - The post-slavery economy of the South
   - The post-war position of the northern Negro

6. Emergence of the new South (1877-1900)
   - Booker T. Washington
   - The Terror and the Nadir
   - Alexander Crummell and the intellectual movement

7. The new Freedom Movement (1900-1920)
   - Niagara and NAACP
   - The World War I exodus
   - The economics of race

8. The Development of Negro Nationalism (1920-1930)
   - Roots of Nationalism (Bruce)
   - The Garvey Movement
   - The Harlem Renaissance
   - Nonchurch institutions; new structure of Negro community
   - The South in the Twenties

9. Depression and New Deal (1930-1940)
   - The Role of Government
   - Mass Industry, Industrial Unions, and the Negro
   - Beginning of Political Influence

10. World War II and After (1940-1960)
    - The first March on Washington Movement (FEPC)
    - Segregation and the Armed Forces
    - The Four Freedoms at Home
    - 1954: high point of economic advance; Supreme Court decision
    - The Civil Rights Revolution

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(to be continued)

Freedom Schools

Elementary Grades Curriculum

May 18, 1964

| | |
|---|---|
| 9:30 - 10:15 | Academic Instruction (see separate sheet) |
| 10:15 - 10:45 | Game Period |
| 10:45 | Juice and cookies |
| 11:00 | Informal Activities<br>Stories<br>Skits and dramatizations<br>What we will do in the AAssembly<br>Songs |
| 12:15 - 1:00 | Lunch Period |
| 1:00 - 2:00 | Art Work<br>Painting and murals<br>Puppets<br>Preparation for the Assembly |
| 2:00 - 2:45 | Assembly<br>Group singing<br>Recitations |
| 2:50 | School Dismissed<br>Return to Moravian Church for after-school program, or go home from Moravian Church |

March for Democratic Schools
312 W 125th st.
MO 6-9662

FREEDOM SCHOOLS
ELEMENTARY
Teachers Guide

GAMES (ages 5 through 8)

1. Indian Chief. One child leaves group, group sits in circle Indian fashion. Indian chief is chosen and leads group in a series of motions, changing them frequently. Child who is "it" returns and tries to find Indian Chief by close observation of motions of group.

2. A Lost Child One child leaves the group. He is the policeman. Second child is selected to be the lost child, group and leader taking note of child's appearance. Policeman returns to the group. Teacher asks policeman to find lost child. He asks, 1) Is it a boy or a girl ? 2) What is the child wearing. After receiving infprmation he tries to find child.

3. Color Tag. One child leaves group. Teacher chooses three or four other children and pins each of these with different colored paper. "It" returns and tries to determine colors worn by each child.(nore:colors are pinned to children's backs)by maneuvering around. Cildren face each other- no hands permitted.

4. Cat and Rat One child chosen to be rat in center of circle. Second child, a cat, is putside circle. The rest of children jpin hands and form a circle. Cat chases rat in and out of circle and tries to catch him. Circle must drop hands to allow rat to move freely, but must try to keep cat away from rat.

5. Skip Tag Group forms circle,one child skips around circle, taps another child on shoulder and returns to his place. This continues with other children.

6. Simon Says Teacher is the leader in this game.Children obeying orders not preceded by "Simon Says" are out.

7. Traditional Circle Games "Skip To My Lou","Looby Lou", "A Lassie".

DRAMATIZATIONS (ages 5, 6, )

1. Finger and Song Plays
   Thumkin
   Eentsy weentsy spider
   Ten little Indians
   Let everyone join in the game
   The wheels of the bus go round and round
   This little boy
2. Nursery rhymes for singing and dramatization-
   e.g., Little Miss Muffett, Jack and Jill-, Humpty Dumpty

3. Familiar stories, told by teacher-dramatized by children
   Little Red Riding Hood
   Babes in the Wood
   Hansel and Gretel
   African folktales (for those that have this resource)

4. Role playing by children
   Children act out what they like to do, what they want to be. Others guess.

ACADEMIC INSTRUCTION

First three grades

A. Reading and writing
Prepare account of what has happened so far today, and what will happen. Use this as basis of reading lesson. (Who can read the story? Which words do you know? What words start the same way, etc.)

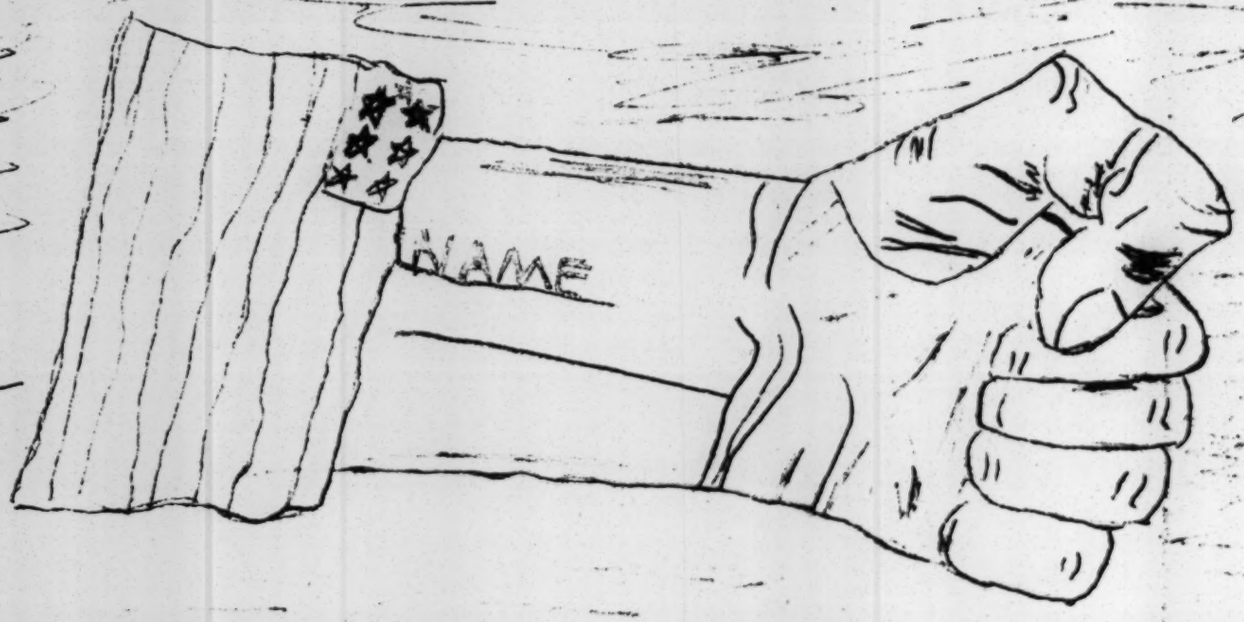
Grades 4 through 6

Individual children write stories about meaning of day, what kind of a school they would like to study in, and what they would like to have arpund them that they do not have (note: keep stories expressive)

B. Word GamesWrite a big word on blackboard (or paper). Have children find the little words in the big word. (all grades)

C. Arithmetic Any activity, oral or written, that is appropiate to the level of the group.

# FREEdom




# SONG BOOK

SONG

Hushabye
Don't you cry
Go to sleepy little baby
When you wake
You shall have
All the pretty little horses.
Blacks and bays
Dapples and greys,
Coach-a- six s little horses.
Hushabye,
Don't you cry,
Go to sleepy little baby.

Hushabye
Don't you cry
Go to sleepy little baby.
Way down yonder
In the meadow
Lies a poor little lambie,
The bees and the butterflies
Peckin' out his eyes,
Poor little thing cries Mammy!
Hushabye
Don't you cry
Go to sleepy little baby

Hashabye
Don't you cry
Go to sleepy little baby.
When you wake
You shall have
All the pretty little horses
Blacks and bays
Dapples and greys
Coach-a-six-a little horses
Hushabye,
Don't you cry
Go to sleepy little baby.

## SKIP TO MY LOU

Little red wagon painted blue (3 times)
Skp to my Lou, my darling

refrain Lou, lou, skip to my lou (3 times)
Skip to my lou my darling.

Pull her up and down in the little red wagon (3)
Skp to my lou my darling refrain

Pig in the parlor, what'll I do? (3)
Skip to my lou my darling (refrain)

Cat in the buttermilk, lapping up cream (3)
Skp to my lou my darling refrain

Skip, skip, skp to my lou (3)
Skp to my lou my darling

Skip a little faster that won't do (3)
Skp to my lou my darling.

Lost my partner, what'll I do (3)
Skip to my lou my darling.

I'll get another one preetier than you (3)
Skip to my lou my darling.

## HUSH LITTLE BABY

Hush little baby, don't say a word
Papa's gonna buy you a mocking bird

And if that mocking bird won't sing
Poppa's gonna buy you a diamond ring.

If that diamond ring turn to brass
Poppa's gonna buy you a looking glass
If that looking glass get's broke
Poppa's gonna buy you a billy goat.
If that billy goat won't pull.
Poppa's gonna buy you a cart and bull.
If that cart and bull turn over.
Poppa's gonna buy you a dog named Rover.
If that dog named Rover won't bark,
Poppa's gonna buy you a horse and cart
If that horse and cart fall down,
You'll still be the prettiest little baby in town.

Hush little baby, don't you cry, etc.

# NO MORE AUCTION BLOCK

SONG

No more auction block for me,
No more, no more
No more auction block for me,
Many thousands gone.

No more pint of salt for me,
No more, no more,
No more pint of salt for me
Many thousands gone.

No more driver's lash for me,
No more, no more,
No more driver's lash for me
Many thousands gone.

IMPROVISE

No more Jim Crow school for me- etc.

## BILLY BARLOW
(Harlem Hunting Song)

Let's go a hunting, said Risky Rob,
Let's go a hunting, said Robin to Bob,
Let's go a hunting, said Dan'l to Jo,
Let's go a hunting said Billy Barlow

What shall we hunt for? said Risky Bob,
What shall we hunt for? Said Robin to Bob,
What shall we hunt for? said Dan'l to Jo,
Hunt for a rat said Billy Barlow

How shall we kill him? etc.
Borrow a gun, said Billy Barlow

How shall we haul him? etc.
Borrow a wagon said Billy Barlow.

How shall we divide him, etc.
Borrow a knife, said Billy Barlow.

I'll take shoulder, said Risky Rob
I'll cut sides, said Robin to Bob
I'll chop leg said Dan'l to Jo,
Tailbone mine said Billy Barlow.

How shall we cook him? etc.
Over a fire said Billy Barlow.

I'll broil shoulder, said Risky Rob,
I'll fry sides, said Robin to Bob,
I'll roast leg, said Dan'l to Jo,
Tailbone raw, said Billy Barlow.

## Jimmy Rose

Jimmy Rose he went to town,
Jimmy Rose he went to town,
Jimmy Rose he went to town,
To 'commodate the ladies.

Fare ye well ye ladies all,
Fare ye well ye ladies all,
Fare ye well ye ladies all,
God Ermighty bless you.

(3)

# BLUE TAIL FLY

When I was young I used to wait
On master and give him his plate,
And pass the bottle when he got dry
And brush away the blue- tail fly.

chorus Jimmy crack corn and I don't care,
Jimmy crack corn, and I don't care,
Jimmy crack corn and I don't care,
The master's gone away.

And when he'd ride in the afternoon,
I'd follow after with a hickory broom.
The pony being rather shy
When bitten by the blue-tail fly

chorus
One day he ride around the farm.
The flies so numerous they did swarm,
One chanced to bite him on the thigh,
The devil take the blue-tail fly!

chorus
The pony run, he jump, he pitch,
He flung my master in the ditch.
He dies and the jury wondered why,
The verdict was the blue-tail fly

chorus

They laid him under a 'simmon tree,
His epitaph is there to see,
"Beneath this tree I'm forced to lie,
Victim of the blue-tail fly".

chorus

## Aunt Rhody

Go tell Aunt Rhody
Go tell Aunt Rhody
Go tell Aunt Rhody
That the old grey goose is dead

The one she's been saving (3)
To make a feather bed.

She died in the millpond (3)
A standing on her head.

The goslings are crying (3)
Because their mammy's dead

Go tell Aunt Rhody etc.

## Michael Row the Boat Ashore

Michael, row the boat ashore
Hallelujah,
Michael row the boat ashore, Hallelujah,

Michael's boat a gospel boat, etc.

Then you'll hear the trumpet sound, etc.

Trumpetsound the world around etc.

Trumpet sound for you and me, etc.

Trumpet sound for rich and poor, etc.

Trumpet sound the jubilee

Michael row the boat ashore, etc.

## I'M ON MY WAY

I'm on my way and I won't turn back (three times)
I'm on my way, Great God I'm on my way.
I'm on my way to freedom land (three times)
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.
I asked my brother to come with me (three times)
I'm on my way, Great God I'm on my way.
If you won't go, don't hinder me (three times)
I'm on my way, Great God I'm on my way.
I'm on my way, and I won't turn back (three times)
I'm on my way, Great God, I'm on my way.

(4)

## O Freedom

Oh, freedom, oh freedom,
Oh freedom over me,

refrain And before I'll be a slave,
I'll be buried in my grave,
And go home to my Lord, and be free.

No more mourning, no more mourning,
No more mourning over me,

refrain

No more weeping, no more weeping,
No more weeping over me,

refrain

(5)

## Hallelujah I'm Travelling

1 Stand up and rejoice: a greaat day is here,
We're fighting Jim Crow and the victory is near.

chorus Hallelujah I'm a travellin'
Hallelujah ain't it fine,
Hallelujah I'm a travellin'
Down freedom's main line.

2 The judges declared in Wasington Town
"The white folks must take that ole Jim Crow sign down"

chorus

3 I'm paying my fare on the Greyhound Bus line
I'm riding the front seat to Nashville this time.

chorus

4 Columbia's the gem of the ocean they say
We're fighting Jim Crow in Columbia today.

chorus

5 I hate Jim Crow and Jim Crow hates me
And that's why I'm fighting for my liberty.

chorus

6 We're going to school at a quarter to nine,
There'll be black and white children together this time.

chorus

7 We've been marching for hours and we'll march for days,
Till Jim Crow has flown off and equality stays.

chorus

(6)

MARCHING SONG OF THE FIRST ARKANSAS (COLORED) REGIMENT

tune: John Brown's Body

Oh, we're the bully soldiers of the "First of Arkansas",
We are fighting for the union, we are fighting for the law,
We can hit a Rebel further than a white man ever saw,
As we go marching one.

Glory, glory halleljah,
Glory, glory, halleljah,
Glory, glory halleljah,
As we go marching one.

See, there above the center, where the flag is waving bright,
We are going out of slavery we're bound for freedom's light
We mean to show Jeff Davis how the Africans can fight,
As we go marching on!
Glory, glory halleljah etc.

We have done with hoeing cotton, we have done with hoeing corn,
We are colored Yankee soldiers now as sure as you are born
When the masters hear us yelling, they'll think it's Gabriel's horn,
As we go marching on.
Glory, glory halleljah etc.

They will have to pay us wages, the wages of their sin,,
They will have to bow their foreheads to their colored kith and kin,
They will have to give us house--room or the roof shall tumble in!
As we go marching on.
Glory, glory halleljah etc.

(7)

# PICK a BALE of COTTON

chorus

O lawdy, pick a bale o' cotton
O lawdy, pick a bale a day
O lawdy, pick a bale o' cotton
O lawdy, pick a bale a day.

1

You got to jump down turn around
Pick a bale o' cotton,
You got to jump down turn around
Pick a bale a day

chorus

2

A me an' my wife can
Pick a bale o' cotton
A me an' my wife can
Pick a bale a day.

chorus

3

A me an' my girl can
Pick a bale o' cotton,
A me an' my girl can
Pick a bale a day.

chorus

4

A me an' my friend can
Pick a bale o' cotton,
A me an' my friend can
Pick a bale a day.

chorus

5

A me an' my pappa can
Pick a bale o' cotton,
A me an' my pappa can
Pick a bale a day.

chorus

6

You got to jump down turn around
Pick a bale o' cotton,
You got to jump down turn around
Pick a bale a day.

chorus

(8)

# O Mary

chorus
O Mary don't you weep don't you mourn,
O Mary don't you weep don't you mourn,
Pharoah's army got drownded,
O Mary don't you weep.

1
If I could I surely would
Stand on the rock where Moses stood,
Pharoah's army got drownded,
O Mary don't you weep.

chorus

2
One of these nights around twelve o'clock
This old world's gonna reel and rock
Pharoah's army got drownded,
O Mary don't you weep.

chorus

3
When I get to Heaven, going to sing and shout,
Nobody there for to turn me out,
Pharoah's army got drownded,
O Mary don't you weep.

chorus

# GOODBYE OLD PAINT

refrain

Goodbye, old Paint,
I'm a-leaving Cheyenne
Goodbye old Paint,
I'm a-leaving Cheyenne.

1. I'm a-riding old Paint
I'm a leading old Fan,
Goodbye little Annie,
I'm off to Cheyenne

refrain

2. Oh, hitch up your horses,
And feed them some hay,
And seat yourself by me
As long as you stay

refrain

3. My horses ain't hungry
They'll not eat your hay
My wagon is loaded
And rolling away.

refrain

IMPROVISE

files

(10)

Have my references
Clna 6-5-
(Fri).
Fri morn ready

CLEVELAND C.O.R.E
1740 CRAWFORD RD.
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

THERE ARE TWO GROUPS OF QUESTIONS WHICH, IF POSSIBLE, SHOULD BE ANSWERED BEFORE EMBARKING ON AN ACTION CAMPAIGN FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

I) THE ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE VERY USEFUL IN DRAWING COMMUNITY ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL SEGREGATION. MOST IMPORTANT, THEY WILL DRAMATIZE THE SITUATION FOR THE NEGRO COMMUNITY AND ITS SUPPORTERS.

1. What is the racial distribution, school by school, of pupils, teachers, and administrative staff? In good sized cities this information generally reveals fairly rigid segregation on all three levels.
2. What are the pupil-teacher ratios, school by school? Here again, usually there is more crowding in predominantly Negro schools.
3. What are the achievement levels, school by school? Usually the levels of pupils in predominantly Negro schools lags anywhere from one to three years behind those of most white schools.
4. What % of high school students drop-out before graduation, school by school? What % go on to college or stable employment after graduation? Usually the drop-out rate is higher, and the employment and college rate lower, in predominantly Negro schools.

Although usually this information must be obtained from the school administration, it is not an impossible task. Often it is possible to secure it by arranging a conference between school officials and either a National CORE staff person, or some other outside consultant. Sometimes school officials will offer it to local civil rights workers, upon request. Otherwise, if officials resist, it is useful to demand that the information be made public. Since it is not in any way secret, this at least will embarass school officials. IF THE INFORMATION IS SECURED, EXPERIENCE SHOWS IT CAN BE MOST EFFECTIVELY DRAMATIZED BY RELEASE THROUGH A SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE, SHORTLY PRECEDING THE PRESENTATION OF C.O.R.E PROGRAMS FOR DESEGREGATION.

II) WHILE ANSWERS TO THE ABOVE ARE USEFUL IN DEVELOPING PROGRAMS AND PROPOSALS, IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO KNOW, IF POSSIBLE, WHAT -- IF ANYHTING -- IS BEING DONE TO REMEDY THE SITUATION.

1. How much is spent per pupil per year?
2. Are there any programs in compensatory education already established? ( i.e. reading readiness, tutorials, homework centers, remedial programs, etc.)
3) What efforts, if any, have been made to develop a building program designed to desegregate?
4) What efforts to desegregate pupils and teachers in existing facilities?

5. Are teaching materials "integrated"? Do they reflect racial and ethnic differences, and the facts of big-city life?

6. What sort of ability and achievement tests are used? (Most ability tests presently in use seriously discriminate against Negro and other minority group youth).

7. Is there an established ability track system used, based on these test scores?

8. What efforts have been made to intensify vocational and other guidance, to encourage Negro youth?

ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS WILL GIVE A GENERAL IDEA OF HOW MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE.

Program development is of great importance. There is, in city school systems, almost no interest in or sensitivity to the problems of segregation. There is little idea of how to remedy the situation, even if the will to do it exists. This throws a large burden on the shoulders of civil rights groups. We cannot merely say " Set the existing situation straight", without pinpointing what is wrong, and indicating how it can be remedied. In fighting the education battle we need to educate both the educators and the community. . . and that is the role of program.

If we can be of any help, please call or write.

David Cohen
Education chairman
Cleveland CORE

file Remedial Educ.

DEC 5 1963

1/10

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA FILMS INC.
WILMETTE, ILLINOIS

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

December 3, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Further, in line with the conversation we had a short time ago, I just ran across the attached material on documentary films relating to the non-violent movement. I just wrote the attached to Dick Kaplan, the producer, and he may be in touch with you soon.

Sincerely,

Charles Benton

Charles Benton
Vice President,
Marketing

CBjk
c.c.
Dick Kaplan
W.Everote
M.Herzog

w/ leaflets to Val
1/13/64

December 3, 1963

Mr. Richard Kaplan
8 Capri Drive
Spring Valley, New York

Dear Dick:

This is a belated answer to your letter of a couple of months ago, but if you have not already been in touch with Jim Farmer, of CORE, about your proposed documentary, "Thanks for Nothing" this may give you an in. Incidentally, how is your project coming?

Sincerely,

Charles Benton
Vice President,
Marketing

CBjk
c.c.
c.c.
W.Everote
M.Herzog

Remedial Ed Inc

ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS INSTITUTE

JUNE 10, 1964

BY JOSEPH O. LORETAN
Deputy Superintendent of Schools
New York City Board of Education

I am very pleased to have been invited to address you today. Much of the time I have spent in my new position as the Deputy Superintendent in charge of Curriculum and Research has been occupied with the whole area of communication and instructional materials.

I started my career as a history teacher and, although I make no claims to being an historian, I have an everlasting interest in and, I hope, a bit of a sense of history. Inherent in the study of history is the ability to look back, to synthesize, to evaluate, and then, on the basis of facts, to move forward.

At one time communication was solely a verbal medium. The minstrel, the jongleur, was the talking textbook. Then, as pictures and letters were developed to represent events and sounds, the scribe and scriptorium became necessary. The advent of the Gutenberg Bible in the 15th century marked the beginnings of the facility for large scale linear learning. However, it wasn't until a century later, with the surge of the Renaissance and the development of national language, that the presses really began to fulfill their promise.

We have moved far from the recorder, the scribe, far from the early press and its "limited editions." We have moved into an era in which we are committed to mass education. For that reason, the publishing of materials for education has become one of the major industries in this country. One of your own colleagues, William Jovanovich (President of Harcourt, Brace & World), stated in a recent article in The Saturday Review:

> Given this tradition of attempting to educate the whole of society, which in the past decade has been intensified for reasons of international competition, the American publisher can anticipate an almost unlimited market for educational books. It seems likely that this market will grow at a rate of 15 per cent a year during the next decade, far faster than the rate of population growth.

Now what does this imply? To me it says that more than ever before educators must tell publishers what the needs of education are--both general and specific. It is the responsibility of educators to "project"-- to anticipate curriculum, to say to publishers, "We are moving in this direction." It is not fair to spring our curriculum on publishers and then say that because the materials aren't ready that the publishers are dragging their feet. On the other hand, I hope the time is over when publishers say to me, "But it takes five years to write and produce a book." Ladies and gentlemen, in these days of exploding knowledge, five months can make a curriculum obsolete.

What else does it mean? It means that publishers must throw away the vestiges

of being printers. Educational publishers must be in the vangard of research; they must keep up with our changing society and as a team with educators produce the best instructional materials in the world.

Today's theme--Books for Disadvantaged Students--disturbs me for two reasons. One is, isn't it late? Haven't we been dragging our feet? Doesn't the statement "disadvantaged" imply after the fact? If we had been more alert to all segments of our population these past 100 years, would we now have to gather here today to discuss this problem? The second reason that the theme disturbs me is the implication that books for the disadvantaged must be "different." Different in what way? It is the lack of differentiation that disturbs me.

Disadvantaged is a negative term--the lack or absence of advantage--as simple and as complex as that. Unlike the term disenfranchised, when a person can look forward to the time his franchise will be returned, a disadvantaged youngster just never had it; there is nothing to return. It is just a vacuum. The need of the disadvantaged youngster is the same as the need of the advantaged. We want to move these youngsters from the "have nots" to the "haves." Now, in terms of instructional materials, then, we must give them everything that the "advantaged" youngster has. We must never think in terms of watering down, simplifying, adapting. Instead, we must enrich, motivate, entice, excite. This is the charge for books for all children, but the disadvantaged youngster needs the books faster and he needs more of them. The vacuum must be opened and filled.

At a recent meeting of the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement, a report was made on the policies and procedures for the selection of textbooks in great cities. Three major recommendations were made: that there be

(1) Reference in content and illustration to representatives of all elements of society;

(2) Reference in content to problems and conditions of all levels and classes of society;

(3) Reference in content to our American heritage and values of the American way of life.

Let us now look at the criteria for educational materials for all children--the advantaged and the disadvantaged. Children should start where they are. They should start from meaningful material. Children in urban areas should be introduced to reading concepts that they can understand, that they see around them. This is nothing new; it is as old as Dewey. Now, fifty years later, some readers are emerging using city concepts. However, let us not forget that education seeks not only to help us understand our present environment; we must move on to discover new things. Let us not get into the rut of producing solely urban readers to replace suburban readers. Developing reading power by starting in familiar surroundings is merely a "jump off" point, a springboard.

Children should be helped to see America as it is, a combination of all races and creeds. They should see this pictorially as well as in the content of the text.

Once again, we must make up for the lag.

Above all, the content of our books should be accurate. The author is a "middle man" between the original document or fact and the audience for whom he writes. This has become a dangerous "no man's land." For in this transition from fact to printed word, some things have been getting lost; some things are misrepresented. We are guilty of omissions as well as commission. Authors tell me that publishers state that the truth doesn't sell in some parts of the country. How can we establish real value concepts in the hearts and minds of the children if we cannot present honest, balanced material in the day-to-day instruction going on in the schools? If all the publishers worked in unison on this approach, there would be no books except worthwhile ones to select from.

Lastly, we must fill this vacuum with as many good books as we can. This places a responsbility on both of us, the publishers and the educators. As a school system we must speed up, extend, and liberalize our textbook practices; you, in turn, must not outprice yourselves. The heavier, the glossier, the more colorful the books, the more expensive they become. We cannot afford it--just as simple as that. If you are sincere in wanting to fill the gap for disadvantaged youngsters, do not make it impossible for us to provide these children with books. As we produce packets of texts accompanied with records, filmstrips, movies, and programmed materials, there should be less need for elaborate pictorialization in texts.

Now, having stated some (certainly not all) important goals for better educational materials, I would like to go on to what we have done in New York City this past year, both for the professional staff and the pupils, in order to move toward these goals. At the same time, I will stress your responsibility to these new directions. I trust this is one of the reasons you invited me to speak to you today.

For the first time, teachers' reference books may be purchased on an off-list basis, replacing the policy of central appraisal and listing. The purpose of this is to allow teachers and supervisors to purchase those books for their professional libraries that they (and not a central office committee) find useful for on-going and changing departmental, school, and district programs. Professional books for teachers must be concurrent with, if not ahead of, pupil materials.

Now that we have taken this step, it is the responsibility of book publishers to bring to the attention of the schools the most current professional books available in all areas connected with education.

Secondly, on February 3, 1964, all schools were sent a basic list of books on various minority groups to be used in the school libraries. Every school was asked, regardless of ethnic composition, to have such a collection for teachers as well as students. All students are to be directed to read these books.

Again, we have taken this step; now it is the responsibility, as I see it, of book publishers to see that such books are written by competent scholars so that they will become available for use in our libraries. Should we not have more books available

to students on Peter Salam, Phillis Wheatley, Benjamin Bauneker? This leads me to a brief discussion, and one very close to the interests of our schools, of the treatment of minorities in textbooks.

In a policy statement, the Superintendent of Schools indicated that he would recommend only those instructional materials which were in accord with the stated educational objectives of the Board of Education. Those objectives include a realistic and sympathetic account, both in text and illustrations, of the role of minority groups in our culture, both past and present. Wtihin the last year, two meetings have been held with publishers at which this matter has been discussed.

In order to bring to our schools the most recently published texts treating the role of minorities, an accelerated program of review and listing was initiated last January. As a result of this, at the end of February I submitted to the Board of Education for their formal approval a list of social science textbooks that presented constructively the role of minorities in our history and culture. This, of course, was in addition to books which had already appeared on the official list of approved textbooks. I do not mean to give the impression that no books have ever been written that treat the role of the minority accurately, but I must say at this important meeting today that <u>few</u> books have fallen into this category.

We also have the problem of books <u>already</u> listed and currently in use in the schools. Many of these are in need of up-dating and revision in order to help the pupil to understand civil rights issues from an historical and contemporary view point. If these books are not up-dated and improved by the time they are ready for relisting, they will not be included among the books available for use in New York City.

A special problem involves books listed some time ago but in need of revision. On May 1st of this year, I called a meeting of publishers of books to discuss contracts that are <u>not</u> currently expiring. Many of these books do not meet our current criteria demanding an expanded discussion of the role of minorities. I proposed at this meeting that publishers consider the immediate preparation and publication of special supplements for social studies texts. These supplements should include current material on civil rights questions and the role of minority groups in our culture.

I see it as the moral responsibility of book publishers to comply, to the best of their ability, with this request. At this time, I would like to say that I have received phone calls and letters from almost every publisher who came to the May 1st meeting saying that they will be providing this temporary supplement.

This year, for the first time, a revised policy has been initiated in the ordering of paperbound materials. Principals of schools may spend 5% of the money allocated by the school for textbooks for the purchasing of paperbound materials. These books can be purchased off-list, thus giving the principals tremendous leeway in the selection of books appropriate to the needs of their schools. I am hoping that we may be able to increase this figure of 5% next year, since I consider this only the beginning.

Therefore, I would consider it the responsibility of textbook publishers to make certain that paperbound books meet the high educational standards set by our school

system and that nothing be lost "in binding."

A departure has been taken by our school system this year in the preparation of pupil materials for new courses of study. The new junior high school course of study in science, when introduced in September 1964, will be accompanied by pupil materials written specifically for this course of study by Lyons and Carnahan. By working cooperatively with textbook publishers, we will be able for the first time to introduce custom-made pupil materials concurrently with a new course of study. This takes us out of the publishing business and puts publishing where it should be, in the hands of responsible, professional publishers; and, furthermore, it eliminates the surprise element I spoke of earlier in this paper--that of asking the publishers to supply pupil materials for a curriculum they have never seen. In addition, programed materials in reading developed by the New York City staff have been awarded to Charles E. Merrill and Company for national as well as New York City distribution. In the process of being sent out to bid are biographies of local heroes and adult education materials. Royalties from these programs will be assigned to a special fund for further research and development of curriculum materials.

I have just sketched for you some of the changes that have taken place within this past school year. Now for the future. We are aiming at more frequent listing of books, perhaps even continual listing through issuing supplements to our textbook lists.

We are re-evaluating our criteria for selection of books, with the purpose of being less restrictive and more liberal. Teachers should have the opportunity of using new, experimental materials as soon as they are published. We will never relinquish our standards of accuracy, scholarship, and quality, but that should not preclude "new materials."

We plan to extend the use of paperbacks in our schools. There may be some doubt as to whether they are sound investments financially, but we must ask ourselves if they will encourage children to read. Parents and students are for them; teachers and textbook publishers are less so. We are not building factories; we are building minds and citizens.

You know, it is interesting to watch the educational pendulum in action. It is constantly in motion. The uncertain person jumps on and becomes part of the momentum; a sober person watches and becomes part of the axle. I have watched the pendulum swing. About ten years or so ago, many people felt that the printed word had lost its place in communication and had given way to the television screen. I remember educators, yes educators, saying to me, "Why in ten years children won't be learning from books. All they'll have to do is turn on the television set." There are those, if you recall, who put whole subjects on television. In a very small study I did about five years ago, I found one school system (and I am sure there was more than one) that spent more money on television equipment, telecasting, and making filmstrips than they spent on buying books. This is what I meant by jumping on the pendulum. And we do it so quickly, I am sorry to say, in education. It should not be the case of one medium replacing another; it must be that of one complimenting and supplementing the other. Educational materials should be a combination of all that is effective in

all media. We must look toward a broader view of educational materials.

Austin McCaffrey has made great strides in calling attention to a revolution in the textbook industry that will require massive changes and a great deal of time and money to satisfy new textbook needs. In his words: "People are not only surging to the metropolitan areas, but 96% of the population growth is taking place in only 14 of our largest cities." In addition, he has called for continuing use of new research on subject matter. Publishers are now working with educators on finding a common denominator of knowledge in English and the social studies. He also wants to see research conducted on the make-up of textbooks. More and more textbooks will be "audiovisual," combined with films and filmstrips. Publishers are developing materials for programed learning and ETV "in substantial quantity."

I am a practical man. I know publishers need to produce textbooks that will sell--sell in sufficient numbers so that publishers will not only recover their investment costs but also a reasonable profit. These are the economic facts that all groups must face. On the other hand, school people want publishers to produce books at a fair price that effectively meet the needs of both students and teachers. The problem, then, is for publishers to publish texts which satisfy the educational needs of school people and which will sell in sufficient quantity to provide publishers with a reasonably fair profit. I believe tin the present climate of this country that the two are not incompatible.

Finally, I would like to inject a personal note. For this past year I have worked very closely with publishers and their representatives. At no time have I detected anything but the most genuine concern for improving the quality of educational materials. I know that some of my requests have incurred hardships from the point of view of creating new materials, revising old ones, and meeting deadlines. In all of these instances, I have met with the utmost of cooperation.

I want to thank you most warmly for inviting me today, and I hope that as New York City continues to extend and liberalize its textbook practices that you, in turn, will continue to work cooperatively with us.

Excerpts from: ACCELERATED PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING PROGRAM

by Dr. E Terry Schwarz

BANK STREET COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
216 West 14th Street, New York 11, N.Y.

September 29, 1964

From June 4 to August 30, Bank Street College provided consultative services for a pilot project in which the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program by Dr. Myron Woolman was made available to approximately 2oo high school dropouts in New York City. ....

1. The program is designed so that any lay, literate, intelligent person can guide an illiterate or inadequately literate person through the program. There is no need for professional personnel. This factor makes the program especially attractive, because it would make it possible for a community to provide its own remedial services.

2. In its present form, the programmed materials could be produced at a very minimal cost which makes a wide distribution more possible. ....

Of the participants, only 20 dropped out of the program. Of that number, ten dropped out of one group. The high dropout rate in this group lead to a very interesting insight which should be a guide in the selection of future instructors. The instructor often seemed to be the stereotype of the directive, authoritative teacher. Her teaching style would not allow the programmed materials to be used as specified. The self-pacing, self-initiative factors which are crucial were rarely permitted to function. Instead, the group as a whole were subjected to excessive drill and didactic teaching of phonics, grammar and spelling. ....

In summary, the attendance pattern of the participants revealed deep motivation for learning to read in a society which deems the symbolic skills crucial. ....

The observed reactions of students to the program were overwhelmingly positive....It is not overstating to say that almost every youngster at some time finished a book toward the end of an instructional period and was asked if he wanted to stop or go on. The decisions were unanimously in favor of continuing immediately. In one group, where instruction was on a one to one basis and in three hour blocks of time, the students wouldn't take a break and tutors finally would ask for one. ....

If the reading program could be built into some total life program for dropouts, for which they would be paid an adequate salary, there would be more possibility of success. Most of the students came from poverty-stricken areas. They were pressured at home to get a job and contribute to their impoverished families. Even those participants who wanted to stay in the program were constantly taunted by family and peers with the fact that they weren't earning any money. ....

-ooOoo-

The above was extracted by the
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York, New York

# THE ACCELERATED PROGRESSIVE CHOICE PROGRAM

Name of Student:

Reading Pre-test Score:

Reading Post-test Score:

Social Effectiveness Score:

I.Q. Score: (Test used_____; group( )
individual( )

Speech: Does student speak English well? yes( ) no ( )

Does student speak another language? yes( ) no ( )

Which language?

Does language seem to hamper his reading progress? yes( ) no ( )

In what way:

Other Data:

Beginning date in reading program:

Ending date in reading program:

Usual weekly schedule of instruction:

| Morning ( ) | Afternocn ( ) | Evening ( ) |
|---|---|---|
| Hours: | Hours: | Hours: |

Cycle I Checkout Score _____

Cycle II Checkout Score _____

Cycle III Checkout Score _____

July, 1964

# EVALUATION SHEET

1. Check books in which students are now working

| Cycle I | Cycle II | Cycle III |
|---|---|---|
| Book 1 | Book 7 | Book 12 |
| 2 | 8 | 13 |
| 3 | 9 | 14 |
| 4 | 10 | 15 |
| 5 | 11 | 16 |
| 6 | | |

2. Have there been any drop outs during this period? Number _____. Why did drop outs occur?

3. Comment on the response of students to material they are now using. Mention any problems you are encountering in the instructional process.

4. Identify any problems in the reading materials (errors, poor instructions, etc.)

Other Comments: (Optional)

October 21, 1964
Meeting with Alan Cohen
Mobilization for Youth

I met with Alan Cohen for an hour and a half today to hear his views on Dr. Woolman's method, which MFY has been using on an experimental basis. MFY began using the APC program in the spring of 1964 with seven Spanish speaking adolescents. To date they have instructed approximately one hundred.n Mr. Cohen feels that although this method is not the panacea that we had hoped, it is extremely effective, and because it is set up as a "package" and can be programmed to fit specific needs it is the most practical method available.

As for the BPC, Mr. Cohen feels that it is not as effective as the Columbia Teachers College Program by Robert and Virginia Allen.

Some points made by Mr. Cohen:

1. At the end of cycle 1 the student cannot really read, but he does have good basic skills. It is only after the completion of cycle 1 (about 100 hours) that it would be worthwhile programming the readers in any special direction.

2. Since there is such a great deal of literature available on African culture and history of the Negro in America (and for all age levels) he feels that it would be wasteful to include these subjects in the readers. Suggested employability and voter registration.

3. He thinks it unwise to try to go through the Board of Education because of the red tape involved, but they do intend to have the program in one local public school. Suggested using community centers, churches, etc.

4. Thinks that South Jersey would be an excellent area in which to start a literacy program. Suggested contacting Mr. Jim Kimple, Superintendent of the South Brunswick Township School System. (He mentioned using Rutgers students as volunteer teachers.)

5. Mr. Cohen wishes CORE would go into some sort of Higher Horizons program for ptential college students.

Nancy Mitarelli

OCT 2 2 1964

16244 Birwood
Detroit 21, Michigan
October 20, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Ralph asked me to look over the Woolman APC proposal. I did this, and I also asked Jack Herkerl, a colleague of mine, to make some observations.

First, I should explain that I work at Hawthorn Center, a children's psychiatric hospital, in Northville. Our director, Ralph Rabinovitch, has always put a heavy emphasis on educational problems, especially reading. Consequently, I have seen and worked with a number of children with severe reading problems. However, I am not specifically trained in the area of remedial reading. Jack Heckerl, on the other hand, is the director of our reading clinic, and is quite sophisticated in the field. The comments that I have to make represent both my own and Jack's thinking.

The project looks feasible on the face of it. Certainly the people whom Woolmen indicates have supported the idea are reputable. The phonic approach that Woolman utilizes in his program has been found to be effective in teaching reading.

Woolman, on page 6 of his proposal, says that the program "was designed to provide an 8th grade reading level within 300 hours of instruction." However, as far as I can see, Woolman has presented no evidence that this goal is a realistic one. On page 5, nine pilot studies are listed. Appendices A-3 and A-4 apparently report the results obtained in two of these (No. 1, Washington Action for Youth and No. 6, D.C. Public School System).

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

October 20, 1964

The first study includes only eight subjects, with great variation in the number of hours of instruction each learner received (none over 78 hours), and great variation in mean reading improvement. For instance, the student receiving the greatest number of instructional hours made a below average (and probably non-significant statistically) gain in reading level, whereas the student receiving the least amount of time, made an above average improvement.

The second study (Pitts-Payne, D.C. Public School System) is not very clearly reported. (E.g., I do not understand just how many subjects were included.) At any rate, they received only 45 hours of instruction.

There is no reason to believe that just because the average student makes a certain gain in the first 40 hours that he will continue to improve at that rate for each successive 40-hour period.

Perhaps Woolman has more current data that shows that the APC can "provide an 8th grade reading level within 300 hours of instruction," but there is nothing in the proposal that would support this. (There are some other considerations that I might raise, but I feel that this is the crucial one.) If CORE wishes to finance an interesting experiment, I think the money would be well spent. But if CORE wants to buy a proven product, then perhaps it would be wiser to wait for the results of large scale validating studies.

If you have asked anyone else to evaluate the proposal, I am sure that they have already pointed out what I have just stated.

If I can be of any further assistance, please let me know. Just today I learned the name of a sympathetic professional psychologist who has worked in the Washington, D.C. school system and might know more about Woolman through personal experience. I would be glad to put you in touch with her if you are interested.

Sincerely,

Janice

Janice M. Lynn, Ph.D.
(Mrs. Ralph Rosenfeld)

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THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

PROSPECTUS

TO: James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

FROM: Myron Woolman, Ph.D., Director
Institute of Educational Research
Washington, D. C.

SUBJECT: CORE as a National Force in Developing Human Potential

DATE: September 27, 1964

## INTRODUCTION

As muscle is increasingly replaced by machinery, the illiterate and functionally illiterate member of our society faces a losing battle for personal survival. Urban and rural slums have become self-perpetuating cancers which corrode and reduce human potential. The slum dweller is limited to his ghetto because of limited language, limited literacy and limited skill levels. He is imbedded within a social capsule whose walls defy penetration and which places him farther behind with each successive generation, as the larger society advances. Social symptoms such as delinquency and crime, unemployment and illegitimacy are by-products of the limited preparation for adulthood possible within this pauperized environment. Further, available institutions, including the schools, have been inadequate to the task of producing the literacy level, skills and attitudinal equipment necessary for productive adaptation within the mainstream of the society.

Some federal recognition of this problem exists. The President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime has been the major agency involved in combatting the problem. Very recently, legislation has been enacted to form the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) which will step up the effort considerably. However: (1) The funds available are meagre, considering the scope of the problem; (2) federal decisions, appropriations and actions are developed through compromise amongst politically powerful factions, and CORE is only one of the forces involved; (3) producing an organization, facilities and a program demands an extraordinary amount of cooperative interaction amongst and between government agencies which would involve both delay and additional compromise;

(4) these federal programs are controlled largely by educators, and conventional educational approaches to this problem already have been demonstrated to be inadequate; (5) federal programs face barriers in terms of attitudinal and educational differences, legal and bureaucratic requirements, differences in the language used by outsiders (their only available personnel to carry out the programs). This brief list of difficulties is far from exhaustive.

The great power of the federal government faces the slum community with the helpless impotence of the outsider bringing flowers to the sick-room of a man he scarcely knows; he can be expected to be relatively ineffective regardless of the price of the bouquet. On the other hand, CORE can enter these same communities with the confidence and understanding born of mutual trust, hard-won over years of effort. The same forces which reduce and largely nullify federal efforts, act to sustain and heighten the impact of CORE in these same communities. In this connection, the recent surge of legislation directed to providing legal rights and economic opportunity has not reduced, but rather has increased the frustrations and conflicts inherent in social and economic subordination. The Hungarian revolution occurred following the promises by Malenkov and Kruschev that oppression would end and would be replaced by freedom and plenty. The promises of a better future inherent in present legislation, the mood of the country, and the very existence of organizations like CORE, demand that something tangible take place or they will only add to existing frustration and lead to explosive emotional reactions which can, under certain circumstances, spread across whole communities.

The fact is, that in this national crisis, rapid and efficient headway can be made in the slum community only by an organization such as CORE; to make a dent in this problem, if there were no CORE, the federal government would have had to invent one.

## I. CORE AS A COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY

The key to the door which bars the way to productive participation in the greater society is, of course, to rapidly increase the level of literacy in the slum community. The fundamental position of this prospectus is that it is possible for CORE to act as a catalyst to enormously accelerate the attainment of social and economic equality, by itself acting as a major agency for producing the skills crucial to stable and productive employment and to more active and meaningful participation in our society. The Institute of Educational Research, Inc. has developed methods and techniques which permit non-teachers to develop literacy, arithmetic (and job skills) in the absence of traditional school buildings and traditionally trained teachers. These methods have been designed for use with drop-outs and other under-achieving adolescents and young adults. They have been tested and offer an immediate vehicle for use by CORE to rapidly increase literacy skills on a mass basis in each of the areas served by CORE Chapters.

The problem is to provide an escape route out of the ghetto into the mainstream of the society.

Once an adequate literacy level is reached, then, and only then can the individual progress up a job ladder. In our time, a man must be able to read sufficiently well to understand manuals and directions related to his job task. An 8th grade level of reading skill is now a minimum for economic survival.

CORE represents a national resource which can cope with the problem of community education and training from the "inside-out" rather than to attempt to affect these communities from the "outside-in". It possesses an intelligent, cohesive and energetic membership which has repeatedly demonstrated that it can achieve CORE objectives.

Each geographic area served by CORE has a system of supervisory control and a leadership structure which can carry through an action program. Further, space and facilities are already available for use by CORE members in most communities, and would be readily available in communities not now providing such facilities. In short, CORE already possesses the following resources for an educational and training program:

1. an organized administrative system capable of putting an action program into effect and supervising its use;

2. a membership capable of following out a detailed plan of action over a sustained period of time; and

3. available space and facilities within each community.

<u>The Required Ingredients</u>:

In addition to the resources previously mentioned (leadership and administration, an organized capable membership, space and facilities), an educational system requires:

1. an instructional capability,

2. educational and/or training materials, and

3. methods of evaluation and Quality Control.

For CORE's purposes, these materials should permit persons with no previous background as a teacher to provide systematic instruction in whatever facilities are available, including homes, churches, stores, or whatever well-lit, warm, dry space may be available.

Further, the programs must be designed to maintain the interest of those being trained and to insure (by means of suitable evaluations) that the learner is actually meeting the required performance standards.

The six major ingredients involved in mounting an effective program may be summarized:

1. an organized administrative structure, capable of imposing direction and guidance;

2. a body of personnel capable of meeting organizational goals;

3. available space and facilities;

4. methods of instruction which teach what is required;

5. an organized and systematized body of training materials;

6. a Quality Control and evaluation method which assures that learners meet the required standards.

## II. THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

Facilities:

The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., was established December, 1960, as a non-profit corporation operating under the laws of the District of Columbia. The statement of incorporation describing the major corporate objective reads: The more effective realization of the human resource potential...The major objectives are: the improvement of behavioral efficiency...

The Institute of Educational Research has approximately 2,000 square feet of office space and is fully equipped with office furniture including desks, typewriters, chairs, etc. In addition, it has a complete in-house printing capacity including copying and multilith equipment for reproduction. The staff consists of twenty-three administrative and research employees.

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was developed through the support of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, (Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Chairman), and is presently under test in the following locations:

| | Organization | Address | Title and Name of Responsible Officer |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Washington Action for Youth | 1420 New York Avenue, N.W. | Dr. Hyman Frankel<br>Acting Director |
| 2. | Police Athletic League Work Training Center | 121 University Place, New York, N.Y. | Mr. High Salpeter<br>Director<br>or<br>Terry Schmidt<br>Instructor |
| 3. | Job Orientation in Neighborhoods (JOIN) | 69 Bank Street New York, N.Y. | Dr. Jack Niemeyer<br>President |
| 4. | Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) | 18 Tremont Street Boston, Mass. | Mr. Joseph Slavet<br>Executive Director |
| 5. | The North Carolina Development Fund<br>Ford Fdn | Post Box 687 Durham, North Carolina | Mr. George H. Esser, Jr.<br>Executive Director<br>or<br>Miss Mary Hatley<br>Assistant to Director |
| 6. | D.C. Public School System | Franklin Building 13th and K Streets, N.W. | Miss Ann Pitts<br>Reading Coordinator, District Junior High Schools |
| 7. | Charlotte-Mecklenburg Public Schools | County Office Building, 720 E. Fourth Street Charlotte, N.C. | Dr. Robert Hanes<br>Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education |
| 8. | Mobilization for Youth | 271 East 4th Street, New York N.Y. | Mr. Alan Cohen<br>Director of Reading |
| 9. | Galena Park Public Schools | P. O. Box 565 Galena Park, Texas | Mr. F. E. McGahan<br>Director of Special Services |

## III. THE READING PROGRAM

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program (APC) is based on methods initially developed in 1950. It has been tested experimentally six times with normal first graders and has been successfully shown to be able to teach reading skills to mentally retarded children. (See Appendices A-1 and A-2.) The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was first planned for use in Prince Edward County, (see Appendix B) but was shifted for use with adolescent drop-outs in coordination with the President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. It has been pilot tested in a number of locations and the results so far indicate that it produces reading skills somewhat more efficiently than estimated. It was designed to provide an 8th grade reading level within 300 hours of instruction, using a non-certified person as a teacher and whatever facilities were available.

At Washington Action for Youth, the pilot group of eight students showed gains of more than 15 months (1.28 years) in a mean time of 40.3 hours. (See circled data in Appendix A-4.)

The Pitts-Payne study (see Appendix A-3 for their memo summarizing their results) showed a somewhat greater gain in a period of one month which officially provided 45 hours of instruction.

The method is designed for use with groups, and permits one instructor, lacking teaching experience, to teach at least ten learners simultaneously.

<u>The Criteria for the Experimental Reading Program</u>:

Economic Criteria:

a. The Literacy Program should be adapted to the use of existing community resources and facilities for training, obtaining subjects and teaching.

b. The Literacy Program should be able to be used by non-professional, unskilled persons in the role of instructor at the expense of some loss of efficiency.

c. The Literacy Program should not require the use of highly specialized buildings or other facilities, but rather be designed for use in any available space where one literate person can meet in some privacy with one or more illiterates.

d. The materials used for the instructor and illiterates should be relatively cheap to reproduce in quantity.

Functional Criteria:

a. The Literacy Program should be designed so that it can be used as the first phase in developing job skills.

b. The Literacy Program should be designed to provide a capability to participate actively and productively in the total society.

The Approach:

In a recent proposal to The Office of Education, The Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. suggested that the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program be tested in a correctional setting. A statement from their proposal, relevant to the present study, follows:

> Since the above studies have been completed there have been improvements in methodology related to the development of reading skills. Woolman's Progressive Choice Reading Method now appears to take a greater role in the development of literacy skill. The Progressive Choice Reading Method has already demonstrated that it is able to be used to teach reading skills to mentally retarded children. Recently, Woolman developed a high speed version of this reading program (The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program) to obtain a high rate of literacy skill development in functional illiterates and young adults under the auspices of the President's Committee for Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Leonard S. Cottrell, Chairman).

This program has been favorably reviewed by the Adult Education Branch of the U.S. Office of Education (Edward W. Brice, Director) and by various authorities.

The following descriptive analysis of the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program was made by the staff of a well-known publisher of reading materials, (Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Illinois).

The Progressive Choice Reading Approach

The materials are designed to increase the reading level of students, ranging in age from about 12 years through young adulthood, who read below the fourth grade level.

Woolman materials appear especially promising for the following reasons: (1) they meet the criteria recommended by the special Task Force of United States Office of Education, (2) the content of the stories is determined by a rationale designed to change attitudes of the learners, and (3) other basic skills and vocational training materials are being developed to coordinate with this basic reading program. Preliminary tryouts of the materials with several different groups of students have been encouraging.

Woolman adopts a linguistic approach to reading. His Progressive Choice Reading Method is designed to develop those perceptual skills necessary to extract meaning from printed words that are already known in speech. There are several distinctive features about the Progressive Choice Reading Method. Four of the major features are described by Woolman as follows:

Response Activation

> There will be a requirement for high rates of response as learning rate is largely a function of the activity of the learner.

Evidence of Achievement

> These children must perceive themselves as effective members of their own society....Here we are concerned with convincing evidence of achievement earned by effort and success.
>
> The (lessons) will be designed to provide clear-cut goals, indisputable evidence of goal attainment, and responsibilities, as well as privileges, as a consequence of goal attainment....

Frustration Tolerance

> The learner will be provided with learning tasks designed to produce increasing rates of response in the face of frustration, conflict, and uncertainty. This is of particular importance as the opportunity to achieve beyond the levels of their present limited environment requires an ability to maintain high response rates in the face of trying and difficult situations.

General Language Reservoir

> Finally, we are concerned with sharply increasing the verbal reservoir so that subjects can comprehend printed materials at various levels of abstraction, with sufficient precision to understand the intent of the writer....The subjects must understand, as fully as possible, language beyond the limits imposed by regions, color, or familial pattern.

Two principles of learning that particularly distinguish the Progressive Choice Reading Method are discrimination and invariance. The principle of discrimination states that any new learning factor (e.g., form of a letter) should be as highly discriminable as possible from previously learned factors. The principle of invariance states that after one learning factor (form of a letter) has been taught, then only one characteristic (e.g., its most useful sound) is taught at a time.

The combination of these principles and their application to the teaching of reading in the Progressive Choice Reading Method result in the following important characteristics.

1. Beginning readers are introduced to new letters in an order that is designed to make each letter as distinct as possible from the letter presented before it. Capital letters are presented initially, and discrimination is determined by line form.

   The letters are described in terms of straight and curved lines and classified accordingly as (a) angular -- all straight lines, (2) curved -- all curved lines, or (c) mixed -- straight and curved lines. The first letter presented is angular (M), the second is curved (O), the third is mixed (P), and so on.

2. During the initial part of the program, symbol-sound combinations are completely consistent. Beginning readers are introduced to (a) only one form of each letter -- they learn only capital letters at first, (b) only one sound for each letter -- its most useful sound, and (c) only one letter for each sound.

The Progressive Choice Reading Method is divided into three major cycles according to simplicity and consistency of sound-symbol combinations to be learned. The cycles are outlined on the following page.

Cycle I: Learning emphasizes words that contain phonetically consistent letters

Cycle II: Learning emphasizes words that contain vowel or consonant compounds

Cycle III: Learning emphasizes words that contain varying sounds for given letters and different letters for given sounds

Each cycle is divided into segments. For example, the first segment of Cycle I introduces the letters M, O, and P. Mastery of this segment means that the subject has learned to read and write all the words that can be formed by these letters: MOM, POP, MOP.

The second segment consists of T and S. Mastery of this segment means that the subject has learned to read and write all the words that can be formed by all of the letters he has learned: TOM, TOP, POT, TOT, STOP, SPOT, POPS, MOPS, and so on. Two or three letters are presented in each segment until all the letters of the alphabet have been learned except for the letter Q. The number of words the subject can read and write increases at an accelerating rate with the acquisition of each new letter.

The activities in each segment are divided into five levels of increasing complexity. Individual levels are planned so that a subject is initially presented with a very simple learning task, and as he demonstrates that he has mastered the task, he is presented with a more complex task. With each new task, the newly mastered information is thoroughly integrated with information mastered in previous levels. The five levels of complexity are outlined by Woolman below:

Audial Meaning Level:

Words which the learner must ultimately read in a given segment are used in spoken form and the learner must demonstrate understanding (content of usage) of each of these goal words.

Discrimination Level:

The learner must show that he can discriminate the characteristic features of each new learning element among dissimilar and similar alternatives using matching and printing responses.

Identification Level:

The learner must demonstrate that he can "label" (give the relevant sound for) each new learning element by printing and/or sounding responses.

Compounding Level:

The learner must demonstrate that he can blend sounds when shown printed letter compounds and vice versa.

Visual Meaning Level:

The learner must demonstrate, by printing and sounding, mastery of meaningful printed information. He must demonstrate that he can get the same meaning from speech and visual modes interchangeably for the goal words.

As students acquire vocabulary, they read stories using only the words they have learned to read. The content of the stories is crucial to the Progressive Choice Reading Method and the rationale and description of the content is presented below:

A primary initial requirement of this project is to produce a high rate of response. It will be assumed that the subjects will appear lethargic and relatively inert at the outset. These outward manifestations are seen as masking a relatively active fantasy life in which they obtain the material possessions, responsibilities and status which are in fact denied by their life circumstances. These "dreams of glory" will be the target of the initial inputs and our first effort will be to transform these covert activities into energies for overt responses.

The transformation programs will possess the following characteristics:

The Goal:

A hero or heroine with whom subjects can identify; a poor slum city dweller in extremely limited circumstances who has a goal which appears unachievable.

The Obstacles:

Lack of money, misunderstanding, time, circumstances, family, position, the law.

The Effort Made to Overcome Obstacles:

Specification of actions taken to overcome obstacles shown...above (performing extra work, resolution by discussion and explanation, awareness of unfairness by authority, unexpected support by others, assistance from a stranger, reconsideration of problem, substitution of sub-goals, persuasion of group members, unexpected support).

Goal Achievement:

Detailing of actual attainment of the initial goal or some aspect of the goal.

The Birth of New Goals:

The awareness that once the prize has been obtained that it sets up new goals. Goal achievement thus always becomes a signal for the emergence of new goals but now the hero or heroine knows that effort can produce rewards. Response is a prerequisite for success; failure in the process of goal attainment is merely a signal demanding the development of a new and better plan.

At the outset, stories will be constructed using culturally familiar terms; emphasis will be given to the values, needs and interests which already exist in the delinquent community. Thus, we begin with goals and situations which are identifiable and understandable in terms of the existing world in which these children live. The bridge is initially anchored on their side of the water. At later stages, as skills increase, vocabulary expands and confidence grows, the program gradually shifts in both attitude and content to provide a more useful language reservoir and increased awareness of the behavioral boundaries by the non-delinquenogenic community.

The Teacher's Manual is completely coordinated with the student materials, and it details specific objectives for each lesson, how to achieve the objectives, and how to determine student mastery.

## IV. PUTTING THE APC PROGRAM INTO THE FIELD

The Institute of Educational Research and CORE will be engaged in a joint enterprise in which there will be close coordination, but with a clear division of responsibilities:

<u>CORE is expected to provide</u>:

1. An administrative structure which will convey information, materials and directives to field personnel within a reasonable time.

2. Staff personnel who are literate, motivated and will follow the procedures in The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program.

3. Supply the facilities to be used in those communities in which the programs are initiated.

4. A responsible CORE official to operate as a liason with IER to facilitate planning, to provide CORE policy positions and requests, and to make decisions for CORE actions when and where required.

IER will be responsible for carrying out the following tasks:

1. Provide necessary orientation workshops and instruction to initiate programs in various communities.

2. Monitor, evaluate, and critique CORE staff and supervisory personnel to maintain level of performance.

3. Establish and maintain a record-keeping Quality Control system which will provide rapid and up-to-date information on the program as a whole and the progress of individual units.

4. Develop special materials specific to the needs of the CORE learner population.

   It is expected that the average time in which students will complete Cycles I, II and III of the APC Reading Program will vary between 100 to 300 hours as students can move at their own pace. At the present time, Cycles I, II and III are complete and ready for use in the field.

   Although the development of a Vocabulary Expansion Program (VEP) was undertaken, this program has not been completed because of lack of funds. The special CORE-oriented material will be developed as part of the Vocabulary Expansion Program. The last 150 hours of literacy training will involve the use of this special CORE material agreed upon jointly. Part of the cost of the project will involve the development and testing of these special CORE-related programs.

   The Institute of Educational Research, Inc. has licensed Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago, Ill., to publish and distribute the APC Reading Program (Cycles I, II and III). In accordance with IER policy, all property rights including copyright are to be held by IER in accordance with IER policy.

5. IER will collect, analyze and summarize data and write project reports of results obtained.

6. Consistent with IER's non-profit status, costs will be calculated to cover IER overhead, production, travel, etc. As the volume of CORE learners increases, IER cost per learner is expected to decrease and this reduction will be passed on to CORE as soon as it is known.

## V. THE EXPANDING WEDGE CONCEPT

The CORE Literacy Program is expected to resemble an ever-expanding wedge. All subjects participating in the Program will be tested (Pre-Test) prior to entering the Program and upon completion of the Literacy Training Program (Post-Test). IER will supply all test materials and procedures and will supervise all pre and post testing.

Progress of the Program is visualized in the following manner:

Step 1: (First four weeks) A single location will be obtained in a suitable New York City area (CORE Literacy Training Unit). Three persons from each of nine CORE units will be selected to be trained as CORE Literacy Training Teams. One week after the Teams have been established, three classes, each consisting of 15 functionally illiterate persons, will be tested and then, scheduled for two hours per day of APC instruction. The three CORE Literacy Training Teams will be trained, in part, working on each of the three classes. Each CORE Literacy Training Team will be tested on its class and when it satisfies the standards imposed by IER staff personnel, it will be released to instruct its own class using the APC Program.

In each succeeding step, the training of CORE Literacy Training Teams will involve essentially the same procedures as those employed in Step 1. IER will consider that the quality of the training given will remain its responsibility, although to the extent possible, the training itself will be shifted to CORE personnel.

## Tentative Pattern of CORE Literacy Program Expansion*

| Step | Approximate Time | Activities to be Performed | IER to Provide |
|---|---|---|---|
| One | Weeks 1,2,3,4 | Activation of first Literacy Training Unit in New York City. Assignment of nine Literacy Training Teams from New York City area. Training continued until each Team meets IER standards. | 1. Pre-tests and test supervision<br>2. APC Materials<br>3. Workships, monitoring and instruction |
| Two | Weeks 5,6,7 | Activation of nine CORE Literacy Teams from New Jersey, Penna. Maryland and upstate New York. Bring in nine additional units to same CORE Literacy Training Unit. Train CORE Teams and evaluate as in Step #1. | 4. Evaluation of CORE personnel<br>5. Planning of special CORE materials |
| Three | Weeks 8,9 | Set up second CORE Literacy Training Unit in city such as Philadelphia or Baltimore. Provide simultaneous instruction in both CORE Literacy Training Units, providing training for 18 CORE Literacy Teams (see Step 4). | |
| Four | Weeks 10,11 | Eighteen CORE Literacy Teams, drawn from Washington, D.C., North and South Carolina (and other Southern states - to be determined later) will be trained in the Training Unit set up in Step 3. | |
| Five | Weeks 12,13 | Set up third CORE Literacy Training Unit in city such as Chicago or St. Louis, and provide training for 27 Literacy Training Teams. | |
| Six | 16th Week | Set up fourth Literacy Training Unit on West Coast in city such as Los Angeles or San Francisco, making a total of 36 Literacy Training Teams which will be training simultaneously. | 6. Initiate field tests of CORE-related literacy materials and other special programs as mutually agreed upon. |

*These steps are illustrative only, and have been used to indicate the rapidity of growth possible. Actual step sequence will be worked out jointly with CORE.

In my judgment, this project offers an unparalleled opportunity to IER to carry out its function. There is no project on my horizon, past or present, which I would rather commit IER to do. I look forward to the reaction of CORE's Committee with both anticipation and the hope that we can together begin on the great task of providing more Americans with the tools needed for greater self-fulfillment.

Dr. Myron Woolman

Myron Woolman, Ph.D., Director
Institute of Educational Research, Inc.

Appendix A-1

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

REPLY TO:
READING LABORATORY AND CLINIC
310 ANDERSON HALL

April 19, 1963

Dear Dr. - - -:

I have received and read the materials you forwarded regarding the efforts to solve some of the problems inherent in the Prince Edward County situation.

I have been familiar with the experiments by Bloomer and the work of Myron Woolman almost since its beginnings. Dr. Woolman has permitted me to review the Progressive Choice Reading materials as they were prepared for each research trial.

Some reading authorities would object to the emphasis upon phonics or letter sounds in this material, arguing that there is more to the process of beginning reading than just this element. They would prefer an emphasis upon word form and the use of semi-narrative materials. Under normal classroom conditions, with children of average mental abilities and the usual school experiences, this argument is sound. But in dealing with children of limited intelligence, and a lack of schooling amounting almost to illiteracy, the usual arguments do not apply. A much more practical approach, involving training in reading and writing simultaneously, under learning conditions which progress in very small steps (with no assumptions regarding the supporting language experiences of a normal classroom) is appropriate here. This detailed, sequential training by very easy stages is the inherent rationale of the Progressive Choice Method. Furthermore, the experiences of the Laubach Foundation, the Tennessee TV programs and the current Florida "Operation Alphabet" confirm the values of this particular kind of approach to reading with illiterates or the culturally-deprived. These programs have shown that a step-by-step approach keyed to reading and writing letter sounds is highly effective.

A number of reading specialists both in this country and England have tried to devise reading programs of this type. Among these are Hunter Diack of the Institute of Education, University of Nottingham, Dr. I.A. Richards of Harvard University and the late American Linguist, Leonard Bloomfield. Despite intensive efforts, the programs produced by these authorities are far inferior to the Progressive Choice Method, in my opinion. In fact, Dr. Woolman's materials are the only completely consistent programed reading materials now available, and suitable for use with school-age children. For the abnormal conditions present in Prince Edward County, I know of no more appropriate approach.

Sincerely,

George D. Spache

George D. Spache, Head
Reading Laboratory and Clinic

GDS:sab

Director, National Institute of Mental Health July 17, 1963

Associate Director for Program Development
National Institute of Mental Health

Need for programs learning materials for non-reader, retarded children, and children who have suffered interruption of the educational process.

One of the major problems in the mental health field involves the determination of the factors associated with the outcome of child rearing practices up to adulthood. A great deal of work has been done, as you know, concerning the effects of maternal behavior in producing a variety of maladaptive results such as feeding problems, sleeping problems, enuresis, nail biting, anxiety, and other classical problems with which child guidance clinics have occupied themselves. On the other hand, we do not fully understand the causes for the recent rise in Juvenile Delinquency, and some of the disorganization shown by adolescents and late adolescent youth. The data on the increase of delinquency are now convincing, and disorganization is the sense of the lack of place in the social order upon the part of many other youth is becoming increasingly clear. It is imperative, therefore, that this Institute dedicate itself to a full and complete understanding of the factors associated with the non-fruitful outcome of elementary and secondary education and childhood experiences generally. It is only by an attack upon such problems that the Institute can, in good conscience, say that it is concerned with prevention as well as remediation.

The Program Development area of the Institute has been giving serious thought and attention to these problems for a long period of time. Considerable effort has been made to look for some gross relationships between early experiences during pre-school and early school years, and the ultimate outcome in terms of the nature of the young adult thus produced. While we have an equal interest in both favorable and unfavorable outcomes, a first order of importance must be attached to unfavorable outcomes, since they are the ones that cause public concern.

One of the interesting apparent relationships seems to be that which exists between the inability to learn to read and write during the first two elementary grades and the increased probability that such individuals will ultimately show a pattern of anti-social behavior and possibly delinquency. It would be naive and simple-minded for us to assume that the inability to learn to read during the first and second grade is itself a major determinant of later delinquent behavior. Undoubtedly the relationship is much more complex. It probably reflects the fact that the child in the first year or two of elementary school is under the pressure of adults, his teachers and his parents, to achieve a goal which for a variety of reasons such as basic inability, or disorganization of the home or both, is not really attainable by him. This pressure may well be applied either in a benign or damaging way. But during the first two years he is not disadvantaged in his relationships with his peers because they do not value him on the basis of his ability to read or write. By the time he reaches the third or fourth grade, however, these skills are more important in the daily economy of the child, and he may well become scape-goated as a dope or dummy or square, or

what ever the current jargon of childhood is, indicating a child is not quite one of the group. At this point, you will note he is disadvantaged with both adults and his peers, and he faces quite an insufferable situation. He becomes a devalued person. A moment's reflection shows that he has several possible ways available to overcome this devaluing experience. He may compensate by some area of other excellence, such as unusual ability in the field of physical prowess, athletics, or music. This he can do only if he has these other abilities. He might, if very mature, buckle down and overcome his problems directly. But this solution cannot be expected from many children. The most likely event is that he will become hostile toward the whole social circumstances of his time and that he will retaliate at first with minor peccadilloes and later with more serious anti-social behavior. These disturbed relationships really reflect his attempt to maintain his personal integrity and his sense of self. They will be associated with establishing relationships with similar disorganized children who face the same problems and therefore form quite naturally a small in-group that can well develop into delinquent gangs. This is one course of development which makes psychological sense out of the data we now have, namely that early reading disability may lead later to delinquent anti-social and possibly criminal behavior.

It is important as a consequence of these circumstances that this Institute make serious effort to understand these problems, and to explore to the fullest extent possible the development of remedial devices available including improved techniques of helping the child to overcome his reading disability.

It should also be made clear at this point that many children for a variety of reasons, such as illness, suffer an interruption of the educational process between the ages of 6 and 12 or 15. We are completely ignorant of the effect of such interruptions upon the ability of the child later to resume his normal, formal education. We do not know, for example, whether it is psychologically possible for a 10 year old child who has never been to school to dedicate himself fully to the tasks involved in the first grade learning experience. We do not know whether educational deprivation leads to peer group rejection which appears to be associated with the early reading disability of children continuously in the educational system. It is my guess that the results are as severe for the deprived child as for the one who could not originally learn to read, perhaps more severe.

In other words, these children, those unable to learn to read and those deprived of education because of bad health and other factors really represent a population in great risk of emotional and social maldevelopment.

Within recent years, the advent of programmed learning techniques has indicated that these methods have great potentiality for overcoming early learning disabilities and probably for overcoming disabilities associated with interruption of education.

It is therefore proposed that this Institute negotiate a contract with a competent group to develop programmed learning materials that can be used in testing some of the hypothesis outlined above. If the child's development can be improved by helping achieve literacy at or near the appropriate age, or at the earliest opportunity that is made available to him, we may be able to do more to prevent personal tragedy and the unfavorable outcomes of early life experience.

The staff of the Institute has surveyed the individuals and organizations in this country best able to produce these materials which could open a new chapter in preventing the development of emotional disorders. It is our considered conclusion that the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., in Washington, D. C. under the leadership of Dr. Myron Woolman is the best equipped of any available to produce these materials. It is proposed therefore, that a contract be negotiated with this organization as quickly as possible to permit it to proceed with the task. The estimate of costs at the moment are not precise, but it appears that the range will be from $55,000 to $100,000 to produce the materials of the kind needed. Presently, I strongly urge the larger amount since I feel the task ahead is a major one and that an adequate approach to the problems is a necessity. Given these materials, the Institute can plan a series of research approaches to the problems enumerated above with a high expectation that we can make a major contribution to some of the difficulties facing present day children and youth in terms of their emotional and social development. I strongly urge that you approve this proposal to enter into immediate negotiations with the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., in Washington, D. C., for the purposes here outlined.

Joseph M. Bobbitt, Ph.D.

## Appendix A–3

September 14, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent of Schools

FROM: Anne W. Pitts, Reading Coordinator, District Junior High Schools
Frances C. Payne, Chairman, Basic Track, Macfarland Junior High School

SUBJECT: Report on "The Effectiveness of Programmed Instruction: An Adaptation of the Progressive Choice Reading Method."

In our recent study the data on 66 children from Basic Track classes in four representative junior high schools* made it evident that no real progress occurs using a conventional approach - the gain over twenty-three months for these children amounted to five months. This emphasizes the fact that under-achieving students, as you have stated, tend to continue to reduce in achievement level.

In this study results for students in the Progressive Choice program were highly encouraging.

1. Educable mentally retarded junior high school children (Mean IQ - 76) in Basal Progressive Choice and Accelerated Progressive Choice over a nine month period make a year and seven months gain.

2. Junior high school children considered typical under-achieving normals (Mean IQ - 95) gained a year and six months over a single summer period providing forty-five hours of instruction.

3. All children showed remarkable involvement in the program as attested by their comments, attendance, and completion of the entire six week summer program. Not one student dropped out. The most significant aspect of this finding relates to the Macfarland students who did not live in or near Garnet area and, therefore, were required to pay carfare every day for six weeks. Attendance was excellent.

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*Paul - 8[303] ; Woodson - 8[201] and 8[203] ; Evans - 8[9] ; Macfarland - 8[11] .

THE NEXT STEP: We feel that Washington, D. C. could be the first system to put the Accelerated Progressive Choice Program to a large scale experimental test. This could be a part of the wide-scale experimentation planned for the model school system. If this were done, we are both convinced that the probability is high that Washington, D. C. will be the leader in pointing the way out of our present literacy crisis.

AWP:g
cc: Dr. Myron Wooman
Mrs. Anne O'Keefe

# Appendix A–4

## THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

### WASHINGTON ACTION FOR YOUTH PILOT DATA
Using Progressive Choice Accelerated Reading Program
(Period Oct. 20,1963 through Jan. 10, 1964)

| TESTS GIVEN | TRAINEES IN STUDY | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | Group Mean Scores |
| I Stanford Achievement Test | | | | | | | | | |
| Reading | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 3.20 | 5.95 | * | 6.25 | 4.80 | 3.65 | 5.55 | 4.75 | 4.88 |
| Post–Test | 3.50 | 8.40 | | 6.50 | 7.40 | 4.00 | 6.90 | 6.40 | 6.16 |
| Difference Scores [1] | + .30 | + 2.45 | | + .25 | + 2.60 | + .35 | + 1.35 | + 1.65 | + 1.28 |
| Battery Median | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 3.45 | 5.15 | | 5.40 | 5.00 | 3.90 | 5.50 | 4.60 | 4.71 |
| Post–Test | 4.20 | 7.20 | | 5.10 | 5.80 | 4.30 | 6.90 | 5.00 | 5.50 |
| Difference Scores [1] | + .75 | + 2.05 | | – .30 | + .80 | + .40 | + 1.40 | + .40 | + .79 |
| II Progressive Choice | | | | | | | | | |
| Diagnostic Reading Test | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 68 | 81 | | 85 | 72 | 76 | 81 | 73 | 76.57 |
| Post–Test | 82 | 91 | | 90 | 91 | 83 | 86 | 80 | 86.14 |
| Difference Scores [2] | + 14 | + 10 | | + 5 | + 19 | + 7 | + 5 | + 7 | 9.57 |
| III Otis Intelligence Test | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | | 86 | | 78 | 81 | | 72 | | 79.25 |
| Post–Test | | 94 | | 76 | 78 | | 79 | | 81.75 |
| Difference Scores [3] | | + 8 | | – 2 | – 3 | | + 7 | | + 2.50 |
| IV Social Effectiveness | | | | | | | | | |
| Evaluation Form | | | | | | | | | |
| Environmental | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 1 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 6.63 |
| Post–Test | 4 | 10 | 4 | 9 | 8 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7.88 |
| Difference Scores [4] | + 3 | + 1 | + 3 | 0 | – 1 | 0 | 3 | + 1 | + 1.25 |
| Verbal Fluency | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 2 | 6 | 1 | 9 | 8 | 9 | 8 | 8 | 6.38 |
| Post–Test | 5 | 8 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 7.50 |
| Difference Scores [4] | + 3 | + 2 | 0 | 0 | + 1 | 0 | + 2 | + 1 | + 1.13 |
| Situational Involvement | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 2 | 5 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 5.63 |
| Post–Test | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 7.13 |
| Difference Scores [4] | + 2 | + 1 | + 1 | + 1 | + 2 | 0 | + 3 | + 2 | + 1.50 |
| Total | | | | | | | | | |
| Pre–Test | 5 | 20 | 3 | 25 | 24 | 29 | 22 | 21 | 18.63 |
| Post–Test | 13 | 24 | 7 | 26 | 26 | 29 | 30 | 25 | 22.50 |
| Difference Scores [4] | + 8 | + 4 | + 4 | + 1 | + 2 | 0 | + 8 | + 4 | + 3.88 |
| VII Time Spent in Program (Hours) | 77.50 | 69 | 39 | 37.50 | 33 | 32.50 | 23 | 11 | 40.31 |

* Trainee attempted to take SAT pre–test but could not write name or begin responses to items and was terribly anxious in a test situation.

1. Scores show Reading Achievement Grade Level.
2. Scores show number of correct items on test.
3. Scores show IQ points on group test: Other trainees given SRA Non–Verbal Form Pre–Test, Post–Test not yet completed.
4. Scores show counselor ratings on Social Effectiveness Evaluation Form.

# Appendix B

STATEMENT SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE

on

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.,
*Washington, D.C., March 8, 1963.*

Subject: Statement regarding bill on S. 1, Youth Employment Act, submitted to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., and the Occupational Training Center.

Mr. EDWARD FRIEDMAN,
*Counsel, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FRIEDMAN: Pursuant to our conversations of recent weeks, the undersigned are submitting herein a statement regarding bill S. 1, the Youth Employment Act.

The proposed Youth Employment Act has been analyzed and reviewed by the undersigned. We are in full agreement with its purposes and goals and consider that it could offer a powerful instrument for providing many young men with their only chance to become productive members of our society. The alternative to education and training will often be the greater cost of relief, institutionalization, and the transmission of squalor, crime, and dependency to the young.

In our judgment, the most important problem is to provide means to insure that these young men return to their home communities with greater employability than when they left. The development of modern job skills requires classification, specification of job training goals, efficient methods of training, and objective evaluation directed to continuous program improvement.

In addition, modern educational technology has advanced to the point where programed learning methods offer great advantages over conventional methods where large-scale training is required. The mass training demanded by the Youth Employment Act requires rapid and economical training and is ideally suited to these new methods. Appendix A ("Some Operational Recommendations") is an attempt to picture how these new methods could function to both simplify and accelerate this program.

Sincerely yours,

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph. D.,
*Director, Institute of Educational Research, Inc.*
JEROME BERNSTEIN, M.A.,
*Director, Occupational Training Center.*

## APPENDIX A

### SOME OPERATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR S. 1 YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT

The following points have been discussed at some length with various specialists in the field of education with special emphasis on the use of new methods in development of literacy and job skills. The following individuals represent a cross section of those with whom this general problem area has been discussed:

Dr. Edward Brice, Director, Adult Education, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Mr. Raymond Larsen, Assistant to the Director, Automation and Manpower, Department of Labor; Dr. Harold Hildreth, Office of Program Development, National Institute of Mental Health; and Dr. Donald Stedman, Director of Research, Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation.

1. Training methods should be economical, flexible, and provide for different rates of growth of proficiency, skill development, and understanding. Present classroom methods of vocational training tend to be inefficient.

(*a*) They force all students to move at relatively similar rates of speed.

(*b*) They require extensive physical plants, large numbers of trained instructors and large masses of specialized equipment.

(*c*) Teaching effectiveness of instructors varies widely, with many instructors having minimal instructor capabilities.

(*d*) Training is expensive, time consuming, and often limited to highly specific job skills which limit learner opportunity.

(*e*) Training tends to be artificial and reflects school methods rather than those in actual use.

(*f*) Industrial school methods tend to reflect industrial practices based on obsolete equipment.

2. The hard-core problem is one which focuses on men and women who have failed to obtain the necessary minimum of skills required for economic survival in technological age.

(*a*) The program should be directed to those persons who have been economically disenfranchised by reason of (1) literacy level, (2) dropouts from public school, (3) shifts in industrial characteristics of the community and (4) undertraining.

(*b*) Fundamental problems of motivation exist and methods must be incorporated into the training in order to overcome inertia and defeatism.

(*c*) The training must be designed to accommodate flexibly to persons of vastly differing intelligence, interests, and backgrounds; it must also be synchronous with existing and projected industrial requirements.

3. Programmatic training methods can provide mass training at relatively low cost. This training can be made practical, job related, and reflect current methods and practices. Programmatic methods can increase training efficiency by:

(*a*) Permitting enrollees to progress at their own rate based on experience, capacity, and motivation.

(*b*) Using nonprofessional teachers to provide instruction. This reduces costs and reduces the ratio of students to instructors.

(*c*) Training reflects actual practices; enrollees can be trained in the work setting. This reduces school cost while increasing the realism of the training provided.

(*d*) Training can be provided for:

(1) training of illiterates and functional illiterates in the development of reading skills necessary for job performance.

(2) training of job skills involving the use of names, procedures, and techniques.

(3) training for learning of concepts necessary for job performance (basic electricity, computer programing, drafting, etc.)

4. Enrollees should initially be evaluated with reference to their backgrounds, interests, and general level of capability. These factors should then be considered with relation to the job needs existing in the community to which the enrollee expects to return. The enrollee should then be assigned to a job area which—

(1) is expected to increase his employability on discharge, and

(2) is consistent with his own interests and capabilities as possible.

The enrollee should enter the program to achieve a job skill consistent with his general capabilities and existing job requirements. His work as a trainee should be systematically evaluated to determine the degree to which he progresses to the point of full employability on discharge. A quality control program should be performed by a nongovernmental agency.

The evaluation of programs under the Youth Employment Act should be objective, systematic, and thorough. The training methods, levels of proficiency attained by graduates, proportion of graduates employed, areas of skill deficiency in graduates, etc., should be made available to responsible Youth Conservation Corps personnel and other officials responsible for elimination of defects in the interest of systematic program improvement. It is necessary that these evaluations be performed by an objective nongovernmental agency to avoid confusing evaluation with justification of policy, or rationalizing the necessity for an existing state of affairs to avoid embarrassing a superior, etc., etc. Objective evaluation of the program should provide the basis for continuous program improvement and reduced program cost per enrollee.

5. All training should be directed to the enrollee's ultimate employment in his home community. During the period of enrollment the enrollee should learn a number of job tasks within a job area, such as carpentering. The enrollee must ultimately straddle the inner face between the Youth Conservation Corps and his ultimate responsibilities as a citizen. All training within the corps should be directed toward simplify this step across the inner face between these two discrete phases of the enrollee's career. Thus the Youth Conservation Corps objectives are specifiable in the requirement for simplifying this transition.

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING (PCVT)

The manor vehicle for carrying out the present plan is a facility designed to develop, test, and revise training programs. This facility, the Programmatic Center for Vocational Training (PCVT) would be responsible for:

1. Developing programs to produce reading skills.
2. Developing programs to produce academic certification (high school diploma).
3. Developing programs to produce job skills.
4. Developing methods of evaluating programs and enrollees.
5. Developing methods for overall program evaluation.

(*a*) *Level I, basic reading level.*—Illiterate persons can be taught to read by means of programs. The content should be related to adult interests and is focused on developing job-related reading skills. Enrollee change in reading skills will be evaluated frequently by methods intrinsic to the reading program. Various motivational devices would then be used to develop and maintain a reasonable rate of progress. Basic reading level materials will be written for adults. Enrollees will remain in the program until they attain approximately a fourth-grade reading level which it is estimated should require approximately 3 months for normally motivated learners. At this point, these enrollees become functionally literate and proceed to level II where reading skills function to increase their rate of progress toward developing job proficiency.

(*b*) *Level II, elementary vocational training.*—Reading: Low-skilled readers will be phased into vocational areas which require learning of (1) names of job-related objects, (2) job-rated actions and behaviors, and (3) critical supervisory worker relationships.

The reading materials in level II require the enrollee to master such materials as:

(1) The most important 100 terms (realistically and concretely defined) in the particular trade he is studying.

(2) Typical pieces of equipment, pictured and described along with functions and critical terminology.

(3) The steps involved in the process of manufacture (nontechnical presentation) of typical items produced in the trade.

(4) The typical supervisory structures which he would most likely find in the job situation along with titles, responsibilities, and critical aspects of various job descriptions.

(*c*) *Level III, operational context training.*—After the enrollee has mastered the basic terms and relationships involved in a job area such as fire protection, construction worker, carpenter, etc., steps should be taken to have him function in the more specific context. Enrollees would work in their job work situations for a minimum of 5 to 6 hours a day when they satisfied the level III criteria. For the remaining hours of each day they would (1) perform calisthenics and competitive sports, (2) work in other job areas, (3) discuss job-related problems such as how to get along on the job, and (4) contact home community for job opportunities, etc. In the work situation itself, trainees would be assigned to already skilled persons (two trainees to one skilled person). The skills they learn are specific to the needs of current industrial production methods. The object of the vocational training would be to assure enrollees at least a level II achievement (familiarization with names, objects, functions, and supervisory structures characteristic of a semiskilled vocational area). Men who attained level II or level III could be given certificates establishing the fact which could be used by USES to certify competency in the job area; they would also receive emphasis by USES for job placement. Where the evaluation indicated competency, efforts would be made to (1) obtain jobs in adjoining

job and geographic areas, or (2) extend the training to a related job skill to provide a dual jobholding capability, or (3) increase the depth of training in the area by additional programs with greater technical and informational scope. This would provide the enrollee with a specialized high-strength area within the job area as a whole.

(*d*) *Level IV, technical skill programs.*—Reading skills represent a necessary but not a sufficient ground for employment. Men who possess adequate reading skills may be unemployable for many reasons such as:

(1) Lack of specific area of specialized knowledge and/or skills.

(2) Possession of archaic and/or obsolete skills with lack of opportunity to learn new skills.

(3) Lack of motivation for seeking employment; feelings of apprehension and general uncertainty.

(4) Inability to cope with other workers and/or supervisors in the job environment.

Thus, there are large numbers of youth who possess the basic level of literacy necessary to absorb information rapidly who nevertheless remain unemployed because of factors related to training, personality, geography, and our rapidly changing technology. We can make rapid attack in these areas as the necessary reading skills would already be available; the enrollee can move into higher level technical training which takes advantage of his existing higher literacy level.

The basic area of emphasis in these programs should be related to the ever-increasing requirement for technologists. However, clearly, those who can learn technical materials can learn level II and level III materials and could be assigned to these training areas where appropriate. The effort, however, should be (within limits) to provide opportunities for learning consistent with learner capability. Several illustrative level IV type programs follow:

TECHNICAL ELECTRICITY

A series of programs would be developed to provide understanding and skills in areas requiring comprehension of practical electrical concepts necessary for skills in both title I and title II of this act. This training would be functional in both rural and urban areas, as modern industry on the farm, the field, and in the city is largely powered by electricity. These fundamental concepts are basic to modern technology at every level and should therefore be an important training area for the Youth Conservation Corps.

*Program A, basic electricity.*—This program would be modeled on program developed for industry. Certain features would differ: (*a*) it would be more concrete and provide more work-related illustrations; (*b*) certain areas would be eliminated as they are specific to the company rather than job relevant; (*c*) certain pedagogical changes would be made to reduce time and improve comprehension. However, the program would still provide (1) progress based on demonstrated proficiency, (2) continuous evaluation, (3) internal motivational devices, (4) continuing evaluation of performance, and (5) features to provide continuing revision and improvement.

*Program B, basic electronics.*—This program would be an extension of electronics (involving diodes, triodes) of program A and would be available only to students who satisfactorily completed program A.

*Program C, basic transistors.*—This program would involve recent changes in basic theroy connected with solid-state physics (transistors and dielectrics) which would make the trainee conversant with terminology, basic concepts, circuitry, and computations.

In programs A, B, and C, the learners would be required to work on actual materials as well as perform the abstract manipulations involved in the formulas and definitions. These materials should be economical, specially designed to illustrate the points covered in the course, should be sturdy enough to take continued abuse, should be reusable, and above all, should be typical of job-related skills in the field.

The use of programatic methods should permit very rapid training. It is estimated that literate motivated trainees could complete the three programs within a 6-month period. On completion, they should be familiar with current electrical concepts, basic computations, and useful methods for adjusting and correcting typical malfunctions.

Some areas would tend to emphasize program A only; some programs A and B; in some areas it might be necessary to provide all three levels to a large proportion of trainees. The employment situation in the home community must, of course, contribute to the training which would be given.

### COMPUTER INFORMATION AND SKILLS

*Program D.*—This program would provide basic information relating to the function of computers, including the rudiments of computer logic and an overview of computer programing methods and techniques.

*Program E.*—This program would provide computer information relative to computer board-diagrams, board-wiring techniques and associated technical language, definitions, etc. Programs A, B, and C could be presented also where appropriate and necessary for enriching computer training.

### KEYBOARD AND KEYBOARD-RELATED SKILLS

*Program F.*—This is a programatic method for teaching typing based on the use of a machine developed to teach typing skills programatically. This method should be rapid, economical, and self-pacing. Equipment is now being patented and should be available shortly.

*Program G, stenographic and shorthand programs.*—These materials are readily programed and could be taught with very few instructors through tape-recording techniques synchronized with written programs. Monitors could be used to insure proper operation of the equipment, standardization of testing procedures, classroom attendance, etc.

*Program H.*—This is training in areas such as IBM key punch, typing and coding, use in accounting machines, desk computers, etc.; can also be accomplished programatically. Cooperating of manufacturers in this area of the enterprise should be sought to reduce costs of equipment and to obtain resource personnel. However, the methods used for training should be developed rather than adapted from current techniques as training methods in these areas tend to be overly elaborate, very sketchy, or sales related.

### SUMMARY

The PCVT would of course provide an ever-expanding and ever-changing body of programs. Each of these programs would be continuously tested and revised. New programs would emerge and old programs dissipate in response to changes in the job requirements through continuous evaluation of the programs and the enrollees in their home communities. The programs would evolve in the direction of increased efficiency.

Programed method is economical, direct, and suited to large-scale mass training of the type required by this act.

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph.D.,
*Director, Institute of Educational Research, Inc.*

# Appendix C

## The First Federal Failure in Prince Edward County

by Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

# The First Federal Failure in Prince Edward County

by Ben A. Franklin and Stanley Meisler

Literacy brings jobs, jobs bring rights. That formula fits snugly into the Kennedy Administration's thinking about the plight of the Negro in America. "There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job," The President said in his last civil rights message to Congress. "...A distressing number of unemployed Negroes are illiterate and unskilled,... unable to do simple computations or even to read a help-wanted advertisement." Yet, on the very day that these words filled the front pages of newspapers across the country, a decision was reached in Washington that strangled what some officials believe was one of the Administration's most exciting and promising projects to create literacy and jobs and rights. The brief life and quick death of the project is a case study of federal frustration in the field of civil rights.

The case study centers on a federal plan to do something about the 1,500 Negro children deprived of schooling in southside Virginia's Prince Edward County since 1959. That year the county's Board of Supervision, faced with a court order to desegregate its schools, decided to abolish them instead. A private school, paid for by state tuition grants, was set up for the white children, but the Negro children were left unschooled and illiterate. This action was upheld by the U.S. Circuit Count of Appeals in Richmond last August 12.

The lush, green tobacco country of Prince Edward County has become the shameful and pitiable symbol of successful Southern resistance to school integration. There are 10-year-old Negro children there who never have seen the inside of a classroom. There are Negro teen-agers who soon will be too old to leave their farms and enter a school again. Prince Edward County gnaws on the conscience of America.

In the legal wrangling over Prince Edward's abolition of the public schools, the federal government has fought at the side of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Justice Department has intervened in the case, asking for the opening of public schools, and it will join with the NAACP in appealing the latest decision of the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. But last February, President Kennedy decided far more must be done.

He and his aides were discussing the final draft of his first civil rights message to Congress when he came across a paragraph mentioning the Justice Department's intervention in the court suit. As the conference broke up, Kennedy beckoned to Burke Marshall, the Assistant Attorney General who heads the civil rights division at the Justice Department. Isn't there something else, the President asked, something direct, that the federal government can do in Prince Edward County?

Kennedy did not want a federal school system there --- almost any kind would provoke a storm in Congress. But he wanted some system of making up for lost years. He wanted a remedial instruction program that could go on even if the courts ordered the county to open its schools again. Kennedy appointed Marshall a committee of one to brainstorm the government and come up with ideas.

One memorandum, circulated among the agencies of the Health, Education and Welfare Department, explained, "The President said he did not want anything negative, only positive statements as to what can be done --- so long as it is remotely possible and legal." The memorandum said Kennedy was interested in ideas "no matter how far out they may seem. No deadline has been set," it continued, "but considering the source of the request, consider it URGENT." Similar circulars went through other departments.

The ideas flowed in. One government office suggested taking the county over as an army base and running a remedial school system for the Negro children on the post. Another proposal: build a television transmittor 80 miles south in the mountains of North Carolina and beam in a special intensified educational TV program, a sort of Radio Free Edward. The White House discarded these ideas as ingenious but impractical.

But a little more than two weeks after the White House meeting, an idea came in that seemed both ingenious and practical. Dr. Robert H. Felix, director of the Public Health Service's National Institute of Mental Health, put it forward. He proposed a federal grant to a research psychologist working with a quick, new method of teaching reading. The researcher would use the Negro children of Prince Edward County as his subjects. The grant could serve science and conscience at the same time.

Felix had Dr Myron Woolman in mind. Woolman, 46 year-old director of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, is a pioneer in the use of programmed instruction for quick, mass and inexpensive education. He had demonstrated his methods in teaching soldiers to operate Nike missiles and in teaching basic concepts of electronics to new employees of Bell Telephone Laboratories. He is patenting a teaching machine for typists and pianists. And, for some time, he has been using a grant from the NIMH to teach mentally retarded children to read. His subjects in this project include pupils at the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation School in

Washington, a school visited often by Mrs. Eunice Shriver, the President's sister.

Woolman's theories are couched in complex psychological concepts, but basically he simply believes that quick breakthroughs in education may be achieved by using programmed instruction. Programmed instruction takes the pupil out of the classroom-lecture situation and puts him in front of a workbook or a teaching machine that allows him to move forward at his own pace. He may not turn the page or flick the machine forward until he has mastered the lesson before him. When he understands point A, he is rewarded by seeing point B. Programmed instruction still is in its infancy, but, at the least, it seems to be successful in teaching the rudiments of reading, spelling, and arithmetic and in teaching a specific skill that must be learned by many students in a short time. In a society unwilling or unable to spend too much more money on education, programmed instruction has the advantage of seeming relatively inexpensive. A psychologist prepares the intricate program in the workbook or teaching machine; the program may be mass produced; an untrained person may be hired to supervise the students at the workbooks and machines. (see Spencer Klaw's "What Can We Learn From the Teaching Machines?", The Reporter, July 19, 1962)

On March 11, NIMH rushed an urgent invitation to Dr. Woolman to submit an application for a grant. In four days, he submitted a 26-page proposal. Woolman proposed a $2,500,000, 5-year exper-

iment, using his "progressive choice reading program" to teach 500 Negro illiterates in the first year. Although the proposal focused on the illiterates of Prince Edward County, Woolman actually was anxious to demonstrate that his method of programmed instruction could be used to raise the level of the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Negroes and others throughout the nation who need literacy and basic work skills. Just a few days before he submitted his proposal, Woolman had sent a statement to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee on the Youth Employment Act. Woolman wrote the committee that programmed instruction could raise motivated illiterates to a fourth-grade reading level in three months in a concentrated program and that these new literates could ultimately learn basic electricity, electronics, and transistor. "Programmed method is economical, direct, and suited to large-scale mass training of the type required by this act, " Woolman said.

But the psychologist made no attempt to make this clear to the White House. He understood that his research was being used to fill a political need but had organized it to remain clear of political influences. Scientists face this kind of situation all the time in a nation where so much research is paid for by private industries and the Pentagon. Woolman has worked for both. "It is... quite possible, " he wrote in his proposal, "that the proposed project will be viewed as a disguised method of providing federal schools for Negro children..." Yet he sold his idea in just those terms that would appeal to the White House: an experiment designed to solve illiteracy in Prince Edward County. The fact that this would provide other

communities with the same capability was left to the reader.

At the same time, he felt that the psychiatrists, psychologists and other social scientists at NIMH would see a limited experiment as far more scientific than one attempting to deal with the problem of Negro job skills in America. This, too, made his stress the limited picture. Despite this, Woolman believed he had a scientific experiment that might yield results brimming with sensational implications for a government trying to deal with widespread Negro unemployment and anger.

NIMH Director Felix sent a memo to his boss, James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. "The National Institute of Mental Health," Felix wrote, "is happy to propose at this time one step that might be taken to overcome some of the effects of the educational deprivation which has occurred in the last few years in Prince Edward County. Basically, the proposal is to conduct a study in the county of a greatly improved method of teaching reading which has already been developed, partly through support of an NIMH grant." Felix wrote that Woolman's programmed methods "could conceivably overcome" illiteracy in the county and "would be a perfectly legitimate research activity." He added that the research would have "considerable significance in the field of mental health, since non-reading is related to anti-social behavior and delinquency and since severe frustration phenomena during the middle years of childhood is known to occur upon the part of non-readers."

Felix obviously was enthusiastic. The enthusiasm soon caught Quigley, Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, Burke Marshall, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and the President. Woolman's project wouldn't solve the whole Prince Edward County problem, they believed, but it might help a large part of the Negro children catch up. On April 18, a Special Review Committee of eminent psychiatrists and psychologists and specialists from other related disciplines descended on Woolman's cluttered office in an old row house on the edge of Georgetown and grilled him for more than an hour. They discussed the project for almost three hours and then voted unanimously to recommend an NIMH grant to Woolman.

Eight days later, under pressure from Quigley, Felix mailed ballots to the 12 members of the National Advisory Mental Health Council, the group that has the final say about disbursing NIMH's $100,000,000 research fund each year. The Council was not scheduled to meet until June 20, too late to get Woolman and his proposed 21-man crew started during the summer. The ballots came in during May. Ten approved Woolman's project, one voted against it, and the twelfth member abstained.

On may 24, NIMH told Woolman to go ahead, hire his staff, and prepare to start work in Prince Edward County by August 1, But the final authorization letter from NIMH still was not in his hands. In early June, newspapers begain printing reports about Woolman's project, and a reaction quickly set in. It had a southern accent.

First, Senator Lister Hill, D-Ala., made a polite phone call to NIMH. Hill is chairman of both the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, and his generosity to medical research over the years has given him a paternal though near absolute influence over the National Institutes of Health. Hill did not say he objected to the project. He simply asked for information.

The evident objection came instead from Herman E. Downey, the flinty Tennessean who is staff director of Hill's appropriations subcommittee. Downey read the news accounts, immediately asked NIMH for the records, and then described the project as "a prostitution of medical research."

The seeming displeasure of the subcommitte that feeds money to the National Institutes of Health began to worry officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The enthusiasm of some officials began to wane. They also started to look nervously toward another southerner, Rep. L. H. Fountain, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Operations. Fountain is preparing to hold hearings on how NIH grants funds to researchers. Ironically, Fountain never did make a query about the Woolman project. His staff, in fact, is first looking into the situation now. But the shadow of Fountain and his forthcoming hearings loomed large enough to shake some of the convictions in HEW.

The unease showed quickly. On June 6, just after the first news accounts appeared, one of Felix's staff members, was briefing a group of federal officials and Prince Edward County residents on the mechanics of Woolman's project. Then a messenger handed him a memo from Felix. It said that the office of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Anthony Celebreeze, had ordered NIMH to hold back the project, at least until Congress adjourned for the year. Celebreeze's information officer, Harold Levy, has since denied that the Secretary himself issued the order. But, whoever was responsible, the order seemed to have Celebreeze working at cross purposes from the White House.

Some days later Mike Gorman, a member of the Advisory Council who had voted for Woolman's project, wrote a formal request for full reconsideration of the mail balloting. Gorman, a veteran of appropiration battling on mental health, is head of the National Committee Against Mental Illness. For years, he has been publicizing the crisis in mental health and promoting appropriations and donations of funds to meet it. The work has made him an intimate of the congressman who appropirate funds for mental health.

The Council met for its regular June 20 session in a conference room in "The Stone House," an aging cottage on the campus of NIH in Bethesda, Md. Ironically, it was the day after President Kennedy sent his last civil rights message to Congress, a message calling for the most sweeping civil rights bill since Reconstruction Days. The psychiatrists, psychologists and social scientists on the Council clearly had changed their earlier views.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that this change came only under the pressure of southern congressmen. Part of the change could be attributed to a growing resentment among the members toward another kind of pressure. Many of the Council members felt they had voted for Woolman's project originally under political pressure from the White House.

"We're a bunch of liberals, said one member. "We were for this thing as citizens. As scientists, we were not." There seemed to be a growing number of questions as to the strict scientific validity of the project. At the meeting, Gorman lashed a scathing attack against it. He said the project had been hastily and improperly drawn "under the gun" of the White House. He said it was not relevant to the mission of NIMH, and he expressed doubts about Woolman's experience and qualifications to run it. Two other members spoke out and supported Gorman. No one mentioned the appropriations subcommittee, but the name of Fountain was brought up. Oddly, in view of the earlier, almost breathless enthusiasm, no one from NIMH arose to defend Woolman

and the project. The Council, which had voted 10 to one with one abstention for the project by mail, decided to vote unanimously against in in person. Woolman and his programmed instruction would not be used in Prince Edward County.

"It's true that we were vulnerable," said a Kennedy Administration official who followed the episode closely, "and that makes it hard to argue with the contention that our scheme was non-scientific. But I think the moral of this mess is that some people, when the chips are down, have a greater loyalty to the appropriations committees than they do to the President of the United States." The moral of this mess, however, actually may be somewhat more complicated.

For one thing, the White House, while worrying about Prince Edward County, failed to see any of the broader implications of Woolman's research. No attempt was made to push the project as a real experiment that might help the problem of Negro unemployment throughout the nation. The White House saw the project as a disguised way of helping the county and pressured for it on these grounds. In doing so, the White House feel into a trap and found itself defeated by science, not segregation. This criticism, of course, is easy to make with hindsight. Woolman and NIMH actually sold the project as a cure for Prince Edward County. That's all the White House was looking for, and its search was sincere and commendable. It may be unfair --- though accurate --- to accuse the White House of not seeing the forest for the trees. At the

same time, it would seem that the White House was just as guilty as HEW in backing away from congressional pressure. The incident, at the least, shows a lack of coordination between the White House and Celebreeze.

One of the most troublesome questions is whether the episode actually resulted in setting back the whole cause of using programmed instruction to wipe out Negro illiteracy and unemployment. It is not easy to answer. Certainly the opportunity to demonstrate the method in a dramatic laboratory has been lost. But there still is some evidence that the publicity about the incident may have given programmed instruction a boost in some circles of the federal government.

The rejection of the project did not end the Administration's search for a way to help the Negroes in the county. In early August, William van den Heuvel, an assistant to Attorney General Kennedy, worked out a plan with Negro and Virginia officials for a privately-financed school system to open in Prince Edward County in September. Full details of the remedial program have not been announced, but the schools may be staffed with some psychologists. If so, a bit of programmed instruction surely may enter the curriculum.

Woolman does not believe he has suffered any crushing defeat. The Demonstration Review Panel of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency has recommened that a grant be made to try out his methods with a few hundred children in the Washington school system. An expert in the programmed instruction field puts the Woolman situation this way: "He's probably a little punchy about what happened to him. But he really hasn't been hurt by it. His ideas have received a lot of exposure now. And he is a very talented fellow."

Nevertheless, the government has lost a unique chance to see if programmed instruction can be used to raise the work skills of culturally-deprived people. There are a few other experiments in progress. Woolman's work in the Washington schools will be one of them. Mobilization for Youth, another project of the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, is using some programmed instruction in its project on the east side of Manhattan. Some work has been done in prisons and correctional institutions. A few other projects are ready to get going. But none have the advantage that Woolman would have had: a chance to work in the public spotlight with 500 Negro illiterates in one compact area.

All signs, however, show that federal job training has programmed instruction in its future, although officials don't see it as any panacea. Seymour Wolfbein, director of the Department of Labor's Office of Automation, Manpower and Training, says "We haven't used programmed instruction up to not, but we will very soon. There are oodles of companies in this field, and we

are asking HEW to check on them for us. I've been travelling about the country and looking at the material. Some of it looks pretty good. It looks like it can be used to raise the literacy and basic work skills of Negroes and others so they will be ready for technical training. Teachers are in such short supply that we have to look for something like this."

The need for these basic skills is increasing as the economy demands more and more skilled workers and the schools produce more and more dropouts. This foreshadows a mad, dangerous crisis of mass unemployment at the bottom of the economy and a critical need for skilled manpower at the top. "There are hundreds of thousands of Negroes without a fourth-grade education," Wolfbein says. "We find that we can't even train them to be gas station attendants. We worked with one company and found that 40 per cent of its business involved credit cards. Trainees have to know how to read and to add decimals. It takes more than just manning a pump. That's where programmed instruction could help, teaching the basic literacy and arithmetic."

These views are seconded by Dr. Hyman Frankel, the co-ordinator of training for the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. "Unfortunately not much is being done right now," he says. "We really are at the very beginning. There has been a lot of thinking about programmed instruction. We don't believe it is the key to the problem of job skills, but it has tremendous possibilities. Of course, there has been a lot of resistance to it by traditional educators . But we are going to move with much more acceleration now."

The comments by Wolfbein and Frankel may be the key to the episode. No one knows whether programmed instruction really can do the job of uplifting the skills of illiterates. But its possibilities for literacy and job skills seem too attractive for the bureaucratic machinations over Woolman and Prince Edward County to hold it back very long, if at all.

Rcvd Ed
ltr proy

November 16, 1964

Dr. Calvin E. Gross
Superintendent of Schools
110 Livingston Street
Brooklyn 1, New York

Dear Dr. Gross:

About two weeks ago Mr. Alan Cohen, Director of Reading for Mobilization for Youth, asked for my comments on Dr. Myron Woolman's Accelerated Progressive Choice literacy program. On November 2nd I wrote him at his request and am enclosing a copy of my letter because I thought you might find it of interest.

The Congress of Racial Equality feels a vital concern to become more involved in the problem of quality integrated education. My staff has investigated Dr. Woolman's approach and observed it in the field. We have been most impressed to say the least. There is a very good possibility that we may enter into a literacy program in the near future. Because we see Dr. Woolman's method as having particular appeal and relevancy within the Negro community, we are also interested in seeing Accelerated Progressive Choice used within school populations and by other organizations.

I understand that the New York City schools have investigated the use of this program. I am told that someone in your office has suggested that Dr. Woolman's material might be considered offensive to minority groups. I would certainly like to stress my belief that this is not the case.

At your convenience I believe it should be fruitful for us to sit down and discuss this matter further.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm
Enclosure

Remed. Ed
Lit Prog

17 November 1964

Reverend William Stuart Nelson
Vice President
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Nelson:

It was indeed a pleasure to meet with you last week. Myron Woolman and I both thought that the session was challenging. I am extremely encouraged about the possibility of developing a viable reading program aimed at high school dropouts and other youth who have missed or been denied the opportunity of an adequate education.

It seems to me that the expanded idea of a center for research and educational action has great potential as well. We are currently working on a detailed proposal to submit to you and Dr. Habrit within a few weeks. Before the proposal is in its final form, I shall be in touch with you again.

Again, let me thank you for your kind attention and for your insight into the problems faced by CORE and the challenges presented by the undereducated and therefore unemployable youth of America.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Dr. Myron Woolman

Memorandum to
The President

Subject:

**A Plan of Action**

**For Remedial Education**

(A follow-up on my memorandum
of October 16, 1964.)

From James Farmer
November 21, 1964

In my previous memo to you (October 16, 1964) I suggested that CORE believes that it is possible, working with other organizations and private citizens, to provide literacy skills for a million Americans in an eighteen month period with an investment of $30,000,000. I stressed the fact that CORE is an organization of volunteers, who are accepted and trusted within the communities most in need. Further, I stated that it is possible to perform this task in whatever buildings and facilities are available, using non-teachers to instruct with the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington.

The fact that millions of Americans see the fruits of our rich, productive society and yet cannot taste those fruits is a violation of the right of all citizens to equal opportunity. Moreover, these millions of economically and socially disfranchised Americans represent an unstable and potentially explosive force within our society. From the point of view of simple justice, economic growth, and social stability, we must attack this problem with all available resources. The social advances made possible by the Civil Rights Act and the promise in the Economic Opportunities Act are like a menu presented to long-hungry diners. These legislative acts must be followed by something tangible or the very hopes they raise will stimulate further disillusionment and resentment. The problem infects every American community and action must be taken wherever the problem exists.

In considering the issue, I am convinced that CORE has only begun to make its contribution. We must help the disadvantaged develop literacy and job skills and a concomitant confidence in their future as Americans.

I have a deep conviction that CORE must participate actively at the community level, lending support to these important programs as they begin to function within our deprived communities. The dropouts, illiterates and the unemployed cannot be helped by laws, buildings, money or good intentions. They distrust officials and schools, in whatever guise they appear, and they can only be brought into full and active participation in our society by people they trust using methods of training which are suited to their needs. Above all, there must be mutual confidence between the people who operate the programs and those to whom the training is given.

The prime fact of the war on poverty is that the trainee must not only enlist but actively participate if he is to learn. Learning, as you know, is a personal matter and requires both confidence in the teacher and a willingness to invest oneself in the process sufficiently to succeed. I am convinced that the next step is for organizations such as CORE to move forward into the national arena and if this important step is to succeed, to act as a catalyst for simplifying and accelerating the process of education and training.

Further, it is necessary for organizations such as CORE not only to participate in community education, but also to assist in developing the new educational methods and techniques required for community-action education, as contrasted with public education, which, to date, has been ineffective in coping with the problems rampant in our deprived communities.

While it is the responsibility of the schools to educate, it is our obligation to supplement that education where necessary and to reach those who have failed to respond to the schools. No one can reach the youth on the streets in quite the same manner as another youth or an adult who has come from the same background and environment. CORE feels strongly that the Negro protest organizations along with individual churches, local unions, social clubs and community groups have a unique role to play in motivating and educating those Americans who remain functionally illiterate. Our record shows that we have had astonishing success in motivating and training the very population that is most in need of inspiration, most in need of enrichment, most in need of literacy skills, most in need of jobs. We do not propose a program for non-whites alone. We propose to begin a campaign in which volunteers of all ages, backgrounds and races will be able to offer a unique learning experience to hundreds of thousands and even millions of disadvantaged and underprivileged persons.

We have in the field the structure for putting into effect a large scale literacy program. We have the methodology. With the proper funding we will be in a position to effect substantial literacy programs throughout the rural South and in hundreds of cities and towns. Through coordination of the efforts of private agencies and with the assistance of the federal government we believe we can make great strides toward the elimination of illiteracy in this great nation.

Our objective is to teach people to read and thus provide them with the underpinning required to go on to further educational and employment levels. But we have an even greater objective. Negroes and other members of depressed minority groups have been taught to reject their own potential. Those on the bottom have for their own self-protection become apathetic and lethargic: to try to advance is to be beaten down. Thus, millions of Americans have chosen to accept their inferior status. The militant civil rights campaigns of the past decade have awakened the sleeping aspirations of many of these sullen millions. For the first time we have brought the spark of

life into whole communities. While we have provided the awakening, we must now shift our programs so that we may provide the tools to translate these new-found aspirations into reality.

The ingredients necessary for the successful implementation of a literacy program which can provide reading skills and motivation for further growth are:

1. A population receptive to the idea of learning and self-advancement.

2. A technology which can provide the ability to advance reading skills at a substantial rate and which also has built-in self-motivating factors.

3. A large group of persons able to act as instructors.

4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.

5. Community facilities available for implementing the program over a long period of time.

6. Funds.

## Population

There is no need to dwell on the need or the receptivity of a large population. The statistical evidence is overwhelming. This has also been dealt with here and in the earlier memorandum.

## Technology

The method developed by Dr. Myron Woolman appears to hold the best possibility for success. It is a programmed approach which has been designed for use by relatively untrained personnel. It incorporates the learning by teaching approach. The content of the reading material can be tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of the southern Negro child and adult, the ghettoized high school dropout or the Appalachian white, and it allows the student to advance as rapidly as his own capabilities permit. CORE has observed the method in operation in the field. Our staff was amazed at the interest, involvement, discipline

and motivation of both instructors and students.

Others who have studied Progressive Choice in practice attest to its striking ability to stimulate and hold the learner. Students almost unanimously ask to spend longer hours on the program than time permits. They take tremendous pride in their accomplishments and in their successes. We are thoroughly convinced that Accelerated Progressive Choice offers the best opportunity for non-teachers to reach and teach the educationally and socially deprived.

Instructors

Many volunteer Literacy Instructors will be drawn from the dropout or potential dropout population itself. Retired teachers, housewives, student volunteers, church members and workers can also become volunteer Literacy Instructors.

The initial cadre of instructors will come from the active membership of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the churches. In many cases the instructors will recruit their own students. As students progress in the method they themselves will instruct others just entering the program. With CORE's extensive experience in the utilization of volunteers we will be able to recruit an ever-expanding number of instructors who will have wider and wider outreach.

We have observed student helpers on the junior high school level giving instruction in this method in a public school in North Carolina. It was startling to see that the student helpers were as effective in teaching as were the teachers. If 8th graders are able to teach reading to other 8th graders it becomes obvious that the number of potential teachers is limitless and that the demands of the Woolman method on the instructor do not preclude using youngsters themselves under supervision to teach others. A number of CORE chapters in New York are somewhat acquainted with the literacy program and many of our high school members have come to us asking when they can begin to implement the program in their schools and through their chapters. With the small amount of publicity there has been on the literacy program my office has been flooded with offers of professional assistance, with volunteers who want to become instructors and with inquiries from communities wanting to know when they can begin the program.

Structure

I propose that a Center for Research in Community-Action Education be established in an appropriate university setting. Preliminary discussions have already been carried on with two universities and this proposal has met with initial positive responses. The university would receive and account for funds from all sources, public and private. The Center's sole initial function would be to research, develop and execute the literacy program on a national scale. This aspect of the Center's work shall be referred to as Phase I.

The Center will require four operational arms: Research, Development, Planning and Community Action. Under Phase I the functions of these departments would be:

1 a. Research Arm: To develop theory and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning, with emphasis on narrowing the gap between human potential and performance.

2 b. Development Arm: To design and produce educational materials specific to the requirements for Community-Action Education Programs.

3 c. Planning Arm: To coordinate the professional, educational governmental, and organizational resources to facilitate work done in the field. Further it would operate as a resource for the other three arms in the Center.

4 d. The Community Action Arm: This arm would do the work of going out into the communities to carry out the plan of action and use the materials developed through the research and development arms. It would also evaluate and make recommendations for change in the methods of implementation employed by the cooperating agencies.

I further propose, however, that the scope of the University Center eventually be expanded into Phase II. In this second phase the Center should broaden its program to include all aspects of quality, integrated education. For example, Phase II should be concerned with sharply reducing the proportion of dropouts and increasing the ability of students to learn.

The functions of the four departments under Phase II would be expanded to include the following:

1 a. Research Arm: Research in the whole area of school integration, and other research appropriate to developing quality education within the public schools.

2 b. Development Arm: Development of proposals at the request of school systems and local organizations for achievment of quality, integrated education, and development of materials and textbooks toward this end.

3 c. Planning Arm: Communication and coordination of the work being done by community action groups, boards of education, governmental agencies, and various experimental projects. Planning and expediting the transition from community-action education to public school education inasmuch as the success of Phase II will progressively render Phase I unnecessary.

4 d. Community Action Arm: Act in a consultative capacity to school boards, school supervisors and community groups to assist in the solution of educational and training problems arising from intergroup tensions or desegregation.

It should be pointed out that the expanded scope (Phase II) of the Center is independent of and not a requisite for the national reading program (Phase I). A financial commitment to Phase I implies no such commitment or endorsement of the projected second phase.

Community Facilities

In addition to the University Center which would serve as the research, administrative, and supervisory headquarters for the literacy development program, certain community resources will be required. It has been indicated that the body of instructors will be a prime resource provided by the community. Places in which to teach also will be necessary. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, union halls, plant facilities and community centers will be ideal. In fact, the logic of the program indicates that the more the quarters are unlike a typical school setting, the better.

Funds

The educational crisis facing America requires a massive effort on the part of volunteer agencies. Only the federal government can support such an effort on the scale which is imperative. However, on a large scale the average cost of developing an eighth grade reading level in students beginning near point zero can be less than $50. This low cost will be possible due to the use of volunteer instructors and free facilities.

In most cases the cost to a community or agency desiring to undertake the literacy program should consist solely of the investment of time and energy. The materials, research and supervisory staff would be paid for by the funds made available by the federal government. I am in the process of preparing a budget which will be available shortly.

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

I would suggest that we begin implementation of the literacy program in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. We should move next to Pittsburgh and New York City. After that we should expand into the South and as rapidly as possible spread to cities across the nation.

At the beginning we would use the network of CORE chapters, NAACP, Urban League, SNCC and SCLC units and Freedom Schools, which already have expressed an interest in the project, as the nucleus for implementation. These groups are uniquely equipped to move into this type of community program rapidly and effectively and without necessitating new and elaborate community machinery. But we shall by no means limit participation to civil rights organizations. Already, one of America's major industries has approached CORE about the possibilities of putting the reading method into effect among the workers in its plants.

The Center at the outset will develop facilities to train Literacy Instructors both on its own premises and in the field. In any given city we would start with a cadre of between twenty and fifty Literacy Instructor Trainees. They can be trained as Literacy Instructors in from twenty-five to forty hours of instruction, depending upon the number of hours they have available and on their own motivational and educational level. At the end of their training period they will be fully equipped to: 1) instruct in the Accelerated Progressive Choice method, 2) recruit their own students, 3) secure their own facilities in which to carry on their instruction if necessary, and 4) maintain all appropriate records.

As Literacy Instructors they will work largely within their own neighborhoods with students of compatible backgrounds with whom they readily can establish rapport. Each Instructor will be able to teach up to twelve persons in a group. Depending upon their initial level the students can become student-Instructors within a period of 30 to 150 hours of instruction and many of them are expected, at the end of 250 to 300 hours of instruction, to be fully qualified as literacy instructors without having gone through cadre training.

The Community Action arm of the University Center will also develop a large staff of Community Reading Program Consultants whose function will be to investigate, develop and supervise new agencies which can serve as fruitful local instruments for this aspect of the War Against Poverty. Working under the Program Consultants will be teams of paid staff members drawn from the ranks of the Literacy Instructors, who will check on each local Instructor and provide him with methods for continually improving his effectiveness.

Coordinated and planned from the Center, largely utilizing the already existing structures of national and regional organizations, and drawing upon local initiative, the nation-wide literacy program can be functional in a surprisingly short period of time and with an extremely low per capita expense.

I believe that this welding of research, development, and planning to community action represents a major new force in the War Against Poverty and the struggle for equality in our nation. This program is, as you know, very much a part of my deepest convictions and I would participate personally and actively in the Center to insure its viability. I intend to seek, and am confident of gaining, the support of all civil rights groups, as well as unions, churches, the business community, and the general public in this task.

Within the framework of a Research Center such as the one outlined, a target on the order of one million literacy trainees appears both practical and feasible. This Center is a vehicle which has not existed to this time, because there was no public requirement to combine research, development and community action. Now, it seems to me, it is a necessary development to help insure the success of the War on Poverty. It utilizes many forces and combines them into a synchronous and functional system.

This new kind of war demands its own special weapons. The Center for Research in Community-Action Education will be a vital addition to our nation's arsenal in prosecuting this war - against poverty and for social justice.

Air Prog

11 December 1964

Dr. Thomas J. Edwards
Science Research Associates
295 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Bud:

I thought that your participation and that of Lyle Spencer constituted a splendid addition to the Howard University meeting. It appears that we have in the making a beautiful relationship with the University. I am terribly glad that you suggested that Spencer be invited.

As I indicated iin my letter to Lyle, I would hope to keep in close touch with you. If you are in the city, please be sure to see me and at any rate, I will keep you informed of development as they occur.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

lit prog

14 December 1964

Dr. Lyle Spencer
Science Research Associates
295 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Lyle:

Let me extend my most sincere thanks for your participation in Washington on December 9. I though that the meeting was tremendously successful and Jim, Mike and I are most encouraged. Your contact with Keppel was most important and most heartening.

This week I will begin on the memorandum which will form the basis for our meeting with Shriver. I believe that your participation in that meeting could be most helpful. As soon as I get fairly well along with the draft of this document, I will be in touch with you again. In the meantime I will keep in close contact with Bud Edwards.

Let me also thank you for your offer to help with the expenses involved in having the potential literacy instructors from Chicago trained in New York.

It was indeed a pleasure meeting you and I trust that we shall be seeing a great deal of one another in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Dr. Thomas J. Edwards
Science Research Associates
295 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois

Lt p209

14 December 1964

Dr. James Nabrit
President
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Nabrit:

Jim Farmer has asked me to express CORE's appreciation for the fruitful meeting at Howard University on December 9. We left the University with a deeper conviction and a great deal of optimism. Your insight, your suggestions and your extremely competent handling of the meeting have been of inestimable value in charting the course toward our goal.

Especially helpful were your suggestions for tying in the reading program with the Peace Corp and your challenge to expand the scope of the program to include vocabulary expansion, verbalization and math.

I shall be in touch with Vice President Nelson shortly in regard to further plans. We look forward to a continuing and most helpful relationship with the University.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

CC: Dr. Wm. Stuart Nelson
Vice President
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Lit. Prog

14 December 1964

Dr. Wm. Stuart Nelson
Vice President
Howard University

Dear Stuart Nelson:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to President Mabrit. We at CORE felt that the meeting was extremely productive and that firm goundwork for our future relationship was laid.

I will be in the process shortly of preparing a much more detailed report to be submitted to Sargent Shriver. When I have this document prepared in its rough form, I will be in touch with you.

Without your kind assistance and cooperation, we could not have progressed as we have. The kinds of ideas and suggestions made by you and Dr. Mabrit were precisely what we needed to help clarify our ideas.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

Domingo Carino

Why I would like to help.

I believe I would like to help, just for the satisfaction of knowing that I have helped someone

It is a great pleasure to know that you have helped your fellow man to make a better life for himself

I know this sounds like I just want glory, but this is not true, I just want to help my peers.

December 21, 1964

Miss Frances Covington
936 Fulton Street
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Miss Covington:

Just a note to let you know how pleased I am with the way the meeting went on Saturday and the enthusiasm and dedication shown by all of you. You were terrific.

Now I hope you will be instrumental in getting you chapter started on the Literacy program. To make this program a success we will need total committments on the part of all those involved.

As soon as you have recruited a sufficient number of students, please get in touch with Mr. James T. McCain, Director of Organization, CORE 38 Park Row.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC/mt

CC: Rita Phillips - 1311 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, New York
Mary Phifer - 3314 Snider Avenue, Brooklyn, New York
Ruth McDowall - 712 E. 6th Street New York City
Ken Albert - 309 Lafayette Avenue Brooklyn 38, New York
Eric Mauer - 500 W. 235th Street, Bronx 63, New York
Dave Crittendon - 712 E. 6th Street, New York City
Domingo Larino 530 E. 139th St. Bronx, New York
Thomas Echevarria 542 E. 139th St. Bronx, New York
Elaine Anderson - 463 E. 178th St. Bronx, New York

Former file

21 December 1964

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Shriver:

Some weeks ago I took the liberty of sending to your office copies of some preliminary proposals which were submitted to the President at his request. Shortly after the first of the year I will have a more complete and detailed proposal available.

As soon as the proposal is completed, it will be submitted to your by my assistant, Gordon Carey. I hope that you will be able to meet with Mr. Carey in regard to this proposal as I will be in Africa until the end of January.

Our proposal for a national literacy program is not a proposal to be implemented by CORE. We have already talked with Howard University about the establishment of a Center for Research in Community-Action Education. When the Center is established, its services will be available to any community or organization in the United States.

We in CORE believe that the civil rights agencies have a unique opportunity to help in developing the basic educational skills which must constitute an essential part of the Poverty War. CORE is already beginning a pilot project in New York City. I have also discussed my proposal with Whitney Young, who responded with enthusiasm. I will be meeting with Mr. Wilkins shortly. We have also been in touch with labor unions, businesses and other community groups who have expressed an interest in the problem.

I am enclosing copies of the two memoranda which I sent to Mr. Johnson. CORE looks forward to its involvement in this next phase in the struggle for equality with a great deal of excitement and challenge. We are elated that the federal government, under your leadership, has so boldly moved into this attack on the roots of poverty and despair.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP
ENC.

## BOOKS ON AFRICAN CULTURE AND NEGRO HISTORY

| | |
|---|---|
| Hughes, Langston | "First Book of Negroes" |
| " " | "First Book of Africa" |
| " " | "Pictorial History of the Negro in America" |
| Woodson, Carter | "The African Background" |
| " " | "Negro Makers of History" |
| Frazier, E. F. | "The History of the Negro People in the U.S." |
| Aptheker, H. | A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S." |
| Benet, S. V. | "John"s Brown B$^{O}$dy"Bontemps, A. W. |
| Bontemps, A. W. | "Story of the Negro" |
| " " | "Golden Slippers" |
| Shackelford, J. D. | "Child"s Story of the Negro" |
| Becker, J. L. | "The Negro in American Life" |
| Brown, S. A. et al. | "The Negro Caravan" |
| Rogers, J.A. | "Africa's Gift to America" |
| Leuzinger, Elsy | "Art of the Negro Peoples. Africa" |

# LITERACY PROGRAM

## FOUNDATIONS

Ford - Hal Hoffman
Taconic - Stephen Currier
Twinbrook ; Mrs. Ilse Levinger
CORE SEDF - Andrew Norman
Vera Foundation - Schweitzer
Corning Glass Works

## FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Poverty Program - Office of Economic Reconstruction
Office of Education

## EDUCATORS

Dan Dodson
Frank Riessman
Kenneth Clark
Terry Schwarz

## NORTH CAROLINA

Jim Wheeler
Libby Koontz

## COMPANIES

Pepsi Cola

## UNIONS

AFL-CIO

## Individuals suggested by Frank Riessman

Arthur Pearl
Howard University
Center for Youth and Community Studies

Home: 3901 Livingston Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Tel: 202-966-4713

Dr. Max Wolff
Director of Research
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Department of Labor, Migration Division
322 West 45th Street, New York 36
Tel: CI 5-0700

Richard Smith
Film Text Department
McGraw Hill
330 West 42nd Street
New York Tel: 971-2579

S.M. Miller ("Mike")
553 Allen Street

Pat Sexton

Mary Kohler
"Words in Color"
Tel: BU8-3996

Martin Mayer ("The Schools")
33 East End Avenue
Tel: RE 7-1518

Dr. Martin Deutsch
Tel: EN 9-7900

Prof. Edmond Gordon
Yeshiva University
Tel: JU 2-5260

Goodwin Witham
Tel: 914-WO 7-3410

Vera Pratt (daughter of Trudy Lash) Marshall Field

Dave Hunter
Stern Family Fund

## INDIVIDUALS INTERESTED IN LITERACY PROGRAM

Mr. Ron Davidson c/o John Jacobs
~~2831 Center Avenue~~ 544 Loretto Rd.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
~~Tel.: 412 683-5460~~

Russ Hanson
CORE, USNSA
Mankato State College
Mankato, Minnesota

Miss Cassandra Stockburger
Director
National Committee on the Education of Migrant Children
145 East 32nd Street MU3-4545

ACHELIS FOUNDATION
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60 Wall Street
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ALTMAN FOUNDATION
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Mr. Otto Klineberg
THE AQUINAS FUND
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New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Marion R. Ascoli
President
MARION R. ASCOLI FUND
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Mr. Erwin Eliel
ASSOCIATED METALS & MINERALS FOUNDATION, INC.
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New York 17, N.Y.

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AVALON FOUNDATION
713 Park Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Mrs. Brooke Astor
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The Vincent Astor Foundation
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Secretary
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20 Exchange Place
New York 5, N.Y.

Mr. Edgar M. Cullman, President
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161 Front Street
New York 38, N.Y.

Mr. Earl W. Brinkman
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509 Genesee Valley Trust Building
45 Exchange Street
Rochester 14, N.Y.

DEERING MILLIKEN FOUNDATION
1045 Avenue of the Americas
New York 13, N.Y.

Mr. Jack Poses
D'ORSAY FOUNDATION
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New York 3, N.Y.

Mr. Harold B. Gores, President
EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES LABORATORIES, INC.
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New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson, President
THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC?
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Mr. Jerome Fishbach, President
FISHBACH FOUNDATION, INC.
545 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Henry H. Villard, President
THE FLAGG FUND, INC.
170 East 93rd Street
New York 28, N.Y.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Joseph A. Zock, President
FORTUNE RESEARCH FOUNDATION, INC.
20 Exchange Place, Room 4510
New York 5, N.Y.

Miss Lucy G. Moses, President
ISABELLA FREEDMAN FOUNDATION, INC.
c/o Moses and Singer
29 Broadway
New York 6, N.Y.

Mr. Ralph Friedman, Director
RUTH AND RALPH FRIEDMAN FOUNDATION, INC.
850 Third Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Frederick R. Pratt, President
THE FRIENDFIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
45 Wall Street
New York 5, N.Y.

THE GENERAL CHARITABLE AID ASSOCIATION
c/o S. L. Hawkins
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N.Y.

Mr. Allan B. Coughlin, President
THE ROSAMOND GIFFORD CHARITABLE CORPORATION
532 Onondaga County Savings Bank Building
Syracuse 2, New York

Mr. G. N. Lowe, Secretary
THE GLENS FALLS FOUNDATION
239 Glen Street
Glens Falls, N.Y.

Miss Marjorie L. Polikoff, President
GOOD NEIGHBOR FOUNDATION, INC.
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New York 17, N.Y.Mr. D. C. Cook, Secretary

Mr. D. C. Cook, Secretary
MARY WL HARRIMAN TRUST
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New York 5, N.Y.

Mrs. Ruth Smadbeck, President
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Mr. Jay Holmes, President
HOLMES FOUNDATION, INC.
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New York 17, N.Y.

Miss May A. Brown, Director
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c/o Empire Trust Company
20 Broad Street'
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WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

# BUDGETARY ESTIMATE

1. The base cost of the project per month will be calculated at $15,000 for a 375-unit learner load or $40.00 per student at this base level. Due to previous commitments, only 67% of planned IER personnel will be able to be activated for the CORE project during the first month. Therefore, the cost is estimated at $10,000 for that month.

2. By the second month, the project will be fully manned and the cost will then attain the base figure of $15,000.

3. Any month in which more than 375 students are activated, the cost will be calculated at $40.00 for the first 375 students and $15.00 per student above this number. Payments will be made quarterly in advance. The first payment will be made upon acceptance of the project by CORE:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Acceptance of project by CORE | $40,000 | $175,000 |
| End of 3rd month | 45,000 | |
| End of 6th month | 45,000 | |
| End of 9th month | 45,000 | |

4. The preceeding estimates to CORE are based on present IER operational costs. Computer time will be required for data analysis. It is hoped that cost of computer time will involve no additional project costs. In the event that IER costs for the CORE Literacy Program are in excess of these estimates, it is anticipated that a new base figure will be negotiated. Likewise, in the event that IER costs are reduced through time sharing, overlapping projects, etc., IER will notify CORE and negotiate a reduced base cost per month.

5. This Literacy Project will extend over a minimum period of one year and will be continued only if there is a joint agreement between CORE and IER. Each continuation period will, likewise, extend over a period of one year. A new base figure will be negotiated for each continuation, if any.

2 COPS

THESE ARE THE NAMES OF PEOPLE WHO CAME TO THE INSTRUCTOR TRAINING PROGRAM

* FRANCÉE Covington - 936 Fulton St - BKlyn.
* Rita Phillips - 1311 Putnam Ave. "
* MARY PHIFER - 3314 Snider Ave. BKlyn 3,
* John McDowell - 712 E. 6TH st. - New York City
* KEN HIBERT - 309 Lafayette Ave - BKlyn 38
* ERIC MAUER - 500 W 235TH st. Bronx 63,
* DAVE CRITHENDON - 712 E 6TH ST - N.Y. City.
CORE or Regional Office

* Domingo ~~Ha~~LARINO - 530 E 139 ST Bronx
* THOMAS ECHEVARRIA - 542 E 139 st Bronx
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ERIC MANN — CORE Reg. Office
Judy HOWELL
* ELAINE ANDERSON - 463 E. 178TH st - BRONX, N.Y.
JOYCE WARE - CORE Regional OFFICE -
James McCain
Gordon Carey
Lou Smith

## INDIVIDUALS WHO ATTENDED INSTRUCTOR TRAINING PROGRAM

| | |
|---|---|
| Francee Covington | 936 Fulton St., Brooklyn |
| Rita Phillips | 1311 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn |
| Mary Phifer | 3314 Snyder Ave., Brooklyn 3 |
| John McDowall | 712 East 6th St., New York |
| Ken Albert | 309 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn 38 |
| Eric Mauer | 500 West 235th St., Bronx 63 |
| Dave Crittendon | 712 East 6th Street, N.Y. (or CORE Regional Office) |
| Domingo Larino | 530 East 139th St., Bronx |
| Thomas Echevarria | 542 East 139th St., Bronx |
| Herbert Callender | CORE Regional Office |
| Eric Mann | CORE Regional Office |
| Judy Howell | |
| Elaine Anderson | 463 East 178th St., Bronx, N.Y. |
| Joyce Ware | CORE Regional Office |
| James McCain | |
| Gordon Carey | |
| Lou Smith | |

# News for You

Alex Quaison-Sackey from Ghana, the new United Nations president, receives congratulations from U. N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. A real test on Russia's right to vote was avoided by a negative vote. Quaison-Sackey was elected merely by asking if any nation objected. Membership in the United Nations has now reached 115 countries.

## F.B.I. Arrests 21 Suspects In Mississippi

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) recently arrested 21 men in Mississippi.

The F.B.I. arrested the men on a civil rights charge. They said the men were connected with the murder of three civil rights workers last summer.

The federal government cannot charge the men with murder. Murder is a state crime.

If a jury says the men are guilty, the biggest punishment they can get is ten years in prison.

Two of the men arrested were the sheriff and deputy sheriff of Neshoba County, Mississippi.

The civil rights workers were last seen in Neshoba County on June 21. F. B. I. agents found their murdered bodies in August. The bodies were buried in a dam.

## Pope Paul Visits India

Pope Paul VI visited India last week. A million people awaited his arrival at Bombay Airport. The Pope said, "We come as pilgrims of peace, of joy, and of love."

The Pope was sad to see many poor children begging in the streets. He said that nations should spend their money for food, homes, and medicine for the world's poor people, instead of buying weapons to kill each other.

Pope Paul VI went to India to make friends with people of other religions. He visited the International Eucharistic Congress of the Roman Catholic Church.

Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri (right) greets Pope Paul VI at the Archbishop's residence in Bombay, India.

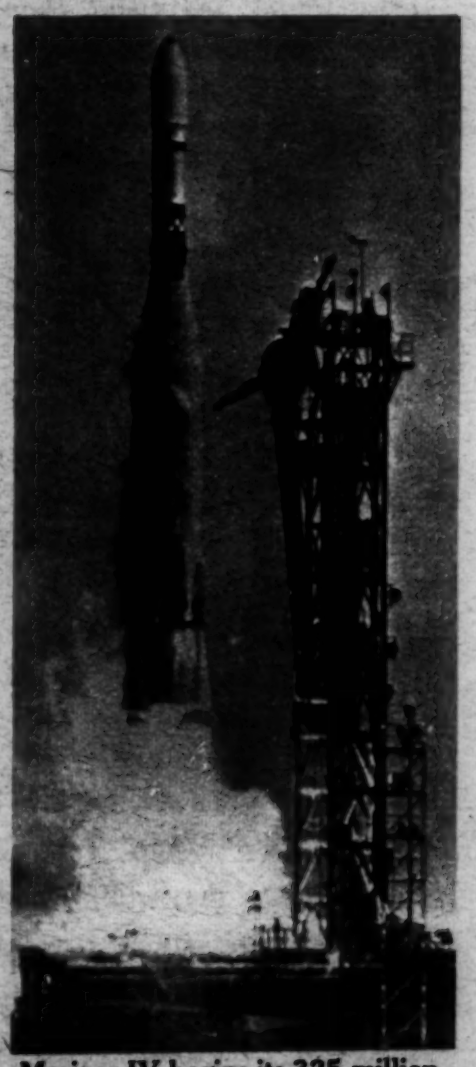
Three University of California coeds smile at the photographer through the bars of the Oakland, California jail. They were part of the 900 students arrested for staging a sit-in demonstration in the Administration building on the Berkeley campus. The sit-in ended with their arrest.

## U.S. Spaceship Races For Mars

Two spaceships are racing toward Mars. Mariner 4 is a U.S. spaceship. Zond 2 is a Russian spaceship. Both were sent into space the last week in November. There are no men on either ship.

Mars is 325 million miles from the earth. Mariner 4 will come near Mars next July. Scientists say Mariner 4 will be 10,000 miles from Mars.

Mariner 4 is carrying a television camera. This camera will take pictures of Mars. Then we will know more about Mars.



Mariner IV begins its 325-million-mile, 228-day trip to planet Mars.

*And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. [2](And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) [3]And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. [4]And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:) [5]to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. [6]And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. [7]And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn. [8]And there were in the same country shepherds, abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. [9]And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. [10]And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. [11]For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. [12]And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. [13]And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, [14]Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. [15]And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. [16]And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger. [17]And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child. [18]And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds. [19]But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart.*

Luke 2:1-19

*And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. [2](And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.) [3]And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city. [4]And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; (because he was of the house and lineage of David:) [5]to be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child. [6]And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered. [7]And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn. [8]And there were in the same country shepherds, abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. [9]And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. [10]And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. [11]For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. [12]And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. [13]And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, [14]Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. [15]And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. [16]And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger. [17]And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child. [18]And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds. [19]But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart. [20]And the shepherds returned, glorifying and praising God for all the things that they had heard and seen, as it was told unto them.*

Matt. 2:1-15

National Gallery of Art

**"The Madonna of the Stars," painted in the late 16th century by Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594), hangs in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C. It is part of the Ralph and Mary Booth Collection.**

## Favorite Carols

The first Christmas carols were sung in the 13th century. St. Francis made a scene to look like the Nativity. Children brought gifts to the Christ Child. Young people sang and danced in a circle.

The word "carol" came to mean singing and dancing in a circle. The story of Christ's birth was put to music and the songs about it passed on to us.

The people liked to see Bible stories acted out as plays. The actors sang carols in the plays. If the people liked the songs, the singers walked through the streets singing. They sang the carols over again. This was how caroling began.

Here are carols from five countries:

### Austria

Silent night, holy night,
All is calm, all is bright.
Round yon Virgin Mother and Child,
Holy infant so tender and mild,
Sleep in heavenly peace,
Sleep in heavenly peace.

### England

God rest ye merry, gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay.
Remember Christ our Saviour
Was born on Christmas day
To save us all from Satan's power
When we had gone astray.
Oh, tidings of comfort and joy,
comfort and joy,
Oh, tidings of comfort and joy.

### France

The first Noel, the angels did say,
Was to certain poor shepherds in fields
where they lay.
In fields where they lay keeping their
sheep,
On a cold winter's night that was so deep.
Noel, Noel, Noel, Noel,
Born is the King of Israel.

### Germany

Away in a manger, no crib for a bed,
The little Lord Jesus lay down his
sweet head.
The stars in the heavens looked down
where he lay.
The little Lord Jesus asleep on the hay.

### United States

Oh, little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie.
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep,
The silent stars go by.
Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The Everlasting Light.
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee tonight.

Church World Service

**Carpentry in Jordan is part of the rehabilitation program used to help refugees get a new start after leaving home and lands in old Israel.**

## Nations of the World

# Jordan -- Jesus' Birthplace

By Jamil Shamy

Jordan has a special meaning for Christians at Christmas. It is the country where Jesus was born. Bethlehem is in Jordan.

Today Jordan is an Arab nation. It is the part of Palestine which was given to the Arabs when Israel became a Jewish state. It has about two million people.

It is the shape of a hatchet and is about as large as the state of Indiana.

Nine-tenths of the land is desert. About 200,000 of the Arabs are called Bedouins. They wander over the desert with their camels, goats, and sheep.

Bedouins are kind, friendly people. They know every water hold and every inch of pasture land. At night they sit under the stars, around a fire, and tell stories and recite poetry.

One-third of the people who live in Jordan today fled from Palestine. They left their homes there during the war with Israel in 1948.

Jordan had almost no jobs for them. They live in small rooms with little food and water. The United Nations supports them now. But they are learning new trades so they can support themselves.

Crops grow in only one-tenth of the land--the small section watered by the Jordan River and the Yarmuk River. Here wheat, barley, and fruits are raised.

Jordan's ruler is King Hussein. He is helped by a cabinet of several ministers. The parliament is elected by the people every four years.

The small country is growing fast. There are new schools and hospitals. To encourage trade, a new 220-mile road was built to Aqaba on the Red Sea. Aqaba is Jordan's only port.

Amman is the capital city.

# TLC* For Your Christmas Tree

*(Tender Loving Care)

Christmas means Christmas trees to families all over the country. Everybody likes to have a pretty tree.

Do you know how to choose a tree? Do you know how to keep it fresh for a long time?

The College of Forestry at Syracuse University has some hints about Christmas trees. Follow these hints and your tree will stay pretty a long time.

Be sure to buy a fresh tree. It will keep its needles a longer time than a dry tree. A fresh tree will not catch fire as easily.

### Hints For Tree Care

After you buy your tree, keep it fresh this way: cut the bottom of the trunk at an angle. Then, put the tree in a stand. Make sure there is some water at the bottom of the stand.

Some trees last longer indoors than others do. Firs and pines make good Christmas trees.

Church World Service

**Refugees learn metal-turning operation.**

Technical Cooperation Administration, Dept. of State

**Bedouin tribesmen and their herds pause beside a cistern at Muwaggar, Jordan. It was built by Jordan and the U. S.**

### About the author...

Jamil Shamy lives in Ramallah, Jordan. His father directs the Laubach Literacy Program there. He teaches people to read and write.

Jamil is in the United States now. He is studying at the University of Arkansas. He plans to return to Jordan and help teach the more than 50 million people in the Middle East who cannot read or write.

He says, "They are in the dark! They can see the light but cannot reach it."

# U.S. Postal Service Is Big Business

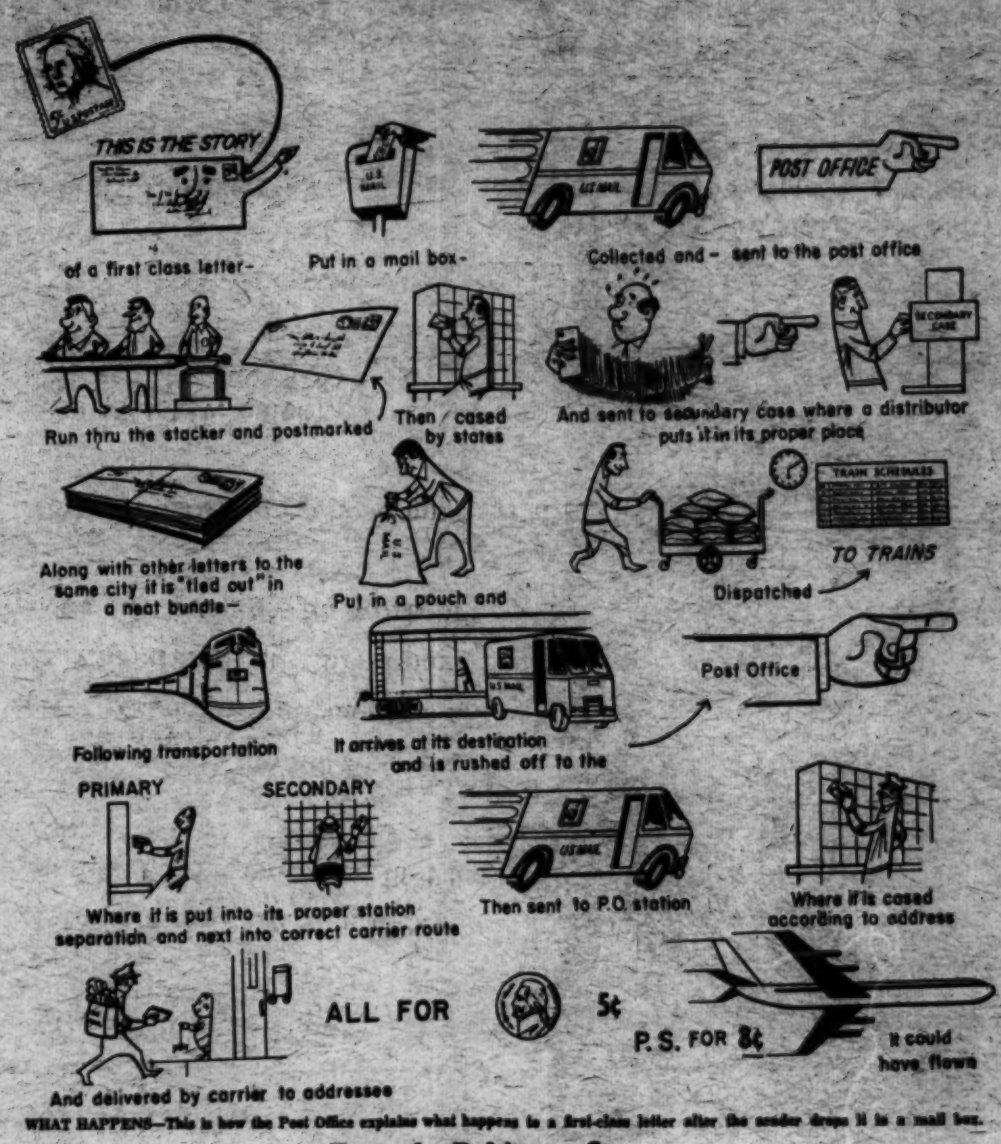
By Alta Bell

Christmas is a busy time for all of us. But it is especially busy for people who work in the Post Office. Each year the Post Office Department handles 67 billion pieces of mail. This is enough to reach from earth to the moon 44 times, if we put them all end to end.

Who handles all this mail? You probably know the postman who comes to your door six times a week. But there are many, many others. There are 558,000 workers in all. They work in 35,000 post offices. Our government pays them 10 million dollars a day.

Mr. John A. Gronouski is the Postmaster General. He is the head of the Post Office Department. He is in the President's Cabinet.

The first Postmaster General was Benjamin Franklin. The Congress gave him this job in 1775.



WHAT HAPPENS—This is how the Post Office explains what happens to a first-class letter after the sender drops it in a mail box.

From the Baltimore Sun

The Post Office Department has grown each year since 1775. It touches the lives of all Americans. All of us receive and send some mail.

All of us want to get our mail quickly. We don't like to get it late. But sometimes mail is delayed. This is especially true at busy times

How can the mail be moved quicker? The Post Office Department is trying to get quicker ways of sorting mail.

There are machines that help. Detroit sorted 20 million pieces of mail in one day. More machines are needed.

### Use Your Zip Code

Have you heard about the Zip Code? Do you know what it means? It has five numbers. For example, the number for News for You, is 13210. The "1" is for the states of New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware. The "32" is for the area around Syracuse, New York. The "10" is the old zone number for News for You. This Zip number helps us to get your letter quicker.

Progress and the Post Office Department go along together. It is good to get news from far away places. Our country would not be great without the Post Office Department. It is that important.

## To Help You Learn

I. Answer these questions with complete sentences.

1. Who was the first Postmaster General?
2. What is a Zip code? Can you give your Zip code?
3. Where is Jordan?
4. How old are some of the Christmas carols we sign today?
5. What are some ways to make a Christmas tree last a long time?

II. Circle the word in parentheses which completes the sentence so that it is correct. Example: Jordan has a (special, specially) meaning for Christians at Christmas.

1. It is (especial, especially) busy for people who work in the Post Office.
2. You (probable, probably) know the postman who comes to your door.
3. All people want to get their mail (quickly, quick).
4. At night they sit under the stars, around a fire, and tell stories and (tell, recite, speak) poetry.
5. Some trees last (long, longer) than others.
6. The actors (sing, sang, sung) carols in the play.

**News For You is taking a vacation for two weeks. Your next issue will be dated January 6, 1965. Merry Christmas!**

Dawn Baker of Pasadena, California, was chosen December 1st as Queen of the 76th Annual Tournament of Roses Parade and football game.

News For You A Edition

Newspaper in Easy English for Adults, Published Weekly During the School Year in Levels AA (easiest), A (easy), and B (harder) Vol. 11
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1964

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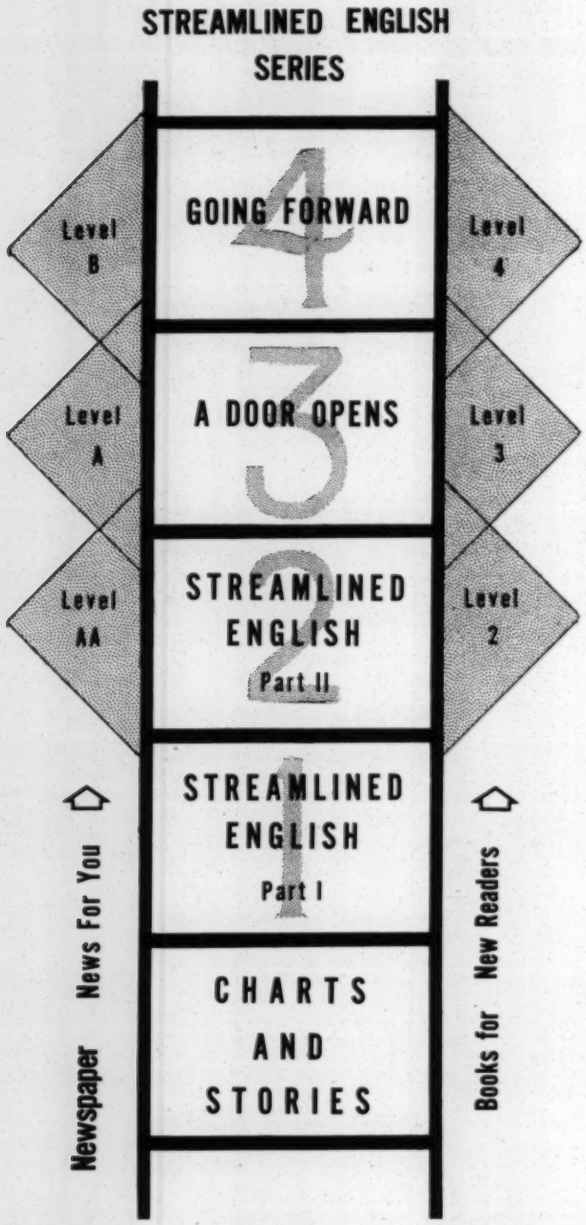
# THE LADDER OF LITERACY



# THE LADDER OF LITERACY
# A CONCEPT IN ADULT GRADED MATERIALS

New Readers Press is dedicated to the preparation and publication of graded reading materials for adults, arranged in a "ladder of literacy," climbing from almost complete illiteracy to the threshold of "functional literacy."

Just where "functional literacy" begins is debatable. Some educators maintain that an adult who gains information, instruction and entertainment daily through reading requires at least an eighth grade reading ability. We certainly agree this to be desirable for all adults in a highly advanced nation like ours.

But we also have read the Census figures: in the United States there are 8.3 million persons, 25 years of age and older, who have achieved less than five years of schooling. If the age limit is lowered to 18, we have at least 12 million who, having had less than five years of schooling, are in the range between nonreading and fourth grade reading.

Because the need is so great, and because of the dearth of adult-oriented materials in the lower levels, we have chosen fifth grade reading as our threshold of functional literacy.

To help the adult climb from the abyss of illiteracy to this threshold is the objective of our "ladder of literacy."

At the center of the "ladder" is the Streamlined English series, with a set of materials for each level. At Level 1 there are, at present, no other materials. But with each succeeding level more materials, on a variety of subjects, are being prepared; and with each succeeding level more excellent materials are available from many publishers.

Teachers of the Streamlined English series are using supplementary materials from many sources. The supplementary materials of New Readers Press—periodicals and books—will be of use to teachers of English-speaking and nonEnglish-speaking adults, no matter what text they may be using.

Because of a number of subtle differences between adult materials and materials for children, the levels in our "ladder of literacy" correspond only roughly to grades in school. Our placing of each book on a certain level is suggestive rather than definitive, though teachers generally have found the placement accurate.

New Readers Press is focusing readability and linguistic theory on the development of ever more readable and interesting materials. We welcome comments from teachers, and suggestions for manuscripts.

Robert S. Laubach, Publisher

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# We Honor Them

## Volume I

by Willie Mae Watson

Persis Jennings, Artist

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# To the Educator

Teachers have long felt a need for easy-to-read material about Negroes. They are well aware of the paucity of materials in this area. The teacher in the average public school must search beyond the textbook content in order to secure information on the Negro. Few textbook accounts draw upon the research on Negro history. They lag behind development in this field of history. Yet, the social studies can serve as an effective means to modify attitudes and sentiments. Increased information tends to make such modifications possible. Therefore, information on the Negro should be included in social studies materials used in the classroom.

The social studies deal with relationships. Students are led to a realization of the interdependence of peoples. The teacher creates an environment for positive learnings. These establish an appreciation for the worth of all individuals and for their contributions to total human welfare. All peoples have had great individuals whose ideas and efforts found expression in many different ways. Social education develops an awareness that superior individuals are members of all races; that our American cultural and social heritage evolved from the contributions of many peoples.

The knowledge that many Negroes have contributed to the onward development of society enhances the Negro's own concept of himself. He must have this kind of knowledge to help him find a place for himself. Everyone, adult and child alike, needs information to help acquire the common values, ideals, and behavior necessary for good social living.

The reading levels of the stories are low, ranging from about school grade 2.5 in the first few stories to about 4.0 in the last few stories. The "new words" are those not found in the Thorndike-Lorge and Laubach lists (see page 48). Brief definitions of the new words are on pages 44-45. Exercises are suggested for using the new words (pages 46-47), and the teacher of advanced classes may ask the readers to create more "word games." The teacher may enrich discussion of the stories by additional information from the books listed in the bibliography on page 48.

We hope that both teacher and student will find this book useful; we may publish more books in the "We Honor Them" series if interest from teachers and readers is sufficient.

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# A Lover of Freedom

Martin Luther King, Jr. loves freedom. He fights for freedom. He preaches non-violence in the fight for freedom. The Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, listened to him first in 1956.

Now, since 1963, all America listens to Dr. King. Dr. King preaches to us all. He says, "All men are created equal. Not only some men. Not only white men. All men in America. All men in the world."

Dr. King not only preaches. He writes also. He wrote a book. The book is called "Stride Toward Freedom."

Dr. King leads Negroes in their non-violent fight for freedom. He walks ahead in the street parades. He sits with them in their "sit-ins."

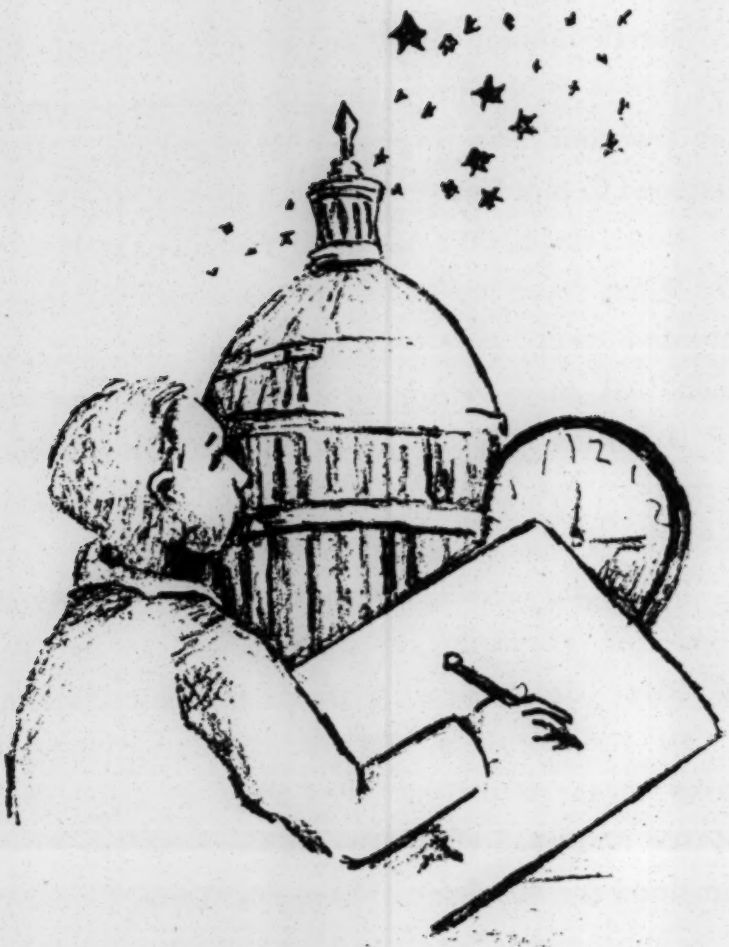
Dr. King travels all over the United States. He talks to large crowds. He talks to the President of the United States. To everyone he says, "It is time now for everyone to have his rights."

Time magazine named Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. "Man of the Year" for 1963. We honor him!

- - - - - - - - - - - New Words - - - - - - - - -

preaches non-violence stride

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -



# A Man of Ideas

Benjamin Banneker had great thoughts. He put his thoughts to work.

Banneker wrote his thoughts in an almanac. The almanac helped many people. People read the Banneker Almanac for ten years.

Banneker studied the stars. He shared his thoughts of the stars. He thought of peace and war. He wrote his thoughts on peace. He wrote about a "Peace Office" for the United States.

Banneker knew that young men love parades. They love to parade in uniforms. Banneker said, "If there were no uniforms, there would likely be no armies." Do you like to see uniforms in a parade?

Banneker thought about science. He put his thoughts to work. He made the first wooden clock in America. Years later he used other ideas. He helped to plan Washington, the capital of the United States.

Think of Benjamin Banneker on your next visit to Washington. He used his ideas to help all of mankind.

---------- New Words ----------

almanac uniform parade

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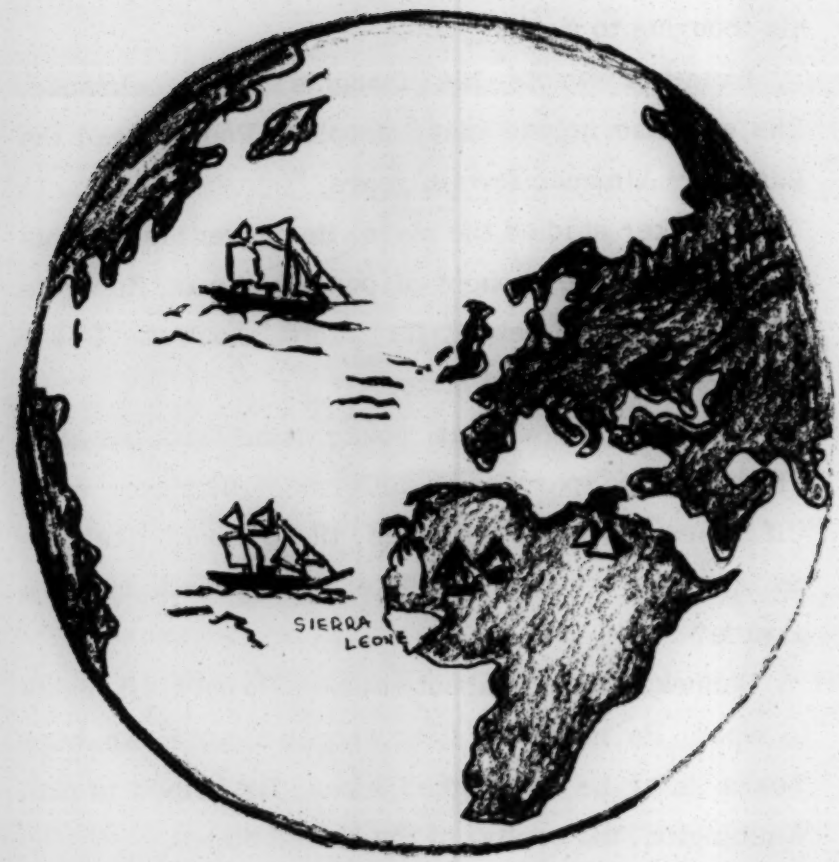
SIERRA
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# Sailor of the Century

"Let's change our name," said Paul.

Paul spoke to his brothers, "Let's drop our father's slave name. We can then use his first name as our last name."

Paul began to call himself Paul Cuffee.

Paul Cuffee began his adventures at sixteen. He sailed out to sea. At twenty he had a business. He owned a small boat. Later he owned a ship and many other boats.

Paul's sailors were all Negroes. They crossed the ocean to England. The Engish had a colony in Sierra Leone. That is in Africa. Cuffee sailed there in his own ship.

Cuffee traveled over the United States. He tried to find families for the colony of Sierra Leone. He found nine families. Thirty-eight persons were in those families. Cuffee landed the families safely in Sierra Leone.

Paul Cuffee organized The Friendly Society of Sierra Leone. He wanted to visit the colony every year.

---------- New Words ----------

colony Sierra Leone

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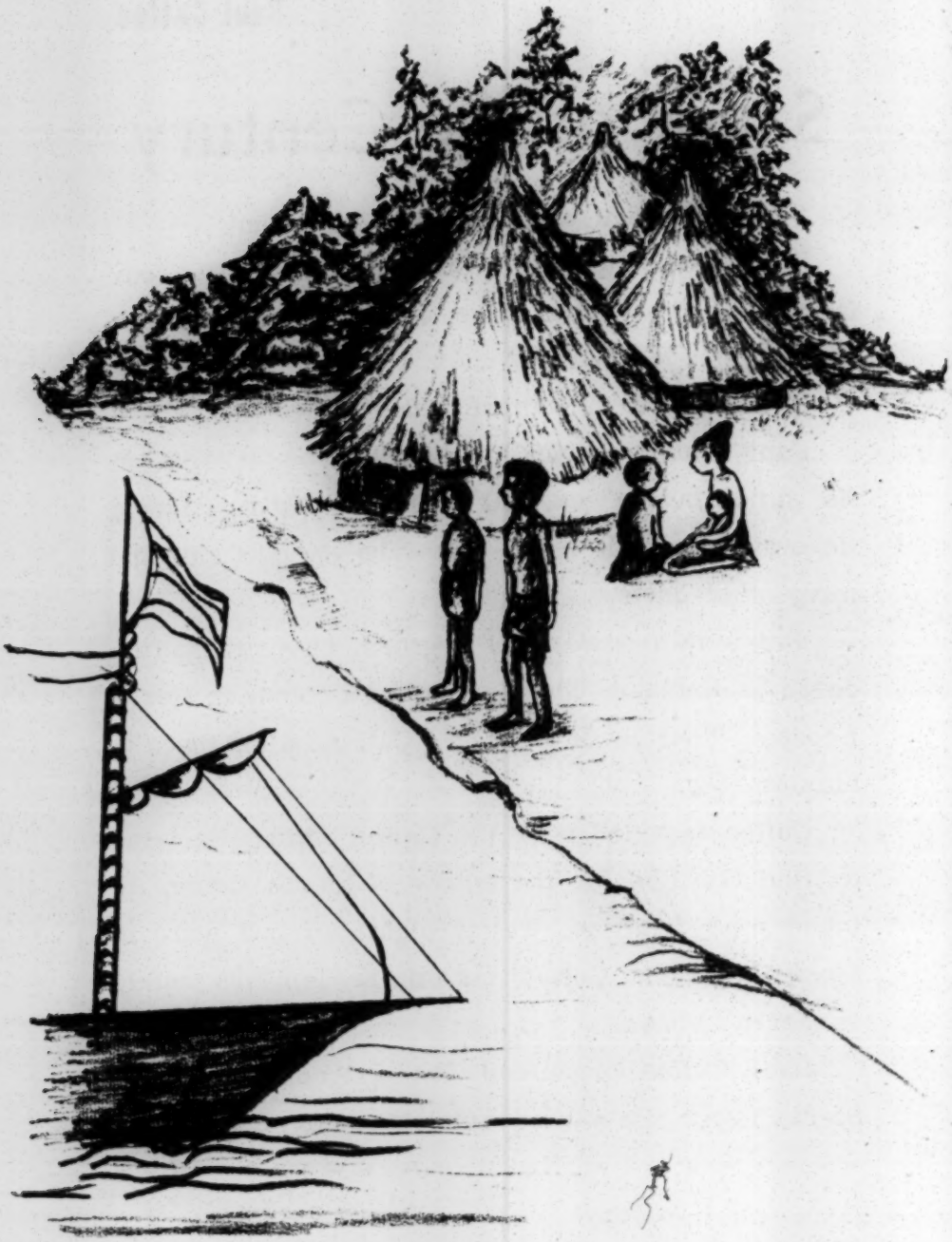

# A Missionary Hero

Do you know Lott Carey? Lott Carey mended shoes. He preached, too. Lott Carey left his home in Richmond, Virginia. He sailed a long way from home. He sailed to Liberia. Liberia is in Africa. Would you like to go so far from home?

Lott Carey started a new country in Liberia. He was a missionary. He helped form a new government. He helped make new laws. The laws made people free in the new country. The laws allowed no slaves in the new country. No slave ship could even land in the new country!

One day a slave ship tried to land. The sailors brought the ship close to the land. But the lookout saw the ship. "Get ready for battle!" shouted the lookout.

Lott Carey said, "We must stop the sailors. Sailors cannot load slaves here. Bullets can stop the sailors." Lott Carey helped make bullets. He lost his life trying to keep people free. Lott Carey was a hero. He was a missionary hero.

---------- New Words ----------

missionary hero lookout slave

---

# A President of Liberia

From a slave to the leader of a country!

Joseph Jenkins Roberts rose like that. Roberts was born a slave in Norfolk, Virginia. He heard Lott Carey preach in Norfolk. Lott Carey said, "In Liberia a man can be free." Roberts sailed to that country. He went as a trader. He helped organize an army there. Later, he became chief of the army.

Do you think he stopped there? No. He served as governor next. Then Liberia became a republic. Roberts was elected first President of Liberia.

President Roberts visited other nations. He helped other nations recognize his government. The United States recognized Liberia, also.

Years later the Republic had problems. The problems required wise action. Joseph Roberts served as President a second time. He helped settle differences. He helped the Republic of Liberia to grow.

Norfolk named a place for Joseph Roberts. The streets have names found in the Republic of Liberia.

---------- New Words ----------

Republic Liberia

---

# A Shakespearean Actor

Have you ever thought of the many Negroes who were never slaves? Ira Aldridge's parents were not slaves. Ira was born in 1807. His father was a minister. He hoped that Ira would be a minister.

But Ira didn't want to be a minister. He wanted to be on the stage. He attended the African Free School in New York. While still in school, he acted in Shakespearean plays. He took a job in a theatre, too. He watched the plays, but he couldn't be in them.

Ira's father didn't want his son to be an actor. So his father decided to send Ira away. He sent Ira to a university in England. But Ira didn't stay there.

Ira went to London. He got on the stage in London. He was less than twenty years old. He acted at the Royal Theatre.

Ira acted in Shakespearean plays again. This time he played the part of Othello. He played Othello in England. He played Othello in other countries, also.

Ira Aldridge became famous as a Shakespearean actor. He never returned to the United States.

- - - - - - - - - - New Words - - - - - - - - -

minister Shakespearean Othello

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

# An American Statesman

John Henry Smythe knew about crime. Men and women break the law. Sometimes boys and girls break the law, too.

Smythe asked, "Why put the boys who break the law with the men? Why put the girls who break the law with the women?"

He hated to see the boys with the men, He hated to see the girls with the women. He thought the children needed to be kept separate.

So Smythe talked with the law makers in Virginia. He helped to get an industrial school for boys. He helped to get an industrial school for girls, too. The industrial schools help to make good citizens.

The President of the United States sent Smythe to Liberia. Smythe served his country in Liberia. He studied the products of Liberia. He helped Liberia to sell its products to the United States.

Liberia College honored John Henry Smythe. It gave him a degree in law. Smythe served Liberia well. He served the United States well, too.

- - - - - - - - - New Words - - - - - - - - -

industrial products

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

# A Song Writer

Do you love to sing? Then you have sung songs by James A. Bland. You may like to sing spirituals.

Many people enjoy singing spirituals. Bland wrote the spiritual, "Oh, Dem Golden Slippers."

Do you like to sing romantic songs? You may love romantic songs! Bland wrote the romantic song, "In the Evening by the Moonlight."

Are you a Virginian? Virginians sing one of Bland's songs. Bland wrote, "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny." This song is the state song. It became the official song in 1940.

Many minstrels sang Bland's songs. Bland acted as a minstrel. He acted as a minstrel in London for twenty years. He grew famous.

Bland wrote almost 700 songs. Writers must register their songs in Washington. Bland did not register all of his songs. He registered only thirty-eight of them.

America sings to many other people. America sings to them through the songs of James A. Bland!

---------- New Words ----------

spirituals minstrels Virginian register

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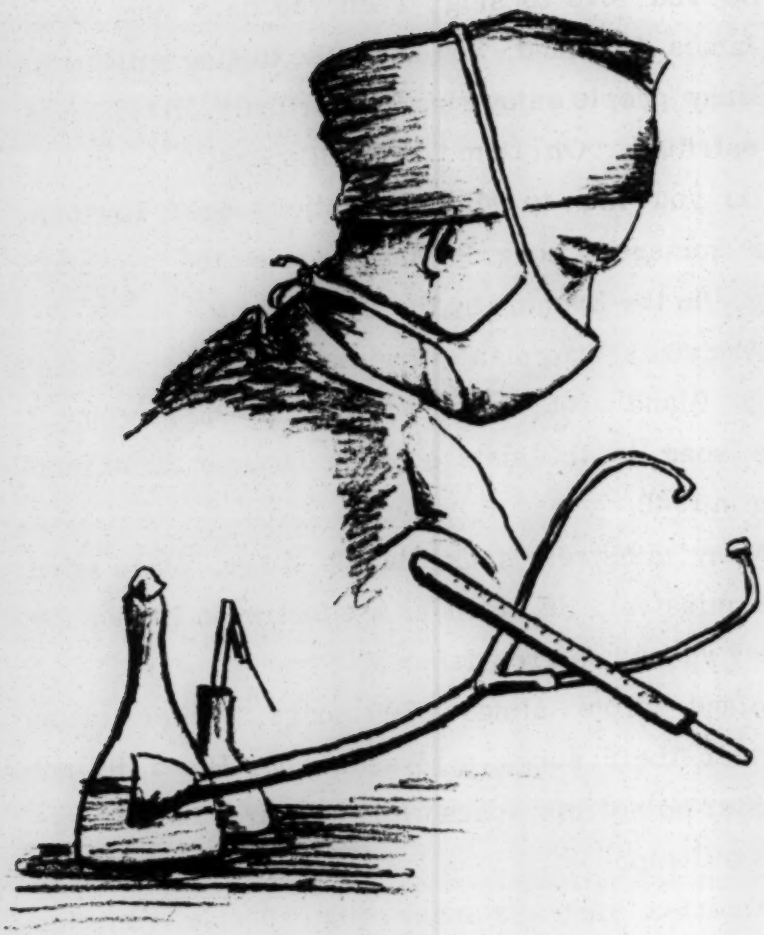

# The Heart Mender

"Dr. Dan! Dr. Dan!" An excited voice called for Dr. Daniel Hale Williams. The doctor came quickly.

"What have we here?" he asked. The nurse moved aside. A man lay on the table. Blood poured from the man's chest. The blood flowed from a wound. The man was going to die!

Dr. Dan made a quick decision. The man must not die. He would try to save the man. He would open the man's chest. He would mend the man's heart. Would you have thought of that?

Quiet settled over the room. The minutes passed slowly. No one moved. No one spoke. Each person almost held his breath.

Everyone watched Dr. Dan. Could he mend the man's heart? Would the man live?

At last the job was over. The man breathed. He still lived! Dr. Dan had mended his heart. What an experience!

This operation made histoy. This operation made Dr. Daniel Hale Williams famous.

- - - - - - - - - - New Word - - - - - - - - -

mender

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

# North Pole Explorer

The flag hung down. Soon a little wind lifted it. The wind opened it. The flag waved in the wind. It spoke to the world.

What did the flag say? It said that two Americans had reached the North Pole. They reached the top of the world!

Matthew Henson reached the North Pole. Commander Peary reached the North Pole. Matthew Henson helped Peary. Peary took trips to far places.

Henson helped Peary as a trusted friend. He did all kinds of work. He learned the Eskimo language. He learned Eskimo customs, too. He learned much about the frozen North.

Once Henson nearly lost his life. The frozen North was not a safe place. The rough ice was not safe. Paths were cut through the ice. The ice broke! The Eskimoes acted quickly. They saved the men and dogs.

Matthew Henson loved to explore. He sailed on the high seas. He saw a lot of the world.

---------- New Words ----------

explore frozen Eskimo

---

# National Youth Worker

Mary Bethune worked in the cotton fields. She worked in her bare feet.

Her parents worked in the cotton fields, too. Her parents worked in the cotton fields of South Carolina. They were slaves before Mary was born.

Mary walked five miles to school every day!

A few years later, Mary started her own school. She started a school in Florida. Now this school is called Bethune-Cookman College.

She used orange crates. She made benches from the orange crates.

Mary Bethune worked hard at her school. The President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, called her to Washington. He knew that she was a good teacher.

The President gave her a big job to do. She still worked in education. She directed national classes. More than 600,000 Negroes learned in these classes. Some of them learned skilled trades.

Dr. Mary Bethune loved her work. She said, "This is our day! Doors will open everywhere."

---------- New Words ----------

crates skilled

---

# A Successful Writer

"The problem of the century is the problem of the color line." William Edward Burghardt DuBois wrote this. He wrote it in his book.

DuBois wrote in "The Souls of Black Folk." This is a study of the Negro people. It is beautiful writing. Many people in America read this book.

Could DuBois talk about the color line? Yes. He went to Fisk University when he was sixteen years old. Fisk is in Nashville, Tennessee. That is a long way from the DuBois home in Massachusetts.

DuBois taught in log-cabin schools. He taught children of the sharecroppers. Sharecroppers see the color line in their work.

DuBois studied two years in Germany. He was the first Negro to get a Doctor of Philosophy degree from Harvard. He got his degree in 1895.

Dr. William DuBois taught at Atlanta University. He held conferences at Atlanta University. The conferences studied problems about the Negro. The Atlanta Conferences printed thirteen studies of Negro life.

---------- New Words ----------

university sharecropper conference

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*Anthony Policastro*
*Newtown Evening School*
*Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y.*

# Miss 3 B's

Nannie Helen Burroughs believed in the 3 B's.

She believed in the BIBLE. The Bible guides daily living.

She believed in the BROOM. The broom makes a clean house and a clean city.

She believed in the BATH. The bath stands for a clean body.

Dr. Burroughs started a school. Women and girls came to her school. They learned the 3 B's.

Dr. Burroughs said, "Don't make excuses, make good."

Dr. Burroughs loved working with women and girls. She organized the largest body of Negro women in the world. She organized the Woman's Auxiliary. The Woman's Auxiliary is in the National Baptist Convention of U.S.A., Inc.

Dr. Burroughs built a chapel. The chapel stands on Lincoln Heights in Washington, D.C.

The chapel reminds us of Dr. Nannie Helen Burroughs. It honors her work with women and girls.

---------- New Words ----------

broom chapel auxiliary

---

# Fighter for Human Rights

Walter White lived in Atlanta, Georgia, as a boy.

He saw race troubles in Atlanta. Sometimes a mob formed. The mob grew angry. The mob lynched Negroes.

Walter asked, "Why does this happen?" He decided to fight against lynching.

So Walter moved to New York. He took a job with an organization in New York. He discovered trouble spots. He reported on trouble spots. He went to find out about the trouble. He helped Negro and white people understand one another better.

One day Walter took a train. The conductor said, "You are leaving town too early. You will miss the fun. There will be a lynching tonight."

The conductor thought Walter White was a white man. The conductor saw Walter's fair skin and blue eyes. His fair skin helped Walter. It helped in his fight for fair treatment of Negroes.

Walter White traveled around the world. He wrote for newspapers and magazines. He wrote six books. He talked and wrote in his fight for human rights.

---------- New Words ----------

mob lynch conductor

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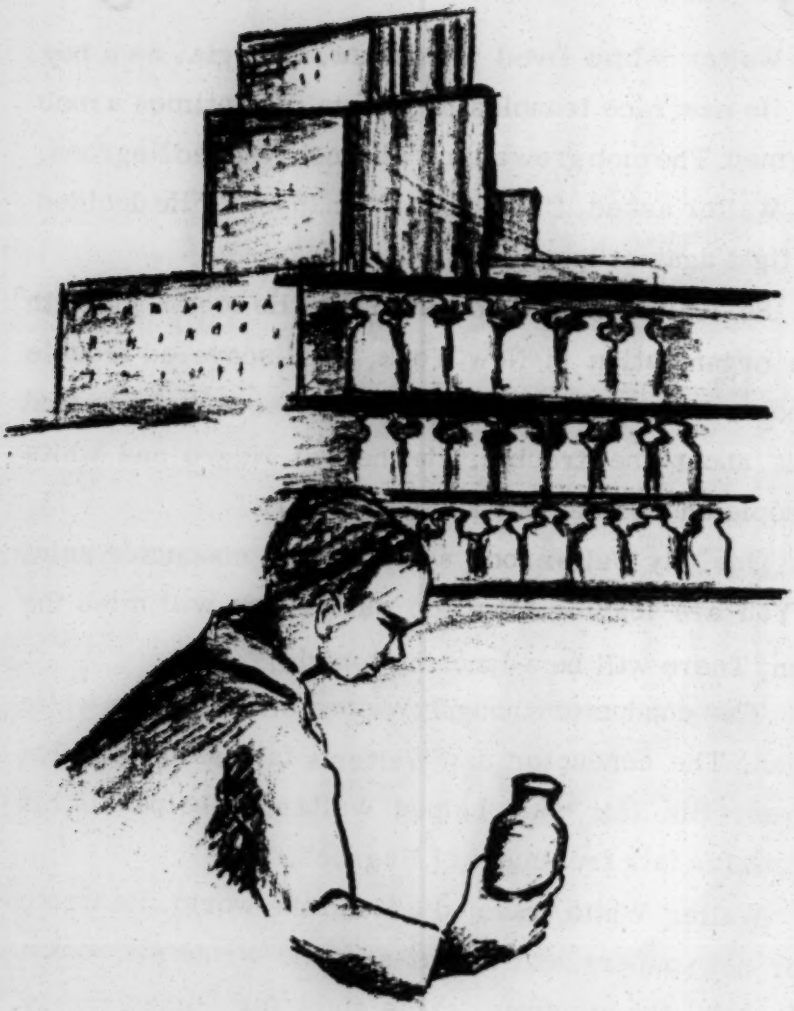

# Mr. Blood Plasma

Who wants to be a doctor? Many boys say they want to be doctors.

Sometimes a girl wants to become a doctor, too.

Some doctors become surgeons. Surgeons operate on the body. Sometimes a patient needs more blood. The patient needs the blood for an operation. The patient dies if he doesn't get the blood he needs.

Dr. Charles Drew studied a lot about blood. He knew how important blood is for the patients. He knew how important blood is for the surgeon, too.

Dr. Drew became an expert on blood plasma. He studied how to keep blood plasma until it is needed. He put blood plasma in a blood bank.

England asked Dr. Drew to help them do this. The American Red Cross needed him also. Dr. Drew became a director of the American Red Cross.

Dr. Drew directed the first American Red Cross Blood Bank. He helped the U.S. Army, also.

Many people were saved because of the blood bank. There are blood banks all over the U.S.A. now.

- - - - - - - - - - New Words - - - - - - - - - -

surgeon patient plasma American Red Cross

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

**Katherine Dunham**

# Daughter of the Dance

Eight-year-old Katherine Dunham gave a performance. She gave it at her church. She taught other boys and girls to sing and dance.

This performance surprised the people at church. They doubted that it belonged in the church. But the

One time Katherine surprised a committee. The committee had to decide something. It had to decide whether to give Kathie some money. The money would help her study dancing in other countries. Katherine was nervous. How could she prove her point?

"May I show you what I mean?", asked Kathie. The committee agreed. Katherine started to dance. She danced on and on. She won the money. She studied dancing.

"I learn about people from their dances," said Katherine. "For dances tell a lot about people. They tell almost more than anything else."

Kathie studied the dances of many people. She studied dancing in Africa. She studied in other places. People all over the world like to see her dance.

---------- New Word ----------

performance

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# Talented Hands

Babies talk. Babies walk. But do babies draw before they walk? Usually not!

Richmond Barthé drew before he could walk. His mother said, "I gave him a pencil. I gave him paper. He filled the paper with pictures." She hunted for work. Richmond stayed at home. He kept busy. He drew and drew.

Years later Barthé studied painting. He studied at an art institute. One day he tried something new. He tried a new art form. He made a head of clay. The clay work delighted him. He liked to work in clay. He began to work in wood, brass and stone, too.

Barthé made a bust of Booker T. Washington. The bust was very good. Judges chose the bust for the Hall of Fame. The Hall of Fame is in New York. Barthé was the first Negro to have work in the Hall of Fame. He has other work in New York also.

Barthé made many pieces. Some of his pieces are in America. Others are in Europe and Africa. Barthé's hands made a fine future for him.

---------- New Words ----------

drew clay bust

---

# A Voice for the World

What a surprise! An important singer was in the school. Can you guess who it was? Dorothy Maynor came to see an old friend. She came to say "Hello" to an old neighbor.

The neighbor knew Dorothy as a little girl. She knew Dorothy when she went to school in Norfolk, Virginia. Now Dorothy had come to town. She visited her neighbor at school. The children were delighted to see her. Some of the teachers shook her hand.

Dorothy Maynor knew some songs before she could talk. She loved to sing. She sang in her father's church. She sang at Hampton Institute. Dorothy traveled over the United States. She traveled with the Hampton Singers. The Hampton Singers traveled to Europe, too.

"The world must hear this voice," one man said.

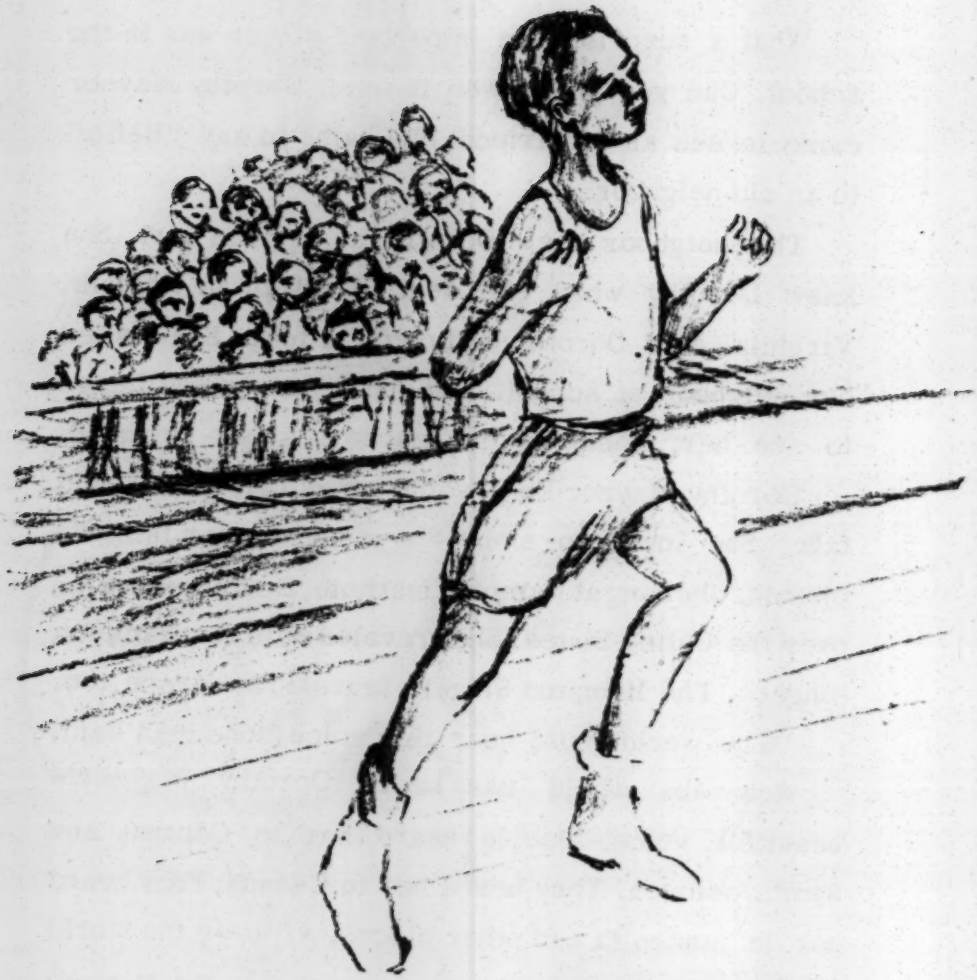
Now the world has heard Dorothy Maynor's beautiful voice. People heard her in Central and South America. They heard her in Canada. They heard her in Australia and other places. All over the world

When Dorothy Maynor sings, the world listens!

---------- New Word ----------

Hampton

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -



# A Record Breaker

Jesse Owens was a new student. No one noticed him very much. But not for long! Physical education classes changed that! For shy Jesse Owens broke records. He ran the 100-yard dash in ten seconds.

Jesse broke records in high school, too. He ran the 100-yard dash in less than ten seconds. He broke the record for the 200-yard dash. He jumped over 26 feet in the broad-jump. No other person had jumped so far.

Jesse Owens went to Europe. He went on the American Olympic Team. He raced in the Olympic games. He jumped, also. His jump set a new Olympic record. The next day, Jesse broke two records. He broke the Olympic record for the 200-meter race. He broke the world's record also.

Jesse Owens brought glory to America. Each time he won, the American flag flew higher. It flew above the flags of other nations. Our national song was played, too. Everyone in Germany knew that Jesse Owens was a fine American!

- - - - - - - - - - New Word - - - - - - - - - -

Olympic

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

# A World Champion

Who closed the street? The police closed it. Harlem children were playing in the street. They were playing paddle tennis. Althea Gibson was one of the children in the street. She was good at paddle tennis. She won medals. She was champion of 143rd Street. As time passed, she won more medals.

Althea played tennis in a lot of places. She played in Miami. She was the first Negro to play in mixed games there. She traveled to Asia. She traveled to other countries. She played tennis in these countries.

Althea grew to be a champion. She was champion of France. This was another "first". She became champion of Asia. She became champion of Italy ,too. Next, she played in England. The Queen gave her a medal.

America praised Althea. Her country was proud of her. President Eisenhower told her so in a letter. She played at Forest Hill again. This time she became champion of the United States. Althea Gibson was then the champion of the world.

---------- New Words ----------

paddle champion tennis medal

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# The New Words in This Book

| Story | New Words |
|---|---|
| King | preaches non-violence stride |
| Banneker | almanac uniform parade |
| Cuffee | colony Sierra Leone |
| Carey | missionary hero lookout slave |
| Roberts | Republic Liberia |
| Aldridge | minister Shakespearean Othello |
| Smythe | industrial products |
| Bland | spirituals minstrels Virginian register |
| Williams | mender |
| Henson | explore frozen Eskimo |
| Bethune | crates skilled |
| DuBois | university sharecropper conference |
| Burroughs | broom chapel auxiliary |
| White | mob lynch conductor |
| Drew | surgeon patient plasma Red Cross |
| Dunham | performance |
| Barthe | drew clay bust |
| Maynor | Hampton |
| Owens | Olympic |
| Gibson | paddle champion tennis medal |

# What the New Words Mean

| | |
|---|---|
| almanac | a book of information |
| American Red Cross | a very helpful organization |
| auxiliary | a helping group |
| broom | an object used for sweeping |
| bust | the head and shoulders of a person |
| champion | the best person in a contest |
| chapel | a small church |
| clay | a kind of useful soil |
| colony | a settlement of people |
| conductor | a worker on a railroad |
| conference | a meeting to discuss certain things |
| crates | packing boxes |
| drew | past tense of "to draw" |

| | |
|---|---|
| Eskimo | a person in a group living far north |
| explore | to search, or look around a new place |
| frozen | hardened by the cold |
| Hampton | a college in Virginia |
| hero | a very brave man |
| industrial | about busy cities and factories |
| lookout | someone who watches for danger |
| Liberia | a country in West Africa |
| lynch | a killing, often by a mob of people |
| medal | a token of honor |
| mender | one who fixes things |
| minister | one who preaches in a church |
| minstrels | singers and poets who make us happy |
| missionary | one who teaches and preaches in a country far from his own home |
| mob | a large crowd of people |
| non-violence | not fighting back |
| Olympic | a world gathering for sports |
| paddle | a long flat stick to make a boat go |
| parade | marching bands and many people |
| patient | one who is ill |
| performance | a scene done by an actor |
| plasma | the fluid part of the blood |
| preaches | tells others about God |
| products | things grown or made in a place |
| register | to enter in a record book |
| Republic | a kind of government run by the people |
| Shakespearean | anything about William Shakespeare |
| sharecropper | one who farms for someone else |
| Sierra Leone | a country in West Africa |
| skilled | knowing how to do a thing well |
| slave | a person who belongs to someone else |
| spirituals | songs created by the American Negro |
| stride | to take long steps |
| surgeon | a doctor who operates |
| tennis | a game played with a small ball |
| uniform | special clothes worn by certain people, like soldiers, or sailors, or nurses |
| university | a place of high learning |
| Virginian | one born in Virginia |

# Word Games to Play

King — Match Column A with Column B

| -A- | -B- |
|---|---|
| 1. To take a long step | preaches |
| 2. Not to fight back | non-violence |
| 3. To tell others | stride |

Banneker — Fill in the right word:

1. Armies put their men in _____.
2. Information about the seasons is found in an _____.
3. Children like to see a _____.

Cuffee — Choose the right word:

1. English people formed a (colony, college, company) in Sierra Leone.
2. Paul Cuffee took families to (Sierra Leone, England).

Carey — Match Column A with Column B:

| -A- | -B- |
|---|---|
| 1. Lookout | one who is sold |
| 2. slave | one who is sent |
| 3. missionary | one who watches |

Roberts — Which is the right answer?

1. Liberia is in (a) West Africa (b) South America.
2. A republic is a (a) government (b) news report.

Aldridge — Put a new word before each phrase:

1. _____: a preacher.
2. _____: written by Shakespeare.
3. _____: a character in a play.

DuBois — Fill in a new word:

1. A person who farms for another is a _____.
2. Several colleges form a _____.
3. People meeting to discuss something make a _____.

Burroughs — Finish each sentence:

1. Church services were held in the _____.
2. Clean your house with a _____.
3. An _____ helps another group.

White — Answer TRUE or FALSE:

1. A conductor runs a train. _____
2. To lynch is unlawful. _____
3. A mob is hard to control. _____

Drew — Find the right word:

1. A _____ must have a _____.
2. Blood _____ went to the _____ ___ _____.

Barthe — Choose the word that rhymes with:

1. dust _____ 2. play _____ 3. dew _____

Dunham — Who gives each performance?

1. At the circus, you see a performance by a _____.
2. On the stage, the performance is by a _____
3. In the ball park, the _____ give a performance.

Smythe — Use a new word for the word underlined:

1. Labor schools teach persons to work.
2. Ships carry things between America and Africa.

Bland — Answer YES or NO for each question:

1. Are you a Virginian? _____
2. Do minstrels sing and dance? _____
3. Can you register to vote? _____
4. Can you name two spirituals? _____

Williams — Find the name for:

1. A shoe mender _____
2. A heart mender _____
3. A tooth mender _____
4. A car mender _____

Henson — Put a new word in each sentence:

1. _____ people have their own language and customs.
2. Much ice is in a _____ land.
3. I like to _____ new places.

Bethune — Find a different word for:

crates _____ skilled _____

Maynor — Put the new word before each line:

1. _____ is an old school in Virginia.
2. _____ is located in the city of Hampton.
3. _____ has trained many African students.

Owens — Answer RIGHT or WRONG:

1. Owens set an Olympic record. _____
2. Owens ran in the Olympic games. _____
3. Owens was not on the Olympic team. _____

Gibson — Choose the right word:

1. Althea played (paddle, deck, lawn) tennis on 143rd St.
2. She became very good in (track, swimming, tennis).
3. She won (movies, medals, ribbons) for her playing.
4. Winning over others makes one a (coward, champion).

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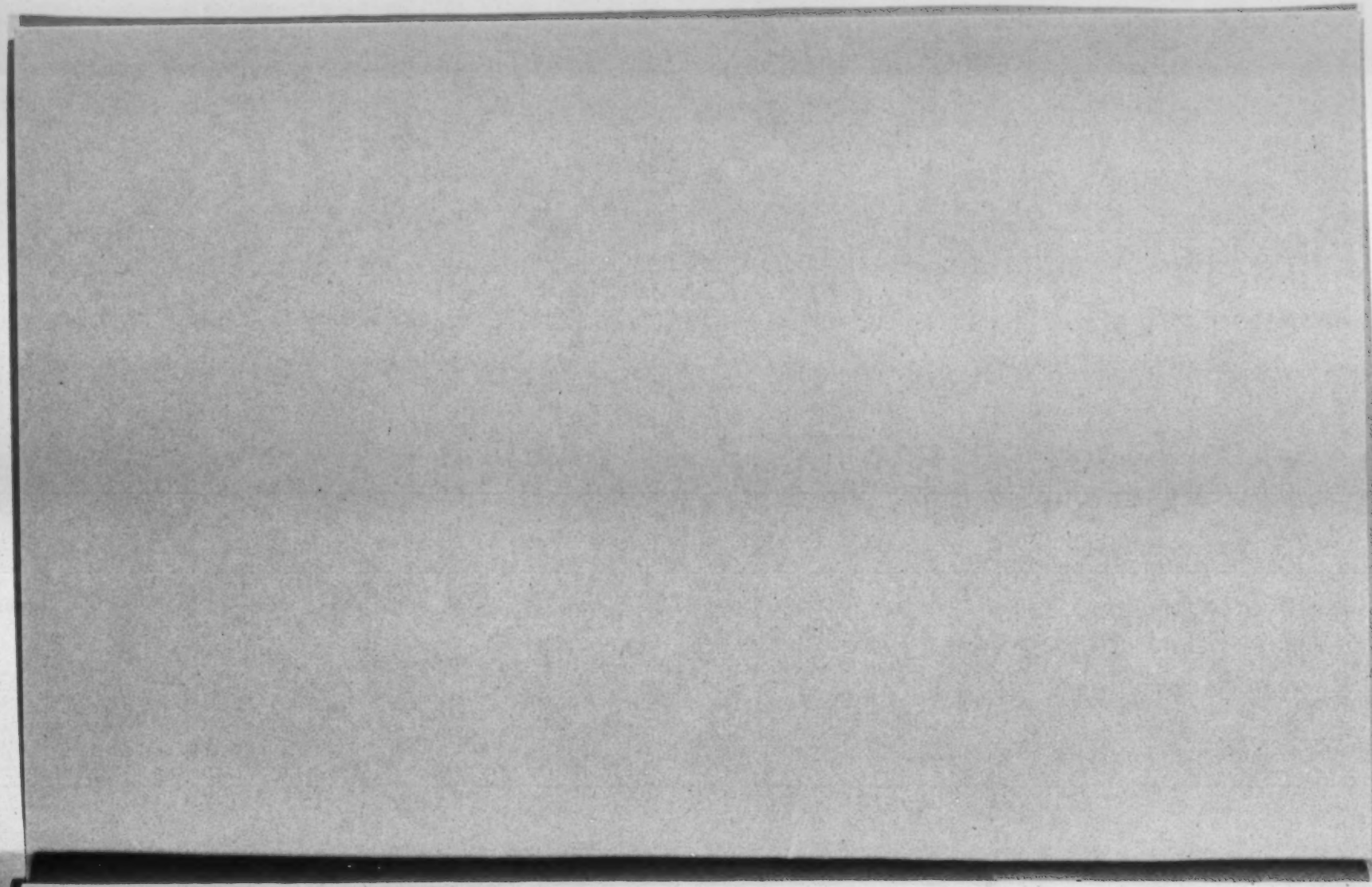
Combined Word Lists, Thorndike-Lorge, and Laubach (25¢)
New Readers Press, Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210

News for You, weekly periodical for new adult readers, ask for free samples, Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210

Books for new readers, functional, biographical, Biblical, New Readers Press, Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210



Capital Office: 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Phone: 483-4010 (Area 202) Cable Address: LAULIT WASHINGTON

# LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

FRANK C. LAUBACH, Founder and President

January 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
638 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JAN 12 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As you well know the problem of adult illiteracy is a major problem in our nation. For that reason the interest of CORE in combatting this problem is of national importance.

For more than thirty years Dr. Frank C. Laubach and his collegaues have been involved professionally in attacking the problem of illiteracy throughout the world. During this time Dr. Laubach and his colleagues have prepared literacy materials in 311 languages in 101 countries, including English for the United States. Since 1947 we have been involved in literacy programs in the United States. Most recently we have continued to develop our Ladder of Literacy materials to bring adults to the stage of functional literacy.

For this reason I am writing you to explain our interest in exploring with CORE the use of our skills in combatting illiteracy. Our areas of specialization are (1) Teacher Training and (2) Materials Development.

We would be pleased to meet with you or your staff in New York or Washington to explore with you a plan for attacking literacy in the United States more fully and in detail.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Cortright
Director of Education

RWC:esl

January 12, 1965

Mr. Richard W. Cortright
Director of Education
Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc.
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Cortright:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 11th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, which has been referred to me since Mr. Farmer is in Africa for several weeks.

CORE is vitally interested in initiating a program to help combat the problem of illiteracy in the United States, and hopes to implement this program through our chapters throughout the country. We have been working with Dr. Myron Woolman for the past several months in adapting his Accelerated Progressive Choice reading program to our needs.

We very much appreciate your interest in our activities in this area and your offer to work with us in developing a detailed plan. We, of course, know of the fine work of Dr. Laubach in pioneering new methods for teaching literacy skills and of the success of his "each one teach one" projects in India and throught the world. We do feel, however, that the slightly different emphasis and approach of the Woolman program make it better suited to our needs.

If, in the future, we find that our program has become broad enough to utilize more than one method, we will certainly contact you. Again, many thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

file - removed

January 26, 1965

Mr. Richard W. Cortwight
Director of Education
Laubach Literacy Fund, Inc.
2000 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Cortright:

Thank you for your letter of January 21st and for the list of publications, copies of the newspaper, News for You, and the paperback, We Honor Them, which we have just received.

As soon as Mr. McCain returns to the office from a field trip I will refer these materials to him. We very much appreciate your interest in our program.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Capital Office: 2000 P Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Phone: 483-4010 (Area 202) Cable Address: LAULIT WASHINGTON

# LAUBACH LITERACY FUND, INC.

FRANK C. LAUBACH, Founder and President

January 21, 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Thank you for your letter of January 12 explaining your interest in the illiteracy program with CORE.

As you mention in your last paragraph that you may find that different methods will be useful in combatting illiteracy, I am writing you again now to send you a list of our current publications along with copies of our weekly newspaper for new literates, News For You, which is written on three grade levels, and also one of our new paperback issues, We Honor Them.

We would be pleased to hear from you or any of your colleagues who will be engaged in this program where we feel that the fact that you are going to become involved may be very important in diminishing illiteracy in our country.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Cortright
Director of Education

RWC:pg

WORKING PAPER

WORKING PAPER

# PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTING A

# NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

James Farmer
February 3, 1965

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
February 5, 1965

# PROPOSAL FOR IMPLEMENTING A NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM

TO: The President

FROM: James Farmer

(A draft of a proposal to be submitted to the Federal Government for the establishment of the Center for Community-Action Education. The purpose of the Center will be to mobilize the forces necessary to organize and implement a national drive against illiteracy. In addition to this text there will be a title page, an index, a synopsis, a summary state, a budget, and appendices. The finished proposal is to be forwarded to various U.S. Government officials by James Farmer on behalf of CORE.)

> "The loss of one year's income due to unemployment is more than the total cost of 12 years of education through high school; and when welfare and other costs are added, it is clear that failure to take... steps will cost us far more... . There is no more profitable investment than education, and no greater waste than ill-trained youth."
>
> John F. Kennedy

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is aware of the tragic millions who are imprisoned behind the bars of illiteracy and ignorance. Millions of Americans live marginal existences in poverty because they lack the basic educational and training tools to escape. As civil rights agencies worked to release America from the bondage of racial segregation, we now have the obligation to end the bondage of ignorance.

Illiteracy and undereducation prevent millions of Americans from finding gainful and productive employment. Without basic educational skills they cannot participate effectively in our democracy, cannot be trained for jobs in our increasingly technological society, and are prevented by the life circumstances in which they are imbedded from taking steps to further their education and skills. The ability to read and write is essential to functioning effectively within the American context. Therefore, providing minimal educational skills is a necessary preliminary step for moving out of poverty and out of the ghetto. Unless America is able to provide the basic tools of literacy on a massive scale the success of the anti-poverty program is imperiled. To date, no literacy program adequate to meet the problem has been launched. As a democratic nation we must meet this educational challenge squarely.

A major national effort to provide literacy skills can supply the minimal educational and motivational requirements to enable this population to acquire further training, and in many cases, to move directly into new areas of employment. The task is enormous, but we are convinced that there is available the necessary combination of ingredients to virtually eradicate illiteracy in the United States. To do this job, we must tap the enormous unused resources now lying fallow in the communities themselves.

## Objective

Changing events present new perspectives both to men and nations. CORE sees the years ahead as imposing new responsibilities in addition to those it now has.

We propose that a major national drive be launched to attack the social sore of illiteracy. This effort must combine (1) the power of Americans acting within their communities spearheaded by the dynamic thrust of the civil rights organizations, (2) the research and educational capabilities of leading educators and psychologists working within the framework of a major university, and (3) the participation of various arms of the Federal Government committed to the elimination of poverty. These combined forces could in two years of operation raise approximately one million functional illiterates to a sixth-grade reading level through the utilization of volunteer literacy instructors.

## Requirements for an Effective Program

To implement an effective national literacy program six essential ingredients are required:

1. A social force adequate to penetrate the population most in need of literacy skills.

2. A method for developing literacy which can produce substantial results on a massive scale and which can be taught by non-teachers.

3. A large group of persons able to serve as volunteer instructors.

4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.

5. Community facilities made available for instruction.

6. Adequate funding to plan, operate and direct.

Social Force

A national literacy program can succeed only if it has the ability to reach those persons who are most in need of literacy skills. That is, we must have the ability to reach, motivate and train the most deprived, the poorest and least motivated segments of our society.

We are striving, then, to reach a population which, for various reasons, did not respond to traditional educational methods or which was denied the opportunity of availing itself of an education. Most illiterates presently are beyond the reach of educators and the schools. Due to their past failures and consequent feelings of inadequacy they cannot or will not again attempt to seek an education through presently available means.

We must, therefore, establish contact with this population through those people with whom they have lived and in whom they have confidence. We must motivate and train through institutions which are currently satisfying physical, social and psychological needs.

Due to the advances gained through the civil rights movement within the past decade, civil rights organizations are in a unique position to reorient and train large segments of the Negro community. In fact, if they do not meet this challenge they will be delinquent since once having given rise to hope within the Negro community they now have an obligation to translate that hope into programs which will be both socially and economically meaningful. Likewise, churches have the potential to reach and teach immense numbers of illiterates. Many unions have members who could benefit from such a program if the program were operated within the union itself. Further, employers could provide literacy within the plan to simplify the development of job skills. There are literally thousands of fraternal organizations, community agencies and other groups which could provide training in literacy if given the proper techniques, support and rationale.

Civil rights organizations, unions, churches and others do have the ability to reach most of those who are in desperate need of basic education for survival. These groups can and must rise to the challenge of training the populations with which they have established rapport. Unless such action is taken, these illiterates and poverty stricken populations will remain in poverty and will continue to exist at great social and economic cost to the society.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and other organizations have already expressed their enthusiasm for this proposal and their willingness to cooperate in bringing it to life. These organizations, along with CORE have had astonishing success in motivating and training the hard-core population that is most in need of literacy skills and jobs. These organizations, the churches and other national and regional organizations have already existing regional and local administrative structures which readily become the operational super-structure for the literacy program. Even more important, they have the commitment to do the task and the energy and social force which will permit them to reach those who cannot be reached through any other means.

Method

The technology used for literacy training must be able to provide substantial reading-skill gains in populations which are considered to be difficult to teach. The literacy materials must be designed so that volunteer instructors who lack professional training as teachers are able to use them with no difficulty. It must be available for mass use and must relate to the social and educational needs of the trainee. Specifically, the required literacy training technique must satisfy certain crucial criteria. The techniques must be:

1. suitable for use in non-school settings;

2. designed to be used effectively by persons with high school educations;

3. appropriate for use in groups varying from 1 to 30 in size;

4. consistent with the interests and values of the learner population, thus stimulating involvement in the learning process;

5. intrinsically motivating, thus, resulting in a lower proportion of dropouts by giving students feelings of accomplishment;

6. relatively inexpensive to purchase in quantity; and

7. appropriate to serve as the first phase in developing job interests and job skills.

CORE has investigated various literacy methods carefully and feels that The Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, D. C., holds the best possibility for success and comes close to meeting the above criteria.

The APC Reading Program is a carefully programmed approach to developing literacy skills which presents the material to be learned in small, readily digestible units. The learner realizes a high rate of success throughout the program, and as he progresses from one phase to another he becomes a student-instructor. He is able to proceed at his own rate

with materials which have been tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of his circumstances. The method is, in fact, designed specifically for those who have not responded to traditional educational methods.

The Woolman method has been extensively tested, using mental retardates through grants from the National Institute of Mental Health. It has been used in public schools in a number of states. In a recent test with pre-dropouts (underachieving students) in a junior high school in North Carolina, very impressive results were achieved. In six classes averaging over 25 students per class, 51.2 hours of instruction in APC resulted in a mean reading gain of 1.2 years per student. Just as striking is the interest, involvement, discipline and motivation of both students and instructors. Dr. E. Terry Schwarz of Bank Street College of Education in New York City made the following comments in a report at the conclusion of a study using APC during the summer of 1964:

> The observed reactions of students to the program were overwhelmingly positive.... It is not overstating to say that almost every youngster at some time finished a book toward the end of an instructional period and was asked if he wanted to stop or go on. The decisions were unanimously in favor of continuing immediately. In one group, where instruction was on a one to one basis and in three hour blocks of time, the students wouldn't take a break and tutors finally would ask for one.....

While CORE does not feel that this literacy proposal should be limited to the use of any one technique, we are convinced that The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program is a highly functional tool which offers the best method now available for non-teachers to teach the educationally and socially deprived.

## Instructors

Central to this proposal for a national literacy campaign is the availability of literally thousands of part-time volunteer instructors who will be selected on the basis of the following qualifications:

1. High school graduate or equivalent in reading-achievement level.

2. High degree of motivation to work with deprived persons.

3. At least four hours a week to contribute as an instructor.

4. Ability to follow instructions, adhere to work routines and to accurately complete periodic reports.

5. Ability to cooperate with others in performing coordinated activities.

The organizations which will be affiliated with the literacy-action program have extensive experience in recruiting, organizing and utilizing volunteers. Present plans call for the recruitment of many literacy instructors from the dropout and potential dropout population. Retired teachers, housewives, students, church members and union members are additional sources of volunteer literacy instructors. Literacy trainees who complete the literacy program will likewise become candidates for the job of Literacy Instructor. Since we project a training period of only 150 hours to reach the required reading-achievement level, we expect a constantly expanding number of volunteer Literacy Instructors (LIs). Although this proposal has received practically no publicity, CORE has been flooded with offers of assistance from many individuals and agencies. The combined resources of the many organizations that have expressed an active interest in this proposal could produce adequate volunteer LIs in communities of all sizes within every state of the nation.

The Proposed Community-Action Structure

We propose that this national literacy effort be spearheaded by the civil rights groups in coordination with Howard University. A Center for Community-Action Education would be set up within the University for this purpose. All activities of the National Literacy Program would be planned, directed and coordinated from the Center. The Center would have the responsibility of assuring that:

1. Research was performed to advance and improve the development of literacy methods suited to the needs of the National Literacy Program.

2. Suitable literacy-training materials were developed in accordance with the needs of the population being trained.

3. Educational, psychological and governmental resources were coordinated to optimize the efficiency of field operations.

4. Specific problems were isolated and given attention by "Task Forces" selected to make recommendations for the solution of "Community-Action" problems related to literacy and education.

5. There were suitable techniques for implementation, direction and guidance of the National Literacy Program in the field. These tasks would involve such problems as:

   a. coordination of the cooperating national and regional organizations,
   b. screening and selection of communities and community agencies for participation,
   c. training of Literacy Instructors,
   d. supervision and quality control of instructors,
   e. coordination and quality control of local community training programs,
   f. evaluation of training programs, and
   g. trouble-shooting methods to detect problems and strengthen training methods.

6. Extension of the literacy-training program to provide greater employability and increased awareness of social heritage and civic responsibilities.

Thus, the Center would constitute a merger of the research, educational and technical genius of the nation combined with the social-action capabilities of existing and proven national organizations. The Center would be the vehicle for merging the prime ingredients necessary for an effective national literacy program, i.e., educational methods, instructional resources, community facilities, funding, and a broad base of popular support.

Through the Center for Community-Action Education any community or community agency in the nation would be able to institute a local literacy-training program as long as the community or agency could demonstrate its ability to (1) supply LIs, (2) carry on a sustained and stable program coordinated with other agencies in the community, (3) provide adequate physical facilities for the literacy-training program, and (4) serve all elements of the community without regard to national origin, color or creed.

Howard University, because of its location, history as a pioneer for the educationally disadvantaged, and its deep commitment to the improvement of the status of the socially deprived, is viewed as the ideal setting for the Center for Community-Action Education. In addition to these factors, Howard University offers resources for further research and development through its existing staff and facilities. Above all, the concept of the Center for Community-Action Education is particularly congenial to the purposes and goals of Howard University. Its location, in this context, is viewed as having symbolic value as an assertion of purpose and dedication to the cause of education for the underprivileged. The Center would operate within Howard University and utilizing its facilities and personnel where possible. However, it would be free to pursue its objectives within those limits agreed upon by the Board of Trustees of the University and the Board of Trustees of the Center.

The type of program which the Center plans to undertake is a natural extension of many programs now in effect at Howard University. The Center would initially concentrate on producing literacy skills on a mass basis, and would be limited to education and training problems at all levels, in coordination with Howard University. The Center would strive to support research, development, and training to extend the capability of those persons who finish the literacy training. The Center would use all available resources from the University, across the nation and the world to develop techniques and methods to improve the efficiency of community-action systems of education and training. The goals would be to meet the total needs of the person emerging from illiteracy into the world of employability, and to develop the most efficient means of moving persons into positions where they could satisfy their responsibilities as citizens and employees in a world of constant change.

## Community Facilities

Most facilities will be outside the public-school structure; therefore, adequate facilities for training will be required elsewhere. It may well be that, in many cases, settings quite dissimilar from the typical school classroom will be necessary since many literacy trainees associate their schooling and the school itself with feelings of deep personal failure. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, "Ys", union halls, plant facilities and community centers should make excellent training sites in many areas. The local sponsoring community agency will have the major responsibility for soliciting and providing the facilities which in many communities will be made available through the cooperating national organizations.

The specific requirements for the training facilities are:

1. accessibility to the population to be trained.

2. adequate space to seat the training group comfortably.

3. sufficient quiet and freedom from distraction to permit focus on the task.

4. sufficient lighting to permit performance of the work.

## Funding

If the National Literacy Training is to reach those persons who are most in need, the program must have broad-scale financing, independent of individual local communities. It is possible to minimize costs through the use of volunteer LIs and free community facilities. However, if we are to train a million persons in such a national program, the costs will mount to a level where federal support appears to be required. In a volunteer program a large supportive staff is essential. Costs per individual are expected to be very low. On a large scale, the average cost of developing a sixth-grade reading level in an illiterate is expected to total less than $50.00. If we are to reach one million persons with literacy skills in a two-year period, the cost over the two years of operation should total less than fifty million dollars.

In view of the severe educational crisis facing America, an immediate and massive attack is justified at a national level. If we are to make appreciable progress on the elimination of poverty in the near future, we must reach the hard-core masses of underprivileged who are being bypassed by the present programs. In view of the magnitude of the project proposed, our estimate of 50 million dollars represents a relatively small sum as compared with other expenditures now being made. Further, the results which appear possible are sufficient in scope, and within a population sector, which makes the cost minute in comparison with the ultimate savings which can be anticipated when persons shift from illiteracy to literacy. Beyond the practical investment involved in getting these people from dependency into jobs, the funding of this venture offers a unique opportunity to provide support where it is most needed, and to those who need it most.

This task is visualized as national in scope. It sets up a new structure, the Center for Community-Action Education, which is expected to supply our nation and the world with methods and techniques for overcoming ancient hostilities and misunderstandings. It will pioneer new educational and training methods specifically adapted to the needs of our age, and will at the outset, provide literacy skills to a million Americans.

This new force, the Center for Community-Action Education, is called for by the problems of our time. As part of its function, it will help to overcome problems inherited from the past. Its estimated cost appears to be quite low in comparison with the gains which it promises to give to all Americans.

James Farmer

## Part II

### The Howard University Center for Community-Action Education

The Center for Community-Action Education is planned to increase the potential of community-action education and training. The Center will be uncommitted to specific educational methods or techniques except as they can demonstrate their value as tools for improving community-action education. Initially the Center will emphasize the planning, research, development and implementation of the National Literacy Project. It will also develop, at a later point, educational and training systems aimed at improving the ability of each community to provide a better economic and cultural base for its members.

Ultimately, the Center is expected to provide assistance for planning and organizing methods of re-training to maintain and improve the employability of workers with (1) obsolete job skills, (2) low skills which can be upgraded, (3) skills limited to particular geographic areas, etc. In all cases, the Center will attempt to provide each community with methods and techniques best suited for its particular local problems.

### Structure of the Center

The Center will consist of four operational arms: Planning, Research, Development and Community-Action.

1. Planning

   This division will map out over-all plans and strategies. It will coordinate the three other arms and also will act as a resource for them. It will sponsor conferences, seminars, workshops and other activities aimed at solving community-action problems.

2. Research

   The Research division will develop a theory of community - action research and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning and to narrowing the gap between potential and performance, with emphasis on literacy techniques and other projects of the Center.

3. Development

   This division will design and prepare educational materials suited to the requirements of the spectrum of community-action problems.

4. Community-Action

This division will be responsible to carry out the program developed by the three other arms. It carries the techniques directly into the community.

Control of policy will rest within a Board of Directors consisting of designated personnel from the staff of the Center and Howard University, representatives of the civil rights organizations and appropriate representatives drawn from the fields of education, psychology, business, labor, religion, etc.

In addition to the Board of Directors, there will be an advisory committee consisting of a panel of experts also drawn from such disciplines as economics, social work, psychiatry, psychology, etc.

The Center itself would be headed by a Director who would also serve as Director of Planning; an Associate Director for Research and Development; an Associate Director for Community-Action; and an Administrative Director.

Operation of the Center

The National Literacy Project will take place in three successive stages. These are: (1) Planning stage, (2) Operational stage and (3) Extension stage. Each of these stages will be discussed:

Planning Stage

During the planning stage the Center will plan new research and continue the development of existing programs to meet the requirements of the functionally illiterate populations to be trained. Also, the Center will further develop and extend pilot projects such as the ones now being started under the auspices of the Congress of Racial Equality. During this first period the Center will begin to hire and train personnel for the supervisory field apparatus, later described, and for the training of volunteer Literacy Instructors. Physical facilities for the Center will be established and systems set up for data processing and quality control of the field operation. Initial selection of communities in which the literacy program would begin will also take place in this planning stage.

Operational Stage

By the end of the planning stage, the Center will be in position to begin the National Literacy Programs in at least a score of communities across the nation. In this stage, the entire field apparatus will be activated. This apparatus consists of three main classifications of personnel: (1) Community Organizers, (2) Literacy Instructor Trainers (LITs) and (3) Field Supervisors.

Community Organizers

Community Organizers will serve primarily to investigate and screen those community organizations which express interest in having literacy programs. The organizer will evaluate the particular community agency and the community itself in terms of pre-established evaluational methods. It will be his function to obtain the data and forward it to the Center. The Center will then be in a position to decide which communities will best meet the conditions required for the operation of the program. Once the decision has been made the Community Organizers will also serve to stimulate interest in the literacy program, and to interpret the aims of the Center to a wide audience.

The Literacy Training Section of the field operation will consist of those persons responsible to guide and direct the initiation of the program in the local community. It will be their responsibility to insure proper training of Literacy Instructors, work with local organizations, and monitor the literacy program in its initial weeks of operation, to insure that it is functioning properly.

The supervisory staff will operate at three levels:

1. Supervisors
2. Project Coordinators (PC)
3. Volunteer Coordinators (VC)

Since literacy instruction will be performed by volunteers, a careful system of supervision is required to insure that the program maintains its quality and continuity of operation in each community. The echelon immediately above the volunteer Literacy Instructors (LIs) will be the Volunteer Literacy Coordinators. The VLC will be responsible for supervising the activities of from five to ten LI's. He will insure (1) that the students are instructed properly, (2) that the instructors are carrying out their responsibilities as scheduled, (3) that the facilities used for the training are given adequate care. It will also be his duty (4) to contact those students who drop out of the program and try to straighten out their problems, and (5) to carefully report to his supervisor difficulties which he sees in the functioning of the project and to make recommendations for project improvement. For each group of Volunteer Literacy Coordinators there will be a Project Coordinator. Project Coordinators are expected in large part, to be drawn from among the LIs themselves. As these are paid positions, the National Literacy Program would provide a limited number of jobs for persons indigenous to the community. In the echelon above the Project Coordinators would be a staff of professional Supervisors, they would generally supervise, trouble-shoot and oversee the program across fairly large geographical areas. It would be their responsibility to see that all data and other information on local projects get to the Center. This National Literacy Program supervisory staff will be organized on a local, state, and regional basis.

In the operational stage the National Literacy Program should quickly move into high gear and spread rapidly across all regions of the United States. During this phase we expect to build an expanding system (in which students become instructors) and ultimately provide a million persons with literacy training.

Extension Stage

During this third (expansionary) stage of operation, in addition to the continuation of the literacy program, the scope of the Center will be expanded beyond the goal of providing a sixth grade reading capability. While for many persons a functional sixth grade literacy level will provide stimulation to seek further education and broader employment opportunity this literacy level will also provide a base for seeking higher employment skills. Various experimental programs will be carried out during this extension stage. These experimental programs will include such methods as: (1) vocabulary expansion programs, (2) verbalization programs, (3) English composition programs, (4) arithmetic concepts programs, and (5) vocational skill programs including electrical repair, mechanical equipment repair, etc.

These experimental pilot projects are to be carried out using experimental groups of students who have established a minimum sixth grade reading level.

The Center's Research division, during this stage, is also expected to experimentally produce training techniques for obtaining high school equivalency in a very short period of time.

We propose the following schedule for the duration of the various phases:

Stage 1. To begin as soon as funding permits, and to continue for six months.

Stage 2. To begin at the conclusion of Stage 1, and to continue for approximately 24 months.

Stage 3. To begin after 18 months of Stage 2.

The Literacy Instructor (LI) (Summary Job Descriptions)

The Literacy Instructor is the core of the literacy program. It is he who will be in constant contact with the trainee. To the extent that the LIs are successful, the Center will be able to make gains in reading and writing ability. However, since the literacy training material is expected to be programmed and largely self-instructional, we will be working with a system that is efficient to the extent that LIs perform each step as required. LI's must also bring enthusiasm, involvement and dedication as many students will require emotional support as well as instruction in reading. However, the academic background of the LI may be relatively low; he may not have completed high school and may be a housewife or in an unskilled job situation. Many LIs will in

fact, gain as much or more from the National Literacy Program as their students because of the requirements for planning and scheduling and attention to language skills. We are hopeful that many LIs will become motivated to seek careers as teachers.

In Part I of this proposal the qualifications of the LI were specified.

The specific duties of the Instructor are:

1. to give instruction using materials supplied to him.
2. to recruit trainees.
3. to help secure facilities in which to carry on instruction.
4. to maintain and periodically submit all necessary records and reports.

Prior to the time the LI is expected to begin instructing, the Center will train him for the above duties. In the case of highly educated and motivated persons the time required for training will be minimal - perhaps 10 hours. For persons with little experience in working with others and for those who may have only a tenth grade reading capability themselves, the training period may extend up to 25 hours.

In a given city for example, we could start with an initial cadre of 40 potential LIs. Within a week most would have completed their training. We expect 25% attrition so that of the original 40, about 30 would become Literacy Instructors. The others will have dropped out or been unacceptable for a variety of reasons.

If sufficient literacy training recruits had not already been located and if adequate training facilities had not been secured, the first assignment for most of the LIs in this illustrative community would be recruitment of students and facilities. As trainees are increasingly recruited, a larger portion of the LIs would begin instruction, and a correspondingly smaller proportion function as recruiters. Some LIs will perform in both capacities, and some will function in one or the other. Eventually we can expect a high proportion of LIs to become regular instructors and others will continue to recruit on the basis of demonstrated merit. Some proportion of LIs would become Volunteer Literacy Coordinators or even join the field staff of the Center.

The number of LIs in this hypothetical community is expected to expand. Others can enlist in the project for LI training and can be trained in their LI duties by experienced Instructors. Likewise, as trainees move ahead in the literacy instruction, many of them will become student-LIs in from 30 to 100 hours of instruction as provided for in Dr. Woolman's reading method, depending on their initial level. Upon completion of the training program they can perform as LIs and instruct their own groups. In this manner, in any community, the number of LIs (and trainees) can continue to expand.

Trainee Recruitment

The recruitment of LIs in sufficient numbers to mount the program is not expected to constitute a major problem. Recruitment of large masses of literacy trainees is expected to pose the Community-Action arm of the Center with its greatest challenge. For this reason the support of the civil rights groups and other community agencies allied with them is of vital importance to the success of this project. The key to the recruitment of the functionally illiterate lies within the LI himself. As far as possible it will be desirable to select a majority of the LI's from essentially the same population group from which the literacy trainees will be recruited. These LIs will be trusted community members who have a ready rapport with the prospective trainee. Since one of the responsibilities of the LIs will be to recruit their own students and since a high proportion of the LIs will be neighbors of prospective literacy trainees, recruitment will be informal and should be both more economical and more successful than has been the case in typical community service agencies. The LI speaks the same language as the trainee, and offers a ready example of successful accomplishment for all to see.

As a result of these same factors and because the literacy training materials are designed to be intrinsically motivating, the drop-out problem is expected to be minimal.

Present planning calls for recruiting a large number of the initial LIs from the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Due to the involvement of civil rights organizations we expect strong initial support for this project, particularly for improving the literacy level of Negroes. However, it is most important that all coordinating organizations work on the principle that literacy training will take place without regard to color.

file - Remed Ed Program - Literacy

February 5, 1965

Dr. Myron Woolman
Director
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

Dear Dr. Woolman:

A number of our CORE chapters have expressed an interest in activating literacy programs in their own communities in line with CORE's community action policy. National CORE wholeheartedly supports their efforts and is intensly interested in the development of literacy projects under its own auspices for many vital reasons.

As you may know I have a deep personal concern for basic education. Further, it is my personal conviction that CORE has an obligation to launch a full scale attack on illiteracy as a necessary first step toward training programs and employability.

During the past year, I have had my staff investigating various reading methods. In the course of this effort, CORE has carefully investigated The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program developed, and currently being tested by your Institute. The reaction has been extremely favorable. In our judgment your literacy method is very well adapted to maintaining the interest of culturally deprived school children (as in Charlotte, N.C.) and dropouts and is well suited for use in action projects undertaken by CORE chapters and other organizations which work directly in the community.

We are prepared to move ahead in cooperation with the Institute of Educational Research in developing literacy programs both in CORE chapters and in other community agencies. You may be assured that you have CORE's complete cooperation for the development of literacy programs in New York, North Carolina, and

other communities. Financial support for these projects has not been worked out, but we are deeply committed to the same literacy goals and hope that sometime in the near future CORE will be able to assist in raising funds for these projects.

It was a great pleasure to meet you. I look forward to a continued relationship with you and the Institute of Educational Research.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/bb

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

FEB 15 1965

February 11, 1965

Mrs. Nancy Mutarrelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Nancy:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to be signed by Jim Farmer to Dr. Woolman. Jim looked over the letter last week when I was in New York and asked me to make a change in the paragraph which deals with funds. I made the suggested change and would like very much to have Jim sign it and mail it to us right away.

Of course, if there are any other changes in the text that Jim would like to make that will be perfectly alright with us.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

Enclosure

GRC/bb

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Lit. Prog

February 5, 1965

Dr. Myron Woolman
Director
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington 7, D. C.

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other communities. While financial support for these projects has not been worked out, we are deeply committed to the same literacy goals and will, within the limits of our ability, help raise and make funds available for the support of these literacy projects.

It was a great pleasure to meet you. I look forward to a continued relationship with you and the Institute of Educational Research.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/bb

- renewed Ed. literacy prog

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

FEB 15 1965

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

February 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I am writing to recap the CORE Literacy Project progress as I see it. I believe that the most important thing to be done at this point is to set up a conference here in Washington between you, Mike Woolman, Floyd McKissick and myself. If the national project that we have proposed to the President is to become a reality we are going to have to move ahead more rapidly than we have to date.

In regard to pilot projects within CORE, it is unfortunate that the Bronx experiment was such a big flop. However, by the end of this week we should know whether CCNY can produce, and I am also quite encouraged about the prospects in North Carolina. As Floyd pointed out, it appears to us that North Carolina holds great promise for a good pilot project. With the $5,000.00 that has been promised from IBM and the prospect of getting Western Electric to sponsor one or two projects we should be able to finance at least a limited effort without undue burden on either CORE or IER.

The incorporation is moving along and we should have the matter taken care of within a week. I am most anxious to set up the meeting with Shriver and Keppel before too much longer. Please let me know when you think we can hold these meetings. Also I would like your thinking on whether it would be better for me to set them up from down here or if you want to handle that from your office.

called 2/15-

The last thing is the meeting with the officials of the United Planning Organization in Washington. The UPO is the local poverty program here. Jim Banks, the Director, and Hy Frankel, his assistant, would like to meet with you to discuss the possibilities of a joint effort between UPO and CORE. If this were possible it could serve as the prototype of further CORE participation in local CAPs.

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible or have someone in your office pass on the information to me. Thanks ever so much.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

cc: James T. McCain

GRC/bb

Denied
Ed

24 February, 1965

Mr. Frank S. Johnson, Jr.
Director of Information
Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Mr. Farmer was not in the office when your letter of February 18, arrived late yesterday, and as he will not return for a couple of days, I want to apologize for not being able to respond in time to your invitation to the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

SRA

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
259 EAST ERIE STREET, CHICAGO, ILL. 60611 TEL. 944-7552 AREA CODE 312

MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION
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GUIDANCE PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION

FEB 23 1965

February 18, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This month, Science Research Associates, Inc. will publish Reading in High Gear, a basic reading skills program written and developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Washington, D. C.

We are planning a conference to announce publication of the program to the press and would like to extend an invitation to you to attend. The conference will be held on Wednesday, February 24, from 10 AM to 12 PM in Room 313 at the International Business Machines Corporation Educational Center, 80 East Lake Street, Chicago.

Dr. Woolman will be our guest at this conference. Lyle M. Spencer, President of SRA, will act as host and Dr. Thomas Edwards, Senior Consultant in the Language Arts for SRA, will present Reading in High Gear.

It would be helpful in completing plans for the conference if you could let me know whether or not you will be able to attend.

I hope you will be able to join us on February 24.

Sincerely,

Frank S. Johnson, Jr.
Director of Information

FSJ:jbw

ADULT leadership

VOLUME 13, NUMBER 9 MARCH, 1965

*Statewide Program Moves Ahead*

By MONROE C. NEFF

# *ADULT BASIC EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA*

## A Story of Teacher Training . . .

## . . . on a big scale

How One State Sets The Pace For The Nation !

Reprinted by:

THE BOARD FOR FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION
Division of Adult and Literacy Education
146 East Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dallas Indianapolis New York

*Statewide Program Moves Ahead*

By MONROE C. NEFF

# *ADULT BASIC EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA*

NORTH CAROLINA FIRST—The North Carolina State Board of Education on November 5, 1964, became the first board in the nation to approve a state plan for adult basic education under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The State Plan, along with the Plan of Operation and Budgets, was then submitted to the U. S. Office of Education. The adult basic education program is administered by Dr. Monroe C. Neff, Head, Division of General Adult Education and Community Services, and Assistant Director of the State Department of Community Colleges under the North Carolina State Board of Education. The Department of Community Colleges is directed by Dr. I. E. Ready. A Federal allocation of $819,068 will be used for administering this program through June 30, 1965.

PROGRAM PREPARATIONS—Beginning in August of 1964 and continuing through the first week of October, the adult education director had the opportunity to discuss adult basic education with representatives from each of the 100 counties in North Carolina. Seven regional Economic Opportunity meetings were held in the state during this period of time, and all phases of the Economic Opportunity Act were discussed with five representatives from each of the 100 counties. An adult educational panel discussed the program during separate one and one-half hour sessions with the representatives from each county. The purpose of these meetings was to alert the community leaders to the importance of including certain elements of the adult basic education program in their community action proposals. The main objective was to encourage each county to include as a part of its community action proposal a plan for recruiting adult basic education students. A question that constantly appeared in most of the discussion sessions was "Where can we get the necessary teachers for basic adult education when we already have a shortage of teachers in our public schools?" This question proved to be of little concern in the later phases of planning and preparation in the state.

MATERIAL SYSTEMS SELECTED—The state department personnel reviewed all of the seven so-called adult basic education material systems. The staff was concerned with finding programs that would be comprehensive in nature which would include the communicative and computational skills and also provide supplementary materials in these two basic areas that would be of interest to adults and related to their everyday lives. Such information would include consumer education, health, social studies, homemaking education, family relationships, and other areas that might be applicable in helping to make the person better able to meet his adult responsibilities.

Four basic adult education material systems were approved for use in North Carolina as the regular or non-pilot project instructional program. The four systems have been modified as such and are as follows: System for Success, Laubach, Words in Color, and Learning Laboratories.

- The System for Success is designed to teach adults and older youth the functional use of communication skills—reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, and grammar—in six to nine weeks. It utilizes a basic vocabulary of 1,000 words.
- The Laubach Literacy Education Course of Study consists of 98 filmed lessons, each 30 minutes long, with instruction by an expert literacy teacher. It utilizes the "picture-word-letter" association procedure and a basic vocabulary of 1,000 to 1,700 words.
- The Words in Color System, developed in England, is now provided by Encyclopedia Britannica. It is estimated that adults can learn to read and write in 50 three-hour sessions with this system.
- The Learning Laboratories System, already in use in many institutions in the state, was developed in the Department of Curriculum Study and Research, North Carolina State Board of Education. It utilizes programmed instructional materials which allow each student to proceed at his own pace and on his own level, from basic reading, grammar and arithmetic, through the eighth grade

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*This very timely article concerning a plan for North Carolina's statewide program of adult basic education was written by* DR. MONROE C. NEFF. *Dr. Neff qualified for his doctoral degree at the University of Wyoming. He taught in secondary schools in Jackson, Mississippi, for eight years and was director of adult and vocational education there for five years. He was also a member of the staff of the division of adult education and community services at the University of Wyoming and was recipient of a fellowship given by the Fund for Adult Education. He now serves as Consultant for Southeast United States for the U. S. Office of Education, Adult Education Branch, for Title II(b) of the Economic Opportunity Act.*

level. Teaching machines are not used in the program.

To be classified as a material system, two of the above programs had to be supplemented with other materials from about the 3.5 grade level up to the completion of eighth grade level.

If an institution wishes to use any other adult basic education material, a request in the form of a project proposal as listed in the State Plan will have to be submitted. A reserve fund is held for approval of special projects in designing or the use of other literacy systems.

TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTES HELD—In October of 1964 planning sessions were held by the staff for programming initial teacher training institutes for the state. Through planning it was decided that it would be necessary to have between 20 and 30 teacher training institutes in the initial phase in order to have teachers prepared for the adult basic education program. The North Carolina State Board of Education approved contractual agreements with the Board for Fundamental Education to provide the initial teacher training institutes in North Carolina. An outline of a sixteen-hour teacher training institute was prepared. The universities and four-year colleges in North Carolina that have general extension divisions were asked to send two representatives from their faculties to audit the first series of teacher training institutes. It was required by the state department that the adults who planned to become adult basic education teachers should have as a minimum a baccalaureate degree in some discipline—not necessarily in education. It was felt that people at this ability level could be prepared to be successful teachers in this program.

Through news releases the teacher training program was announced and the response was overwhelming. The first teacher training institute began on December 17, 1964 in Durham, North Carolina. One hundred and twenty-five teachers completed this training institute. All of the teacher training institutes were scheduled for a three-day period. The majority were conducted consecutively on Thursday and Friday nights and all day Saturday. A few institutes were scheduled on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday nights. The prospective teachers were not paid to attend these institutes and had to contribute their time and provide transportation.

Between December 17, 1964 and January 30, 1965, 24 teacher training institutes were conducted in North Carolina. Through these sessions over 3,300 teachers completed the sixteen-hour course. Prospective teachers were enrolled from all 100 counties in the state. Approximately one-half of those completing the institute were professional teachers, the other one-half being lay people with baccalaureate degrees. The institutes were designed to acquaint these prospective teachers with the overall problem of working with the undereducated adult. It was necessary before classes started that the teacher understand the characteristics that the teacher himself would have to possess. Approximately one-half of the training time was given to these important areas of general orientation. The last half of training was the actual discussion of materials and how these materials should be presented beginning with the first class meeting.

**THE TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAM**

**The teacher training program dealt with such topics as follows: the problem of illiteracy; its costs in prejudice, unemployment, in crime, to the national defense, and to the everyday life of the individual; variations in literacy among the states and among social classes; an examination of the characteristics of the illiterate individual; his impact on the community; responsibility of the community; student counselling and guidance; motivation for self-betterment; recruiting illiterates; desirable characteristics of teachers of illiterates; testing for literacy levels; curriculums for the new reader; records of student progress; assignments for home work; variations in schedule and methods; and goals of the teacher trainee.**

IN-SERVICE TRAINING PLANS—The next phase scheduled to follow immediately is that of in-service training. The 18 faculty members from the senior institutions in the state audited at least one of the teacher training institutes. Additional meetings scheduled with these professors will enable them to provide all in-service training and other teacher training in North Carolina. The in-service training teams will be called into action after the first five or six weeks of classwork. They will be responsible for meeting with small groups of 15 to 20 teachers for three and four-hour sessions in all parts of the state to help the teachers upgrade themselves so that they may present a quality program.

INSTRUCTION WIDELY AVAILABLE—The classes or learning teams for adult basic education are available throughout all 100 counties of the state during the morning, afternoon or evening. A large number of the groups are conducted away from public buildings. The state department is attempting to provide adult basic education during any time of day or night and conducted in any place that might be available and suitable where the adult student and teacher can be brought together as a learning team.

RECRUITING STUDENTS—The dynamic part of the entire Economic Opportunity Act to the adult education division personnel in North Carolina is the function that the community action programs throughout the state can provide in recruiting the hard-to-reach adult who is to be served.

Adult educators concerned with public education have a difficult time identifying and reaching this hard-to-recruit group. Most programs use only a broad "shotgun" approach for recruiting students. These methods include the use of the mass media, messages through utilities services, notices through milk deliveries, notices sent home by school children, and other standard practices. But through this approach the adult in the low socio-economic group is not reached. If only this type of program promotion is used, the adult basic education programs will not be too successful.

Of the adult population of the United States—roughly 120 million people—the adult education programs over the nation are reaching

## *Basic Education*

approximately one-half, or 60 million people, at the present time. The other 50 percent, or 60 million adults, are more difficult to reach. At the present time, adult education is serving the educated people—those that have education seek more education—but the lower one-half of our adult population is an undereducated group. These people really do not see a need for additional education.

Of the lower 50 percent, adult basic education might be expected to reach ten percent of this group without too much effort. These people are motivated to some extent and will come into programs with some encouragement because they see a need or have a reason for continuing their education. But what about the other 40 percent? It will be necessary to go out into the communities, door-to-door across the state and get these people into adult basic education programs so that they might be upgraded in order to pursue some occupational training which will enable them to profit self, family and community. Adult educators will be dealing with second and third generation welfare cases where they find that the adult completed the fourth or fifth grade and feels that this level of education is all that is necessary for his children. This situation points to one of the causes for our public school dropout problem. By changing the attitudes of these adults it is possible to improve the holding power of our public schools. Each community action program should be encouraged to budget funds under Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act to employ people to recruit adult basic education students.

PROGRAM EXPECTATIONS—North Carolina is fortunate to have the North Carolina Fund. This organization, financed by Ford and Carnegie grants, was developed a little over a year ago and is concerned with community action programs in North Carolina. The Fund sponsored community action programs in 11 project areas in the state. The organization is providing funds for 11 full-time recruiters for basic adult education programs for a three-month period. These recruiters are identifying undereducated adults for basic adult education programs in the project areas. Proposals have been submitted by these community action groups to the Office of Economic Opportunity for full-time people to recruit adult basic education students in all project areas who will replace these temporary recruiters. One community in North Carolina has 150 classes registered with 15 adults in each learning team. Other communities have equally large numbers registered for basic adult education classes. North Carolina expects from ten to twelve thousand adults in basic adult education programs throughout the state within the first four months of this program.

## THE BOARD'S PROGRAM

Throughout its ten-year history, the Board for Fundamental Education has been actively engaged in research, study, evaluation and experimentation. The purpose:

> the development and marketing of tested methods and materials to meet the special problems of the disadvantaged.

The Board's decade of experience in this field has been both unique and meaningful. Its Congressional Charter as a non profit, private organization places it under a mandate to apply this experience for the nation's benefit. It is prepared to do so, by assisting private and public agencies in their attack upon a problem which we know can be solved by this generation of concerned Americans.

A 14-page brochure titled "Bringing Basic Education To Undereducated Adults and Older Youth" is now available. The complete program of the Board and how it can assist state, community and local self-help projects throughout the nation is outlined in detail.

Revised Ed Lit Proj

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE NEIGHBORHOOD ADVISORY COMMITTEE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE GUIDE LINES LAID DOWN FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1965 AMENDED.

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2900 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

October 14, 1965

# READING IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM ADVISORY COMMITTEE

**PURPOSE:** To coordinate with local individuals, public and private agencies in the community, in order to: 1) recruit unemployed school dropouts between the ages of 16 and 22 not having a reading knowledge above the fifth grade, 2) help delinquent and illiterate boys and girls in our neighborhoods to amend their ways by raising their living standards, educationally, economically, socially and morally, and 3) mobilize local neighborhood leadership (from within) to search for young delinquents and encourage them to enroll and complete our Reading Improvement Program, which will substantially improve their reading levels, so that they may become self-sustaining and be eligible for more productive and higher paying employment.

**MEMBERSHIP:** The Reading Improvement Program Advisory Committee shall consist of ten (power and prestige) local lay leaders, chosen because of their concern for common neighborhood problems and a desire to do something about them. Not only have they been selected on the basis of their demonstrated abilities, but throughout the years, they have shown sympathetic insight, love and understanding for the unmet needs of those on the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder -- those whose needs have been so systematically and so callously ignored in the past.

The ten members selected by the Literacy Counselor are:

1. Rev. Henry Miles, Pastor .... Third Baptist Church
2. Rev. T. Alexander Crawford, Pastor .. Mt. Joy Baptist Church
3. Rev. Ezerard Hudson Hughes, Pastor .. Mt. Jezreel Baptist Church
4. Rev. J. D. Foy, Pastor ... Asbury Methodist Church
5. Rev. Darneal Johnson, Jr., Pastor .. Mt. Sinai Baptist Church

6. Mr. William B. Cook, Carto Technician, Special Maps, Interior Dept.

7. Mrs. Irene S. Powell (housewife), Retired School Teacher

8. Mrs. Alma Hawkins, President, Interdenominational Ushers' Union

9. Mr. W. Harold Smith, Counselor, Cardoza Employment Center

10. Mr. Samuel Graham, President, Southeast Civic Association

**William S. Taylor**
**Literacy Counselor**

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N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8927

Farmer 3/18/65

March 16, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

I went over - with some care - the material that you and Jim Farmer wanted me to look at. It seems to me sound, as you realized I would say, since we have discussed this. As you know, I shall be moving to Washington the first week in April and will be at 1715 "N" Street, N.W. We should be in touch with each other as things go on.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Allen Knight Chalmers
Executive President

AKC/mw

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Literacy Prog
Remedial Ed

MAR 2 2 1965

TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK 10027

March 19, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I have the copy of the working paper you sent titled: "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program." The overall purpose and design of the program seem to me to be quite sound and are aimed at attacking a very serious problem. My major reservation is that the program will rely solely on the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program. I think that the APC Reading Program has considerable promise in the area of developing adult literacy. And, I understand that the method has been extensively tested. However, other materials and programs are being developed and tested and should be included in the proposal. I concur with CORE its feeling that the proposal should not be limited to the use of any one technique and assume that this will be taken seriously in the implementation of the proposal.

In the selection of instructors, you might include some kind of commitment to a specific length of time. Our experience with tutors has been that some of the initial enthusiasm and motivation is readily dissipated, especially if achievement results are not readily forthcoming. In the training program for the Literacy Instructors, I would hope that you would include continued in-service training and not simply an initial orientation program. Our experience with Homework Helpers in the Mobilization for Youth Program suggests that the continued weekly meetings with the tutors have been a very important ingredient in whatever success has been achieved.

The overall idea is an exciting and appealing one. I would certainly support its general design and intent despite the caveats I have suggested above. I hope you will keep me informed of future developments.

Sincerely yours,

A. Harry Passow
Professor of Education

AHPasbr
cc: Mr. James Farmer

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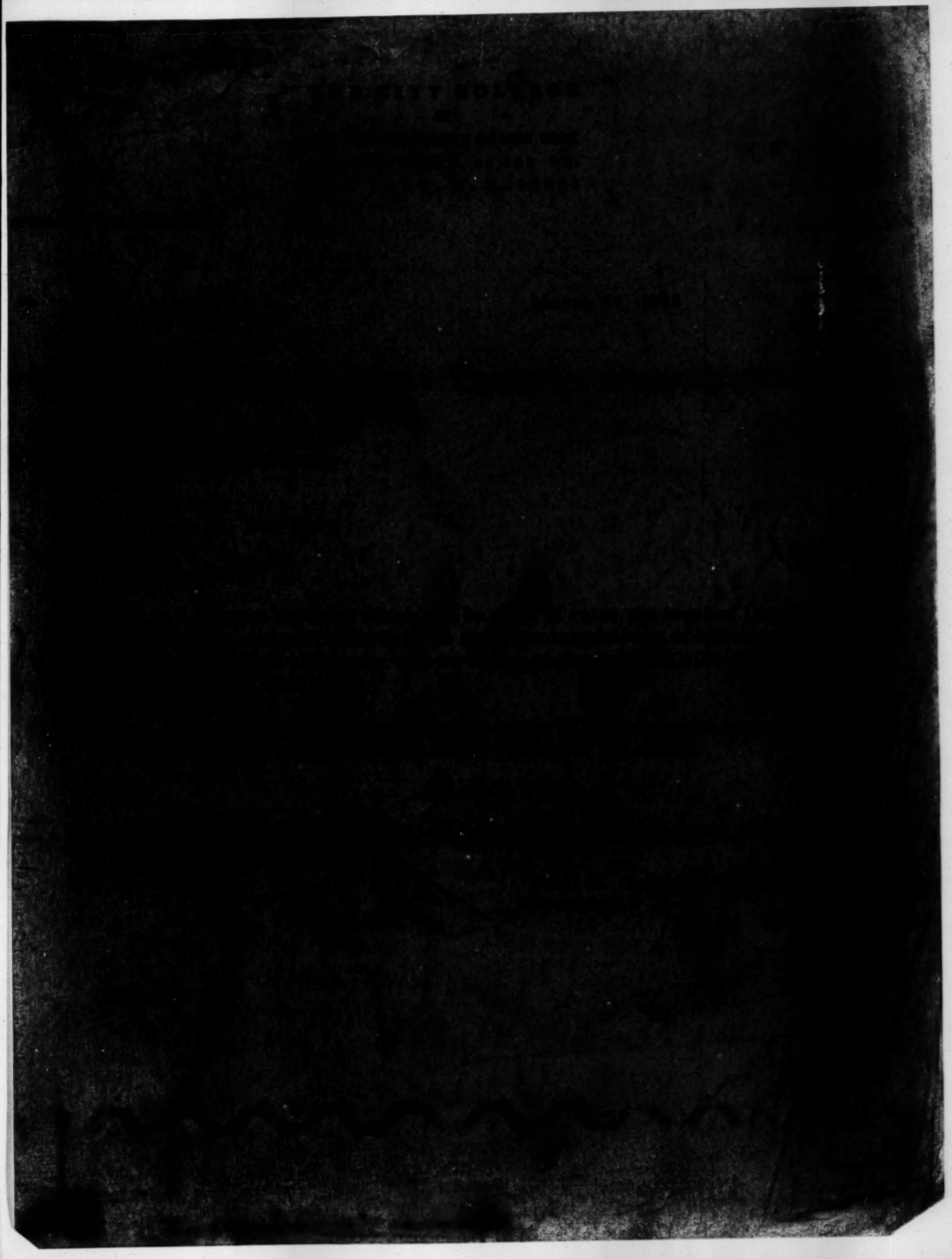

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Remed. Ed.
Literacy Program

March 25, 1965

Mr. Gordon Carey
Research Coordinator
The Institute of Educational Research, Inc.
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Gordon:

Because of the crises of the past weeks Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly, but he has seen your letter and memorandum of March 11th and asked me to reply.

Mr. Farmer must be in Washington on April 28th and will be able to arrange to get there a day earlier if you can set up a meeting for the afternoon of April 27th. Please let me know as soon as possible if this will be convenient for you.

Sincerely,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM:cf

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

April 27?

March 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

MAR 1 2 1965

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing a brief memorandum on my meeting this week-end. The most interesting aspect of it was the possibility of the National Council of Churches cooperation with a Prince Edward literacy project. Mike and I will be in Prince Edward on Wednesday and will keep you informed.

I am enclosing a copy of our Certificate of Incorporation. We will need to have a meeting of the Board of Directors -- you, Woolman, McKissick, Spencer and myself -- as soon as possible. Please have Nancy let me know what date you may be available. We could meet either in New York or Washington, D. C. I believe that the Board meeting will require about one-half day.

It is urgent that we have this meeting in order to organize the corporation and establish by-laws, etc. In order to get tax exemption we must begin to operate. The $5,500.00 contribution from Lyle Spencer arrived Monday morning March 8. As you recall, this money is to be used by the Center for the joint CORE-IER projects. As soon as the Board of the corporation meets we can establish a bank account and have the funds transferred.

Mike and I have another meeting with Nelson and Nabrit sometime this week. Copies of the Center proposal were sent to Howard University, Spencer and various other persons early last week. In a day or two we will be sending out the proposal to a number of other persons for their comments. I will send you a copy of the covering letter as well as a list of those persons to whom we are sending the proposal.

If there is anything that I can do for you or CORE in Washington I will be more than happy to do so. I am in constant touch with a number of government officials in various agencies and may be able to be of service from time to time.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

cc/ Dr. Myron Woolman
GRC/bb

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer, National Director CORE

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Educational Consultant

SUBJECT: Conference on the Role of the Returning Peace Corp Volunteer

PLACE: Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DATE OF CONFERENCE: March 5, 6, 7, 1965

DATE: March 11, 1965

At your request I represented CORE at the Peace Corp Conference called by Vice President Humphrey. I had expected to see George Wiley there, but did not see him.

The Conference included approximately 1,000 returned Peace Corp Volunteers as well as hundreds of representatives of federal, other governmental and private agencies.

At the reception Friday evening I greeted the Vice President and thanked him for referring us to Hy Bookbinder and Lyle Carter. Woolman and I also chatted briefly with Bookbinder and Ambassador Franklin Williams.

I was assigned as a consultant to one of four workshops on the Local Community. Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall and Professor Leonard Fuchs chaired the workshop of which I was a member. There was some discussion of literacy programs in the local communities but most of the discussion centered around more traditional civil rights activities.

Among other consultants present were Robert Pickus of Turn Toward Peace and Jay Moore, Associate Director of The Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. I discussed with Moore at length the possibility of Council of churches cooperation with a literacy program in Prince Edward County. He expressed a good deal

of interest and suggested that the Southern Presbyterian Church has recently contacted him about involvement in some such program.

Dr. Woolman and I will be in Prince Edward meeting with the American Friends Service Committee and Rev. Griffin on March 10 and will shortly there after submit a proposal to the National Council of Churches for a church subsidized literacy program. If it meets with your approval we will suggest that the project be done by the Center for Community-Action Education in cooperation with the Institute of Educational Research and the Southern Presbyterian Church.

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant

cc/ Dr. Myron Woolman

GRC/bb

SRA SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
259 EAST ERIE STREET, CHICAGO 11, ILL., WHITEHALL 4-7552

MAR 8 1965

March 5, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Editorial Consultant
Institute of Educational Research, Incorporated
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington 7, District of Columbia

Dear Gordon,

Responding to your request of February 12 for a grant to the Institute of Educational Research, Incorporated, to conduct a controlled experiment on using volunteers for training purposes to improve the reading ability of culturally deprived youngsters, The Spencer Foundation is glad to make a grant of $5,500.

I assume that these funds will be spent approximately along the lines of your outline study and the budget you submitted.

I think that CORE has a brilliant idea in its proposed literacy training program. The specific purpose of this study, as I understand it, is to find out whether the idea can be made to work on a large scale.

SRA SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
259 EAST ERIE STREET, CHICAGO 11, ILL., WHITEHALL 4-7552



The key to the study will be, of course, setting up a rigorous experiment that will provide hard data that could be replicated later by other investigators. I would hope that you would use a control group in parallel with your experimental students.

If the study proves successful, you will have data of potentially great value for generalizing this type of work all across the United States and probably in many other countries as well, particularly the underdeveloped ones.

The best of luck, and I hope you will keep me posted on the progress of your experiment.

Sincerely,

Lyle M. Spencer

Enclosure: The Spencer Foundation check 921, dated March 5, 1965, for $5,500.00, payable to the Institute of Educational Research, Inc.

✓ cc Mr. James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038

cc Dr. Myron Woolman, Director, Institute of Educational Research

March 9, 1965

Mr. Lyle Spencer
President
Science Research Associates
259 East Erie
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Lyle:

Your generous contribution arrived on Monday. We were most elated to have the CORE projects funded. It is very rewarding to see you so deeply committed to this type of effort. I am certain that the success of the projects in New York and North Carolina will more than justify your generous effort.

As I indicated over the telephone we have incorporated the Center for Community-Action Education. Enclosed you will find a copy of our certificate of incorporation. You will recall that at the meeting with Howard University we indicated that we would proceed with the incorporation. At the time we enter into a relationship with the Howard University we can either enter into a contractual agreement or the corporation can simply be dissolved and the Center established by the University. As it is, the Center will be able to carry on a good number of activities without awaiting federal funds. I am confident that private income of a fairly substantial nature will be available to us.

I have written to Farmer asking him for possible dates for the first Board meeting. As soon as I hear from him I will be in touch with you and Floyd McKissick. A number of items of business should be taken care of at this first meeting. Among them are: adoption of by-laws, nomination for additional members of the Board and organizational matters such as election of officers and establishing a routine for further meetings.

By the time you receive this letter Mike and I will have been to Prince Edward County, Virginia. Bud Edwards can fill you in on additional background on the situation there. We will be meeting with the Rev. L. Francis Griffin and the representative of the American Friends Service Committee. I have also spoken with the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches about funding a literacy project in Prince Edward. It seems to us that the reactivation of Prince Edward could be the project which could dramatize the Center at a national level.

The other day you indicated on the telephone that you were going to be in North Carolina on March 15, and that you might be able to be helpful to us on that trip. There is one requirement that we have which might be met at that time. If you could set up a channel for us with the Governor's office which would provide a liason with the North Carolina Department of Education officials it could be of untold assistance. We have met with some resistance to IER's research of APC from certain North Carolina state officials. A channel to the top might help resolve that problem and also aid our CORE literacy project.

Again, on behalf of Mike and Farmer, let me thank you most kindly for your contribution. I shall continue to keep in close touch.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Thomas Edwards
Mr. James Farmer

GRC/bb

OFFICE OF RECORDER OF DEEDS, D. C.
Corporation Division
Sixth and D Streets, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

# CERTIFICATE

*THIS IS TO CERTIFY* that all provisions of the District of Columbia Non-profit Corporation Act have been complied with and ACCORDINGLY this Certificate of Incorporation

is hereby issued to the THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION, INCORPORATED

as of the date hereinafter mentioned.

Date - February 19, 1965

PETER S. RIDLEY,
*Recorder of Deeds, D.C.*

Alfred Goldstein
Alfred Goldstein
*Superintendent of Corporations*

Government of the District of Columbia
Form RD-C 55
Oct. 1962

# Citizenship IN ACTION

* Initiative * Industry * Enterprise

## achievement development center

of the **Board For Fundamental Education**

Cleo Blackburn
Exec. Dir.

Chartered by Congress in 1954,
The Board for Fundamental Education is a non-profit institution

146 E. Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

New York Dallas

# 1 PURPOSE AND DESIGN

## BUSINESS SUPPORT

Every corporation feels the pressures arising because this nation has seventy-five million people considered to be "disadvantaged." It senses these pressures in local, state and federal tax requirements, in the annual requests for increased giving to community chests and other support agencies, and in employee relations. Too, this disadvantage is said to deprive the economy of some $100 billion worth of consumer activity each year.

Rarely does an opportunity emerge to participate in a development holding the promise of being more than a day-by-day support activity. . . in fact, to begin to cure some of our social ills effectively. Grants to the Board for Fundamental Education and its unique ACHIEVEMENT DEVELOPMENT CENTER provide you with such an opportunity.

New techniques and approaches to the problems of the disadvantaged must be developed, proved and disseminated. More research is imperative if, in our national mood of concern, we are to avoid a tragic waste of human potential and private and public dollars. Such research and development is the major function of the Board for Fundamental Education under the Charter granted by the Congress of the United States. Its findings have proved influencial. Because of the success of programs already developed by the Board, there is active need and demand for intensive efforts to prepare national leadership in business, education and community action for their most successful use of already proven Board programs.

To meet these specific demands, the Board's budget must expand significantly. The following background is presented to assist in your decision to join the other distinguished corporations which, with sustaining support ranging from $2,000 upward annually, are financing BFE's major undertaking, the ACHIEVEMENT DEVELOPMENT CENTER: a creative group whose program achievements to advance the disadvantaged hold the promise of making corporate civic contributions, and employee development programs, significantly more effective.

## OUR PHILOSOPHY

Through a decade of practical operating experience, the Board has found that the promise and potential in the people considered "disadvantaged" can be successfully released only when they learn how most effectively to help themselves. It can and must be accomplished, for in releasing the potential of the "disadvantaged" lies the escape from welfare's increasing burden and the creation of a major contribution to the nation's well-being.

bfe

There is a disturbingly large number of Americans who have been by-passed by progress NOT because they lack the potential to better themselves, but because they have never had ample opportunity to develop their abilities, overcome the blight of their social degradation, and participate effectively in free society.

Even the man considered to be most under-achieving has the potential to become a man of talent and purpose, a more useful citizen, if he has the preparation plus an opportunity to participate in community and national life with dignity, pride and skill.

The key ingredient is What is asked of the people themselves? The potential in the people themselves is the only national resource large enough to encompass the problem of "disadvantage." Its release is the objective of the Board for Fundamental Education.

## FROM INNOVATION TO NATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS

The Board engages in a comprehensive program of action-research which has the effective progress of the disadvantaged as its goal. New materials and programs created by BFE's ACHIEVEMENT DEVELOPMENT CENTER staff are designed to improve the effectiveness, attitudes, family relationships, housing and employment potentials of the disadvantaged. Each new concept or technique is structured into a program proven effective through practical testing and refinement by innovation-oriented associates of the Center, with community responsibilities throughout the country.

Tested, functional programs are then made available nationally through commercial, professional and educational channels. As industry uses its sales allies, so the Board uses its 'social service' allies to introduce and market its products, concepts and techniques for the socio-economic improvement of the disadvantaged. Virtually every area of civic, business and professional leadership has already established its access to Board-sponsored research and planning. The Board reinforces its assistance with manuals, guides, personnel training and continual consultation.

It is in the approach and program design, however, that the Board's special skills in developing self-motivation are employed. The core of every program is the conviction that lasting improvement is rooted in a man's self-esteem and pride.

## WHY THIS APPROACH

The Board's directors and staff have observed the great gap between the needs and the approaches employed to lift people out of poverty. Conventional approaches are not closing this gap.

The obvious need is for vastly more effective answers, so successfully proven that they can be translated with certainty into successful counterparts in communities everywhere.

A comprehensive program of research and experimentation

is vitally needed to develop materials and programs which reach the under-achieving and effect fundamental changes in their skills, attitudes, behavior and general desire for education. It is vital too, that this research and development be carried on in a setting with facilities for action-tests close to the problems. The research staff, while being sympathetic to human needs, must give its exclusive and sustained attention to the development of systems which succeed and which can meet rigorous standards.

After analyzing the efforts of others, and initiating studies of its own, the Board became convinced that in a voluntary society, no one can guarantee rapid social change, even with massive effort; yet, a lever in the right place may move the world. The lever for the progress of the disadvantaged is development of their capacity to help themselves. The place to apply it is at the most effective existing contact points in their lives, such as on the job, in the family, and with their peers. Lasting progress for the disadvantaged could be established by a small, skilled group, they decided, if it concentrated upon several unique concepts:

- programmed systems to build the priceless characteristics of self-help and learning success within the disadvantaged themselves;
- effective distribution of program findings nationally through existing private, voluntary and public institutions with community-level responsibilities and points of contact; and
- continual follow-through consultation to assure success.

The Board has established a growing pattern of success in meeting each of these requirements.

2
PROGRAM

## OUR PROGRAM'S UNIQUE SCOPE AND DEPTH

In a field where acceptance of new ideas too often requires a generation, the Board has gained national recognition as a source for proven program "models," each one structured to reach the disadvantaged quickly and effectively. The scope of the Board's program reflects its conviction that all approaches to enrichment must be mutually reinforcing:

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION: Provides reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, and English grammar, for functionally illiterate adults and older youth. In late 1964 the Board released SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS, now one of the nation's leading new programs in the field. It is designed for, and related directly to increasing participant's employment potential. Notable because of its speed and high interest, this system soon will reach an estimated 1,000,000 people per year through schools, civic groups and industry. It is already used in Michigan, North Carolina, New Jersey, Indiana, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Missouri,

Ohio -- over 15 states in all.

EMPLOYMENT CLINIC: Offers a neighborhood program and materials through which the unemployed develop the understandings and attitudes necessary to find and hold jobs. Those who participate in this program prepare for the business world. The Clinic uses mutual help through small groups to aid the correction of shortcomings which prevent employment. Rapid acceptance of this new system indicates that, by the end of 1966, the Board's continuing goal of equipping leaders in more than 70 cities to create city-wide network of these clinics, will be achieved.

EMPLOYEE GENERAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT: Introduces systematic rapid in-plant employee education programs for high school equivalency. A comprehensive study now is under way, to develop rapid-learning, high interest systems which will have vital significance to business and industry. The nation's economic progress is restrained by the more than 31,000,000 employed who have less than the high school education essential to master today's rapid job changes; new approaches are vitally needed.

PRE-VOCATIONAL COUNSELING: Serves as a bridge between education and job-skill training, to help the unskilled find their most effective career in terms of motivation, talent, and community need.

SELF-HELP HOUSING AND HOME REHABILITATION: Methods by which the Board has successfully stimulated and programmed self-help housing. The pilot experiment generated cooperative labor by the disadvantaged, to build 371 new homes increasing the value of the target area's private real property four fold by $7,000,000. The impact on family and citizen performance has been highly beneficial. This Indianapolis experiment, the "model" for a more extensive program, now being initiated in Dallas, is now being programmed so that it will apply rapidly in other cities. In addition, the self-help principles are under separate experiment to develop owner-occupant co-operation in rental housing rehabilitation.

COMMUNITY SERVICE ORIENTATION: Provides basic education in family management, consumer economics, first aid, health, citizenship and recreation for lower income families. The instruction develops the understandings which lead to more wholesome self-management, and to better relationships with schools, other community institutions and social structures. This program is undergoing continued experimentation and development on the basis of experiments in Philadelphia, Indianapolis and other cities.

## IMPACT ON OUR SOCIETY

The Board uses its structure and capacity to determine how these systems can be best applied through the range of existing organizations and agencies already committed to work in this field. In the first half of 1965 alone, Board staff trained over 4,000 educators, staff directors and businessmen, in various institutes and seminars, equipping them to use Board programs

effectively. This approach not only permits the development of new programs with relatively modest sums, but it also enables the Board to exert great leverage and create a "multiplier factor" of unusual dimensions for each of its ideas. Dollars, therefore, have impact far beyond direct support of the Board. Nowhere in the nation is there a more serious effort to weld the process of research and development to this essential strengthening of citizen and professional leadership for aiding the disadvantaged.

The approach is one which readily finds national acceptance. Every idea marketed has first demonstrated its effectiveness; every approach provides greater skills to concerned citizens and to teachers and other professional people in this field; every program uniquely involves the great untapped resources of the disadvantaged themselves.

Papers and articles describing findings are an increasing product of the staff and their cooperating educators, so that our work and concepts aid other institutions nationally where BFE programs to assist the disadvantaged are under study.

# 3 OUR FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS

Demands for such programs and services have mounted as the Board's activity has increasingly commanded attention in domestic affairs. The Board's program opportunities have also expanded.

The year 1965 was a turning point. Since each of the Board's development Centers is self-sustaining in its normal operations, modest contributions in the past have been sufficient to meet the Board's continuing costs, principally operation of the central ACHIEVEMENT DEVELOPMENT CENTER.

Now, however, there is necessity for greater funds underwriting this Center on a sustained basis. A financial requirement of $200,000 from contributions has been established for 1965; the Board's growing opportunities will undoubtedly require a higher sum in 1966. These requirements can be most effectively raised from a number of companies pledging $2,000 and up, annually. Pledges for several years would provide needed continuity. Foundation support in aid of specific research projects will continue to provide an essential supplement to this corporate underwriting.

## A PRUDENT INVESTMENT IN THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Because of the Board's approach, financial support from corporations and friends of the Board strengthens the capacity of private initiative, to solve one of our nation's most challenging problems. It will do so in the way which offers the greatest hope of success: by reaching the disadvantaged through

employment-related channels, and preparing them to help themselves.

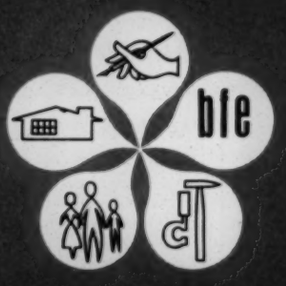
The broad activity of government to aid the disadvantaged in no way reduces the need for the work of the Board. No single initiative will solve the massive national problem; there is an undereducated adult for every youngster now in school. Our three million businesses, the economic structure of the nation, comprise a framework large enough to encompass the problem and achieve economic progress for all.

The Board believes that the support it receives from industry will continue to represent a prudent and profitable investment. The Board's path to progress for the disadvantaged strengthens community and business initiative. Most importantly, however, its approach seeks to establish the broadened foundation of individual initiative. Once it is tapped, people now deemed "disadvantaged" will begin to perform with pride as citizens-in-action, to give, not receive, as full participants in freedom.

bfe

# achievement development center

of the **Board For Fundamental Education**



Remed Ed

# BRINGING BASIC EDUCATION TO UNDEREDUCATED ADULTS AND OLDER YOUTH

ASSISTANCE FOR:

- local program leaders
- project directors and administrators
- interested citizens

The Board for Fundamental Education
Division of Adult and Literacy Education
146 East Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Dallas Indianapolis New York

Natl Assoc

of

Mfcts

826-2100

Wright Elliott

Dr. R. Henney

Lee Dir Adult & Basic Ed

In December, 1964, a staff member of the Board for Fundamental Education stepped on stage in a Durham, North Carolina auditorium. He was there to train teachers . . . volunteers from diverse walks of life . . . to help them prepare for the challenge which faces thousands of concerned people across the nation:

> bringing basic education to undereducated adults and older youth.

The Teacher Training Institute which began that night was not the first active step in such special education by the Board. Throughout its ten-year history, the Board for Fundamental Education has been actively engaged in the process of research, study, evaluation and experimentation. The purpose,

> the development and marketing of tested methods and materials to meet the special problems of the disadvantaged.

The Board's decade of experience in this field has been both unique and meaningful. Its Congressional Charter as a non-profit, private organization places it under a mandate to apply this experience for the nation's benefit. It is prepared to do so, assisting private and public agencies in their attack upon a problem which we know can be solved by this generation of concerned Americans.

# THE NATION'S PROBLEM

There are ten million people in the United States . . . ten million adults and older youth . . . who cannot read, write and do arithmetic at a functional level. Such a widespread low educational level is the single most widespread cause of poverty; it is characteristic and common in two out of three low income families.

The challenge which this situation presents must be met. The ten million whose communications skills fall below even today's accepted minimums:

* cannot read newspapers, job directions, street signs or labels.

* cannot write letters, fill out questionnaires and applications, submit reports and take tests.

* cannot count money, add up a grocery list or budget their pay.

The ten million . . . and most of their children . . . face a life of chronic unemployment, with tremendous costs to the public and incalculable loss in human potential.

The Board is convinced, from its experience, that:

1. The ten million are people who must be approached in special education efforts recognizing their needs, their aspirations, and their motivations.

2. The community's private and public resources must be marshalled to the task, if it is to be accomplished; our public resources alone cannot accomplish the job.

This, indeed, is the nation's need: not for recognition that the problem exists, but for expert development of the resources necessary to overcome it.

Most important of these, by far, are the resources which lie in the ten million themselves.

# ABOUT THE BOARD FOR FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION

The Board for Fundamental Education was chartered by Congress in 1954. It is the only national organization of its kind holding such distinction. It is composed of educators, professional people and businessmen. It is private, non-profit and non-political, bringing together men of diverse backgrounds and orientations whose uniting common denominator is a desire to find and put to use those dynamic steps by which, fundamentally and effectively, the opportunities present in our nation can be brought into the lives of all citizens.

In a decade and more of experience in programs to stimulate better housing, job training and placement, family casework, counseling of dropouts, and numerous other programs, the Board has developed methods and materials which recognize and capitalize upon the particular psychology of the undereducated and underprivileged. It has sought to find in them the secrets of response, which are essential for "catch-up" programs to succeed.

The Board has succeeded, dramatically. Not all of its demonstrations have been as visible as the hundreds of owner-built homes which have transformed an Indianapolis slum, through cooperative endeavor under expert supervision. Nevertheless, its experiments in such states as Indiana, Minnesota, Texas and West Virginia have enabled the Board to examine carefully the approaches which work best in bringing to flower the self-help resources of people who need "everything" -- but who need pride in accomplishment perhaps most of all. Its experiment series ranges from urban slums to rural, uneconomical farms as well as assisting American Indians. Each experiment has been conducted to produce the fabric of skill, motivation and leadership which will move target groups toward lasting problem solution, and not stop short at the barely sufficient. Through these continuing experiments, the Board has sought also the knowledge of human dynamics, in the special settings of the disadvantaged, which have meaning wherever these people are found.

# COMMUNITY LEADERS AND THE BOARD'S BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

The major national problem posed by the need to bring these ten million into full, effective economic citizenship is one to which substantial national resources are now being devoted. There are countless imaginative community programs across the nation, expanding opportunity for the disadvantaged and preparing them to seize such opportunity when presented. Locally, and at state and national levels, the most workable programs will be those that help people help themselves. This massive challenge is one in which there can be no best answer, the nation needs a variety of creative efforts . . . and an open exchange of the best findings.

It is in this spirit that the Board has established its Basic Education Program: to bring the knowledge and skills produced in a decade of structured experience to the local program leaders, so that their activity will move quickly toward the momentum and effectiveness required. The Board's various systems for success provide local leaders in education, government and industry with proven tools essential to their success as they address their community's share of this national problem.

The Board recognizes that each project leader or administrator must, in his own situation, examine the forces producing the problem with which he must cope. He must then determine the action which his resources permit, which will give him the most effective strategy for the greatest success. This requires making the best use of financial resources that are "never enough," by bringing in resources and experience augmenting his own. The project leader is then able to concentrate upon the development of effective support and participation . . . and execution which program-success requires.

The Board has taken two steps toward effective cooperation with all types of adult education programs:

1. It has undertaken through its own experienced staff, the training of the people who will teach the undereducated . . . preparing them with the knowledge and skill they need to be effective, regardless of the materials to be used.

2. It has licensed the publication by Follett Publishing Co. of its highly successful literacy program, SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS, a system devised, tested and already widely used in the education of adults and older youth.

# SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS . . . .
# A MAJOR NEW BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Board's adult education material, System for Success, was recently described by a prominent education official as "two years ahead of anything else now being marketed." It is a program which, through its rapid acceptance and continuing efforts to feed national experience back into it, will remain a leader for years to come.

The Board's experience with adult basic education has demonstrated a conviction shared by leaders in the field: traditional approaches have serious shortcomings which make it essential that dynamic new approaches be found. Those methods depending upon individualized instruction are expensive and build tenuous learning patterns which can be too easily broken by the low motivation within this group of adults and older youth.

The Board's System for Success meets the nation's need for materials which are highly effective as well as economical. Their effectiveness depends to a great extent upon how well the materials and supporting services relate to the particular psychological pattern of the target group.

1. The undereducated are adults and older youth who lived in cultural settings where there was no educational drive, who neglected educational opportunities, who could not continue their education for economic reasons, who were bypassed by economic change and opportunity, or who failed in the highly competitive learning environment of the regular schools.

2. These adults and older youth have reservoirs of strength, potentials of intelligence and reserves of energy which must be directed into constructive, lasting improvement.

3. Each of these ten million people needs educational experiences which will maximize his desire to learn through learning situations which offer challenge but which move each at his own pace without the threat of failure.

# WHAT IS . . . . SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS?

The SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS is an adult education tool, which includes reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and the essentials of basic English grammar. It was developed by R. Lee Henney, Ph.D., Director of Adult and Literacy Education for the Board for Fundamental Education. It takes the beginner from any starting point, even from a "0.0" reading level, through the 8th grade level in the basic communications skills.

Book I, SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS, is designed to bring the undereducated adult or older youth from his performance level, up to fifth grade in the communication skills. This first book consists of:

1. A reading section which includes 42 lessons using a phonics approach. This section also includes handwriting charts which develop writing ability, and spelling exercises which develop spelling ability equal to the reading vocabulary skill. This reading section builds a basic vocabulary of 1,500 words. The practice reading selections in each lesson are taken from adult experiences.

2. An arithmetic section which includes skill development in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. This section presents 18 lessons which are introduced early in the reading program. The vocabulary in this section is integrated with that of the reading section.

3. An English section which provides an effective and efficient method of teaching the essentials of English grammar to adults and older youth. This section contains nine lessons which develop the student's ability in an acceptable usage of English. Again, the lessons are inter-related with the earlier sections, and the vocabulary as well, is integrated.

Book II, SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS, brings the undereducated adult or older youth from grade five through the eighth grade level. It's various interrelated charts and exercises serve to expand the student's vocabulary, increase his reading and study-skill, help him apply his newly learned vocabulary, and master the taking of practical examinations and the completion of job and license forms. In addition, he is taught to handle fractions, decimals, percentage problems and graphs and employ the essentials of practical, non-technical grammar. This is accomplished using examples and lessons which seek to foster principles of good citizenship and effective economic planning for the family.

# ADVANTAGES

SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS meets the requirement of program directors, for an effective, integrated, sequential system designed for adults and older youth, which will accomplish the aims of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Typical of the basic education approach generated at state and local levels, is this description from one state plan:

> This program of instruction shall include basic education in skills of reading, writing, speaking, listening, arithmetic, citizenship, health practices, consumer knowledge, human relations, homemaking and family living, as well as other areas applicable to making the adult better able to meet his adult responsibilities.

SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS meets these objectives.

The SYSTEM makes no pre-suppositions about the student's mental ability or academic status, but permits him to start where he is with what he has. The student is permitted to set his own pace in handling the material presented in a "daily-lesson" format which enables him to move ahead as he successfully completes the work for each class period, permits him to by-pass material that he already knows, and allows him to review lessons he did not retain.

A unique advantage of the system is its use of the Learning Team concept which has been found productive in both basic education and skill job training. The learning team permits the more advanced students to share responsibility for teaching the slower students. This experience enables the advanced student to help others, provides leadership experiences for many participants who have never acquired these social skills.

The method of material presentation eliminates the competitive classroom situation which causes the student to doubt his ability and inhibits his thinking. The high-interest-level material is focused upon everyday adult experiences rather than hypothetical situations or abstractions.

# UNIQUENESS

The SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS differs in the following ways from traditional basic educational materials:

* This system integrates reading, writing, spelling, language and arithmetic . . . all the subject matter of basic education.

* The system employs content which has been systematically developed at the adult basic level.

* Conversely, this system is not a children's system "written up" for adults.

* Words are presented in a sequence which enables the student to achieve a functional vocabulary which he uses immediately in reading, writing and spelling exercises. These skills progress together, reinforcing each other.

* The reading sections are based upon phonic charts containing a basic word list based upon sequential development of related word families, a system of proven success in bringing the student rapid vocabulary increase and accuracy.

* All three of the basic courses are published in one book, covering the grades 0.0 through fourth grade, and in a second book covering grades five through eight.

* Instructional time to bring a person through each book of SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS is 120 contact hours.

# MAJOR SERVICES OF THE BOARD

The Board for Fundamental Education has developed one of the nation's finest adult education staffs, especially skilled in working with the undereducated and disadvantaged adult population. This staff is available, as the requirements of our continuing research and development programs permit, to work with state and local project staffs at locations throughout the nation. Between such assignments, the staff is occupied in the Board's own action-oriented programs, through which it constantly seeks to improve the effectiveness of the methods and materials it recommends to other groups and organizations.

In the major field of basic adult education, the Board has established two major national services. They are:

1. Consultation with state and local leaders seeking effective assistance in the development of programs and the activation of plans.

2. Training those who will work with and teach the undereducated.

The Board has seen demonstrated most convincingly the need for special preparation of those who will have direct contact with the new learner in basic education, vocational classes, work orientation and other rehabilitating activities. Project program staff members are frequently recruited from vocations where previous work experience was gained with the "achieving part" of the population: the relatively successful and highly motivated. The Board's experience has indicated that special preparation is necessary in order for these persons to quickly focus upon the needs and problems of undereducated adults.

Above all, these staff members require an understanding of the psychology of undereducated persons, and the steps which are essential to attract and hold them in a new and vital educational experience. Such understanding is not granted merely by having been born in such situations and "rising above them." Frequently the understandings essential to success with the undereducated come hardest to those who have had the super-motivation to overcome the disadvantages which defeated their neighbors. This task of preparation or in-service training is one which the Board has approached with great care.

# CONSULTATION

The Board's staff has worked closely with state department's of education, school districts and project staffs across the nation. Board assistance has included the development of practical class sessions, integrating basic education and skill job training classes . . . all of which are based upon participant needs. Where requested, the Board's services have ranged from recruiting and testing potential project participants, to the development of public understanding and support, and the other stages of program realization.

Project problems approached successfully with Board staff assistance have included the determination and organization of project staff duties to produce effective program performance and program planning in order to avoid problems in the training schedules.

# TRAINING

Important enough to be considered a special activity of the Board is the staff's training of over 4,000 basic education teachers and project staff personnel, since mid-December of 1964. The in-service training sessions have included counselors, administrators, vocational teachers, skill job trainers and basic education instructors. The training sessions, requiring 12-15 hours, are concerned with the development of a practical, creative teaching approach for reaching and retaining the desired participants in the program.

In this experience, the Board has a proven system of training which has been praised by the program directors involved. One such state director recently advised us, "I would like to express my appreciation to the Board for Fundamental Education for the excellent work performed in our state in providing adult basic education institutes." ". . . teacher trainers did an excellent job in providing services . . ." and "We are looking forward to a dynamic program that will involve many thousands of our adult citizens in adult basic education programs."

The training emphasizes the psychology of the undereducated . . . and prepares the prospective teachers to enter their first class with operable skill.

# THE TRAINING PROGRAM

The Board's training program includes such topics as the following:

Examination of the nature, the importance and the ramifications of the problem.

The duties and responsibilities of each staff member of the project or program.

Definition and understanding of the undereducated individual: his strengths and shortcomings, his attitudes, his ability to learn.

Program recruitment.

Testing . . . both initial and during the program to measure progress.

Establishing a learning-oriented class "climate."

Characteristics of effective teaching in the special situation of the undereducated adult and older youth.

Mechanics of the learning team approach.

The materials available; study of major systems.

Practice teaching.

The teacher training staff orientation offers the flexibility of being available to any project regardless of the materials adopted for the basic education program.

# CONFIRMATION OF SUCCESS

The Board's effective response to the needs of "the ten million," has been enthusiastically received throughout the country. The Board's tested methods and materials have already been approved and used in practical action programs in New Jersey, North Carolina, Michigan, Florida, West Virginia, Tennessee, Indiana and Washington, D.C. The Educational situations have included programs such as public school adult education, job retaining, vocational and skill training and such diverse groups as the foreign born, "hard core" unemployed, out of school unemployed youth, prison inmates and mental hospital patients. The program has found application in both rural areas and urban slums.

The materials and methods are immediately available in order that local officials and project directors can move quickly and effectively.

Examples of basic education programs and projects in which the Board's services have been used include:

Anderson Literacy Council, Anderson, Indiana

Bluefield State College, MDTA Project, Bluefield, West Virginia

Crispus Attucks High School, Adult Evening School Program, Indianapolis, Indiana

Department of Community Colleges, State Department of Education, North Carolina

Indiana State Reformatory, New-Reader's Clinic, Pendleton, Indiana

MDTA - E & D Project, Northern Michigan University, Marquette, Michigan

Multi-Occupational Demonstration Project, Florida A & M State University, Tallahassee, Florida

OMAT Project, Newark Housing Authority, Newark, New Jersey

OMAT Project, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

Project UPLIFT, Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville, Tennessee

# VALUE-ORIENTED COSTS

The task of bringing basic education to ten million citizens in the years immediately ahead is one which is so massive that effective and efficient use of all resources is imperative.

It is this conviction which has prompted the Board for Fundamental Education to design its materials and services in the basic education field, at the level which enables the local board of education or project to produce maximum program results per dollar.

1. The SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS student materials have been published at a cost of $2.49 per book. In two books, these materials teach the undereducated person to read, write, spell, solve arithmetic problems and apply the essentials of basic English grammar; they also help develop an understanding of and appreciation for responsible citizenship.

2. The in-service teacher training program provided by the Board prepares staff and teachers with psychological insights as well as system skills and materials at a cost generally under $60 per teacher.

The SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS materials can be ordered from the Board, or through Follett Publishing Company.

Arrangements for teacher training must be made through the Board. The Board's basic charge for this service is $1,250 for a minimum group of twenty-five trainees. This fee meets the Board's expenses in providing staff direction to a three-session teacher training institute, led by members of the Board's experienced staff skilled in such special adult education; it also covers the provision of instructor manuals, program aids, and test materials for each institute participant. Instructor books for each of the two levels include all student materials as well as instructional aids. While the Board discourages larger training groups, it will undertake such groups with a surcharge of $25 for each participant above the twenty-five minimum described.

The contracting organization will also be expected to reimburse the Board for staff travel and subsistence.

# DOLLARS WITH IMPACT

The extent to which the materials and services of the Board establish effective budget economies can be seen by examining the cost per student. The following examples illustrate this.

| | Estimated Teacher Training Cost | 1-Book Materials Cost | Total Cost | Per Student Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 teachers, who will instruct 250 people | $1,500 | $ 625 | $2,125 | $8.50 |
| 25 teachers, who will instruct 500 people | 1,500 | 1,250 | 2,750 | 5.50 |
| 50 teachers trained in one institute, who will instruct 1,000 people | 2,125 | 2,500 | 4,625 | 4.63 |

The above figures should be examined with the following in mind:

1. The assured effectiveness of the program.

2. The reduced project overhead when difficult and expensive program elements like teacher training are provided by the Board for Fundamental Education.

The above figures will, of course, increase $2.49 per student (right hand column), if the program involves a group of undereducated adults whose education needs run through both Books I and II, SYSTEM FOR SUCCESS (Book I covers 0-4 grade level and Book II covers 5-8 grade level).

Remed. Ed. - lit. prog.

**THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.**

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

April 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a memorandum on the first Board meeting of the Center. I spoke with Nancy and cleared the time and date with her. I will meet you at the airport here in Washington at 11:30 unless I get different instructions.

Enclosed is a letter addressed to you which is the form letter used to send copies of the Center proposal to various key persons around the country. We have received a good many enthusiastic and encouraging responses. I know that some of them have sent copies of their comments to you, but I am developing a complete file of these letters and will have copies available for you. Also enclosed is the list to which this letter and the proposal was sent.

We have submitted a proposal to the National Council of Churches for a project in Prince Edward County this summer. They are going to try to have it done through the Southern Presbyterian Church. It looks favorable at this time although I have received no official word as yet. I am also submitting shortly proposals to Mr. Ehinger at Western Electric for two projects in North Carolina to be done by the Center.

I will be looking forward to seeing you on the 27th. McKissick, Lyle Spencer and Mike Woolman all plan to be here. I also want to have you available early that evening for a cocktail party which will be attended by a number of government officials who can be most helpful in getting the Center off the ground.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

Enclosures

GRC/bb

P.S. Under separate cover I am sending 10 copies of the Center proposal.

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.

2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20007

MYRON WOOLMAN
DIRECTOR

333-1505

April 1, 1965

Memorandum to: James Farmer
Lyle Spencer
Floyd McKissick

From: Gordon R. Carey

Re: Board Meeting Center for Community Action Education

The first meeting of the Board will be held on Tuesday, April 27 at 12 noon in Washington, D. C. We will meet at the Institute of Educational Research, 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C.

Among other things, the agenda should include:

1. Adoption of By-laws
2. Nomination for additional board members
3. Discussion of the budget
4. Election of temporary officers
5. Future meetings
6. Proxy voting rights

We hope that you will make every effort to attend. The meeting should not last beyond 4:00 P. M., but we hope to have a private reception following the meeting at which time a number of persons in Washington who are interested in the Center will be able to meet you informally.

Please confirm your presence at the meeting by notifying me at IER, and let me know your suggestion for additional agenda items. Thanks.

Gordon R. Carey

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Katrina M. Barnes
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
Dorothy Norman
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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1st vice chairman
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Alan Gartner
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Richard Haley
associate
Gordon Carey
assistant
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

copy of form letter

March 16, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

James Farmer has asked me to send you the enclosed draft for your comments and suggestions. We are proposing a national attack on the problem of illiteracy. We consider this proposal to be a means of supporting President Johnson's War Against Poverty and we are hopeful that it will be financially supported by the Federal Government.

The Center for Community-Action Education referred to in the document has been incorporated in the District of Columbia. We hope to be able to secure contributions from private sources to finance the Center during its initial months of operation.

Your comments on this proposal are vitally needed. If you could have them in my hands within a week or two it would be helpful. Please address your reply to me at:

Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Thanks for your cooperation and interest.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant

Enclosure

GRC/bb

Mailing list for Center Proposal - Working Paper

Dr. Harvey Block
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. Bertram Brown
Office of Associate Director
for Extramural Programs
National Institute of Health
Bethesda, Maryland

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Dr. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.
Russell Sage Foundation
230 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dr. Meredith P. Crawford
HumRRO
300 North Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Mr. Ron Davidson
c/o Jacobs
703 Elmer Street #6
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dr. Martin Deutsch
Associate Professor
Department of Psychiatry
Institute for Developmental Studies
New York Medical College
Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital
Fifth Avenue at One Hundred and Sixth Streets
New York 29, New York

Dr. Stanley Diamond
Anthropology Department
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

Dr. Dan Dodson
Director, Human Relation Center
New York University
New York, New York

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dr. Robert Felix
Director
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda 14, Maryland

Dr. Buell Gallagher
President
City College of New York
New York, New York

Prof. Edmond Gordon
Executive Office
Yeshiva University
110 West 57 Street
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Dr. Robert L. Green
Assistant Professor
College of Education
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Rev. L. Francis Griffin
American Friends Society
100 Madison Street
Farmsville, Virginia

Dr. Carl F. Hansen
Superintendent of Schools
Franklin Building
13th and K Streets, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Paul Heinberg
Department of Speech
University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa

Mr. David Hunter
Stern Family Foundation
36 Cooper Square
New York 3, New York

Mrs. Ros Kane
Acting Director of Training
Vista
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. R. K. Kelley
Chairman
Eastern Kentucky Resource Development Project
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dr. Samuel Kirk
Institute for Research on Exceptional Children
210 Education Building
Urbona, Illinois

Dr. Sanford Kravitz
Presidents Task Force on War Against Poverty
Embers Building
19th and M Street, N. W. Room 541
Washington, D. C.

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Lavan
1016 5th Avenue
Manhattan, New York

Dr. and Mrs. Peritz Levinson
120 E 89 Street
New York, New York

Mr. Martin Mayer
33 East End Avenue
New York, New York

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Chairman
Congress of Racial Equality
213 ½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. S. M. Miller
553 Allen Street
Syracuse, New York

A. Harry Passow
Bureau of Publications
Teachers College
Columbus University
New York, New York

Dr. Frank Riessman
3120 Arlington Avenue
New York 63, New York

Mr. High Salpeter
Director
Police Athletic League, Inc.
34½ East 12th Street
New York 3, New York

Dr. Fillmore Sanford
1835 Lincoln Drive
Sarasota, Florida

Mrs. Patricia Sexton
4 Washington Square Village
New York, New York

Mr. Richard Smith
Film Text Department
McGraw-Hill
330 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dr. Donald Stedman
Psychiatric Department
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dr. Charles Strother
Professor of Psychology
Department of Psychology
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Dr. Stafford Warren
Special Assistant to the President
for Mental Retardation
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Goodwin Watson
Teachers College
Columbia University
525 W. 120 Street
New York, New York

Dr. Max Wolff, Director of Research
Department of Labor
Migration Division
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
322 W. 45th Street
New York 36, New York

file remed. Ed.

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
259 EAST ERIE STREET • CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS • WHITEHALL 4-7552

APR 6 1965

April 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
39 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am enclosing a copy of the press information kit that was used last month to announce the publication of Reading in High Gear.

I am sorry that you were unable to be with us at the press conference, but I hope you will find these materials informative.

Please let me know if you would like to have additional information on the program. I will be happy to help you in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Frank Johnson

Frank S. Johnson, Jr.
Director of Information

FSJ:cj

Encl.

S R A

*from* SRA SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
259 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

*for release:*

Thursday,
February 25, 1965

Frank Johnson, Director of Information

Contact:

Gaylen Hohmann, Manager, Product Publicity
Office: 944-7552 or 994-7557 (after 5 p.m.)
Home: 644-6381

CHICAGO--Science Research Associates, Inc., announced publication today of a new basic reading program designed for use with culturally disadvantaged and functionally illiterate youngsters participating in community sponsored, volunteer training classes and other War on Poverty-related projects.

Lyle M. Spencer, president of the Chicago-based educational publishing company, said the new program, Reading in High Gear, was written and developed by Dr. Myron Woolman, director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., Washington, D. C., in an attempt to salvage as many as possible of the nearly 750,000 adolescents estimated to be out of school and out of work because they lack basic educational skills.

(more)

"The growing body of academic rejects in our society--high school dropouts, potential dropouts and functional illiterates--is a threat to the future prosperity of the nation. We must find a way to make them functioning, self-supporting members of the economic main stream," Spencer said.

"Educators throughout the country have long recognized the seriousness of the problem and have attempted, locally, to do what they could to meet it. Nationally, the effort to provide these youngsters with at least a minimum useable education and employable skills has become a prime objective of the War on Poverty. Unfortunately, little is known about how to accomplish this objective; how to get these youngsters, many of whom are the second or third generation on relief, to recognize the need for education; how to motivate them to seek it out, or how to present it to them in a meaningful way when they do come looking.

"There is one thing we do know, however, and that is that you can't give the student who has dropped out of school, after a long and consistent record of failure, a warmed-over version of the same materials that contributed to his defeat. He has individual needs, problems and interests quite apart from those of his contemporaries who stay in school. Efforts to help him must take these special needs, problems and interests into account or they are doomed to failure. Reading in High Gear is the first major effort to accomplish this in a basic educational program."

(more)

The new program is based on the Progressive Choice Reading Method initially developed by Dr. Woolman in 1950-51. It involves the use of a series of carefully integrated--but different--programed instruction techniques designed to systematically introduce the student to each of the skills required for effective reading. The program utilizes elements of the traditional (phonic) and more modern (linguistic) methods of teaching reading.

Each student is required to start at the beginning of the learning-to-read process--where he learns to recognize and to discriminate between the common letter-sounds and shapes associated with the alphabet--regardless of the degree of proficiency he may have already acquired. Once he has begun, however, the student is encouraged to proceed on an individual basis. He progresses at his own speed and remains relatively independent of the others in his training group.

Throughout Reading in High Gear, particular emphasis has been placed on hearing, speaking and understanding, as well as on the more common visual recognition, since a great part of the ability to read involves the ability to hear and speak words properly and to understand their meaning, Spencer said.

(more)

Each student first learns to understand the meaning of the word--as spoken--which he will ultimately learn to read in written form. He then learns to recognize the shapes and sounds of each of the elements in this word (e.g. letters, consonant compounds) and how these elements are used to form the word. Finally, the student learns to read the word in its printed form.

The program consists of a number of workbook-type student textbooks and four detailed Instructor's Manuals. The student books include exercises and specially written stories which, though simple in construction, are designed to stimulate and interest the older student, while cultivating an awareness of socially acceptable modes of conduct that can be applied to his own environment.

The comprehensive Instructor's Manuals have been designed to enable volunteer tutors, and others without professional training, to use the program effectively in community-action training programs.

Preliminary data from pre-publication field tests has been most encouraging, Spencer said. In one area where the program was tried out, 94.5% of the students have demonstrated some measurable gain after an average of 51 hours of study; 56.1% showed gains of one year or more and some progressed as much as 3½ years.

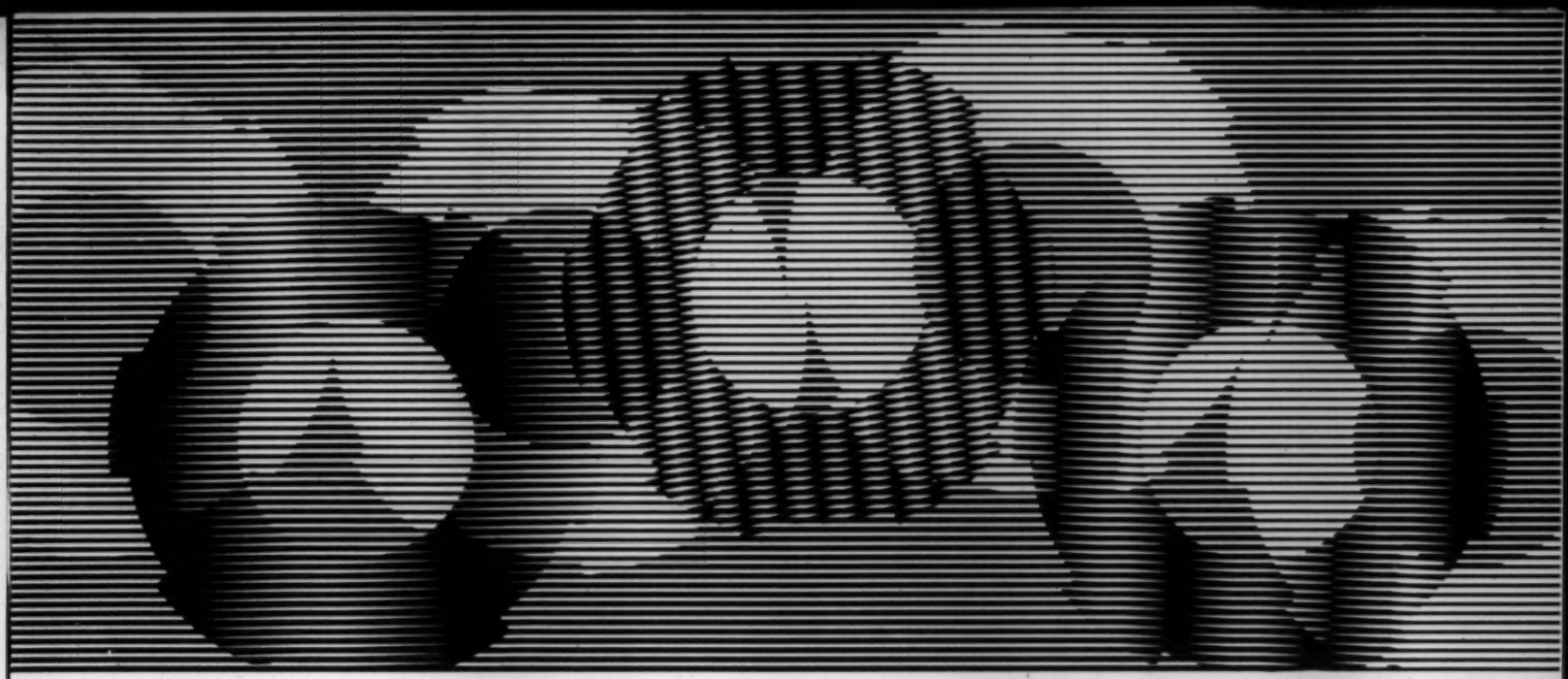
(more)

READING IN HIGH GEAR - 5

Science Research Associates, Inc. has long been a pioneer in the development of modern curriculum and guidance materials for all grade levels. SRA's reading, modern mathematics, social studies, science and language arts materials are widely used in schools throughout the nation. In addition, the company is the largest commercial publisher of standardized tests in the United States.

-30-

2/10/65 jc



# READING IN HIGH GEAR

## The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program

By Myron Woolman, Ph.D.

S R A

Department of Information
Science Research Associates, Inc., 259 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611

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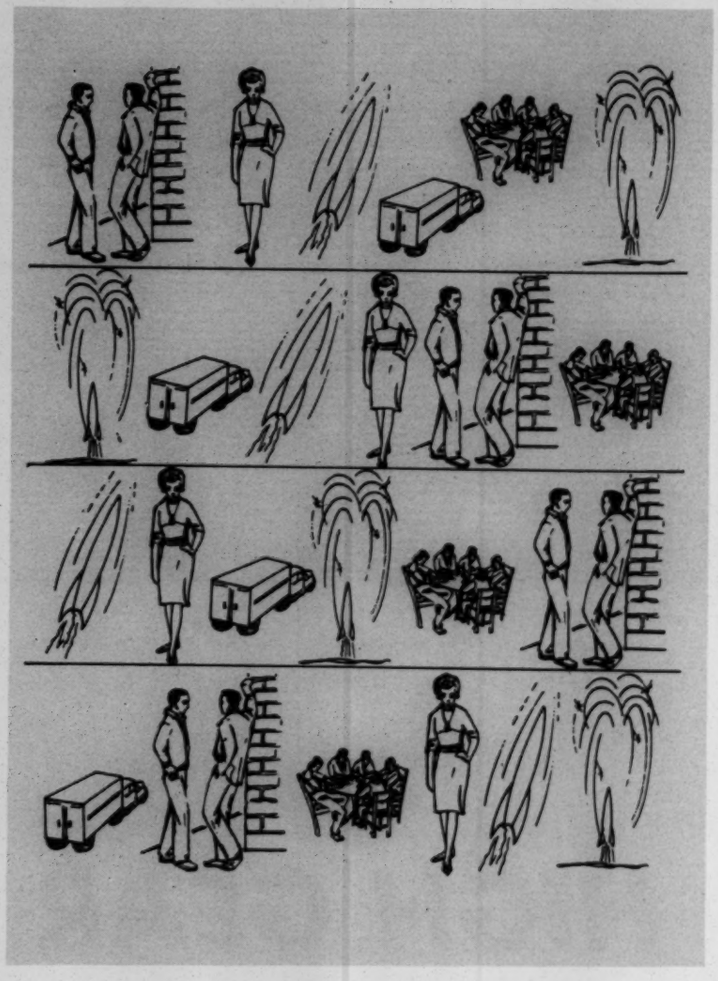
## Audial Meaning Level:

The learner must understand the meaning of the word he will ultimately learn to read. This involves hearing the word, saying the word and indicating that he knows what the word means when he hears it.



**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must comprehend and use the words MEN and ROCKET. This involves:

1. Comprehending the word MEN as more than one man.
2. Comprehending the word ROCKET as a type of engine or as a type of firework.

**Instructor Procedures:** The instructor discusses the meaning of the word MEN as the plural of man; also, used to mean human beings, both male and female.

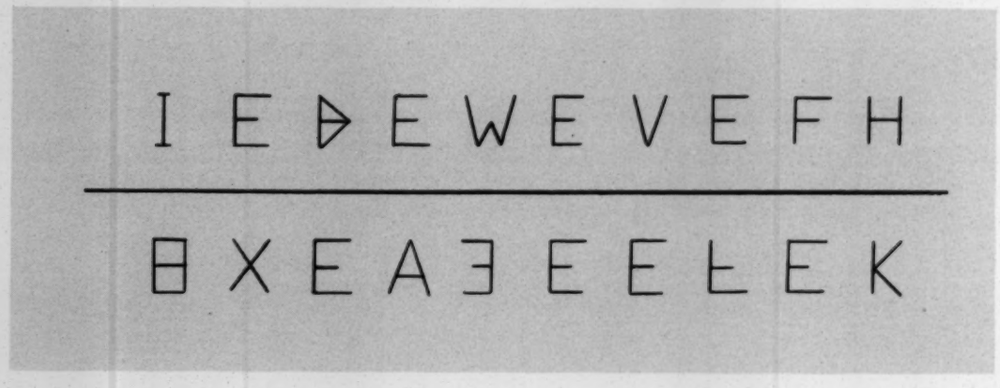
The instructor discusses the word ROCKET as a firework, an engine, or anything propelled by the combustion of gases at the rear end of the mechanism.

**Learner Responses:** Students are required to pronounce the words, and to use both words in meaningful sentences.

The learner circles all pictures in rows one and three that can best be described by the word MEN.
He then circles all pictures in rows two and four that can best be described by the word ROCKET.

## Discrimination Level:

The learner shows that he knows and can print a particular letter-shape used in the word he has learned at the audial level.



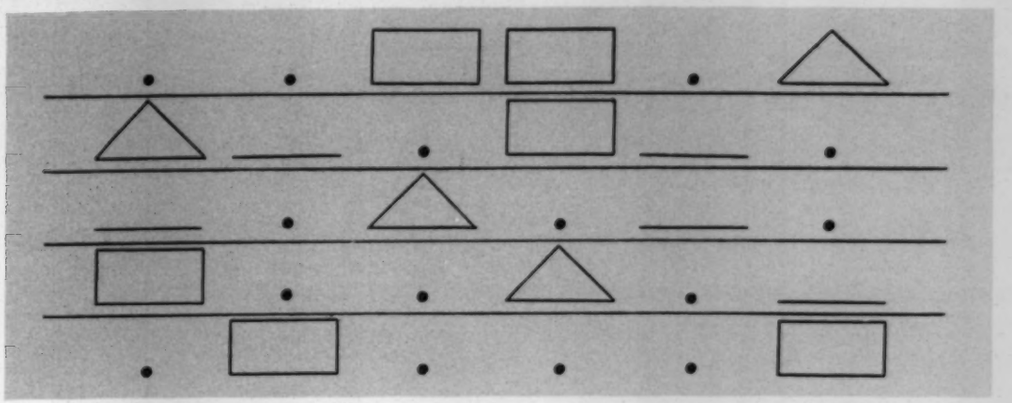
**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must demonstrate ability to visually discriminate the letter-shape E from other letter-shapes.

**Instructor Procedures:** The instructor prints the letter-shape E on the board and directs students to find and trace all the letter-shapes in the rows of shapes that are like the letter-shape E on the board.

**Learner Responses:** Learner selects the eight E letter-shapes.

In addition to the exercise shown here, there are three others at the Discrimination Level.

## Identification Level: The learner demonstrates that he can identify letter-shapes with letter sounds.



**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must demonstrate as each letter-sound is dictated that he can print the required letter-shape in upper case letters above the correct symbol shown in the workbook.

**Instructor Procedures:** Instructor dictates a series of letters, including the letter E, and explains that students should print the letter-shape that goes with the letter-sound being dictated above the symbols, proceeding left to right in each row. At this point in the exercise, the Instructor makes it clear that symbols are not to be associated with any specific letter-sound or letter-shape.

**Learner Responses:** Learner listens to dictated letter-sounds and prints corresponding letter-shape above symbols in workbook.

In addition to the exercise shown here, there are two others at the Identification Level.

## Compounding Level: The learner prints and sounds the new letter-shape when it is compounded with letter-shapes he has already learned.

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| • △ | LEX | KET | EXAC | KET | KET | LEX | KET | ELEK |
| □ _ • | KET | EMUM | PES | WES | VES | KET | EMUM | KET |
| • _ △ | WES | KET | VES | KET | WES | EXAC | KET | LEX |
| △ • □ | KET | PES | LEX | LEX | ELEK | KET | EMUM | KET |
| □ • △ | EMUM | KET | EXUM | LEX | EMUM | KET | GET | EMUM |
| _ △ • | KET | KET | EPTIB | LEX | WES | WES | EPTIB | KET |

**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must associate appropriate symbols with letter-compounds upon hearing the corresponding compound-sounds as they are dictated.

**Instructor Procedures:** Instructor explains the symbol system for this exercise:

EMUM = box
LEX = triangle
WES = straight line
KET = dot

Instructor tells students to indicate the appropriate symbol with the compounds as they are dictated by drawing a box around the EMUM sound, placing a straight line under the WES sound, and so on.

**Explanatory Note:** The symbol shapes at the far left of the page tell the student which compound sounds he can expect to find in that particular line in the workbook.

In addition to the exercise shown here, there are two others at the Compounding Level.

# Visual Meaning Level: The learner reads and indicates by printed responses that he knows the meanings of the words he sees.

THE JOB HUNT

SCOT GULPS HIS HAM ON A BUN AND HAS A SIP OF MILK. "GRAND HAM, MOM," COMMENTS SCOT. SCOT SMACKS HIS LIPS. BOB SPRINTS IN NEXT. "MOM GRILLS GRAND HAM AND EGGS," BOB ADMITS.

"MAN, THE FUND IS AT AN END. IT'S SPENT," SCOT TELLS BOB. "LET'S ASK MOM IF POP HAS FUNDS," BOB COMMENTS.

"STOP THE GAB AND GET A JOB," SNAPS MOM. BUT MOM GRINS AT SCOT AND BOB. "A JOB? A JOB ISN'T FUN, MOM," INSISTS SCOT. "A JOB– GET ON IT!" MOM WINKS AT BOB. "LET'S GET A JOB, SCOT," BOB TELLS SCOT. "GOT A PLAN," ADDS BOB. "THE ROCKET PLANT HAS JOBS. LET'S BUZZ IN AND GET THE JOBS." SCOTT NODS.

BOB AND SCOT TRAVEL UP THE HILL. AT THE PLANT, BOB AND SCOTT RING A BELL. A COP ZIPS UP. BOB ASKS, "GOT A JOB?" THE COP NODS. BOB AND SCOT STRUT PAST THE COP AND UP A RAMP AND STOP AT A DESK. A SWELL GAL SITS AT THE DESK. SCOT GRINS AT THE GAL AND STANDS, HANDS IN HIS POCKETS. AT LAST, SCOT PULLS HIMSELF UP AND ASKS IF BOB AND SCOT CAN MAN THE JOBS AT THE ROCKET PLANT.

**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must be able to read and comprehend the story that uses the word ROCKET and other words with the letter E.

**Instructor Procedures:** Instructor tells students to read the story. Then, Instructor leads a group discussion about the story and encourages students to ask questions, particularly about words that they do not understand.

**Objective of Exercise:** Learner must demonstrate the ability to use the word ROCKET and other words in context.

**Learner Procedure:** Learner reads sentences and fills in the blanks with words from the "Pick List." The learner then checks his own work and makes any necessary correction by printing the correct response in colored pencil above the incorrect response.

| PICK AND PRINT | PICK LIST |
|---|---|
| | GET |
| 1. MOM GRILLS GRAND HAM AND _____ | ROCKET |
| 2. MOM SNAPS, "_____ A JOB." | STEP |
| | DESK |
| 3. THE _____ PLANT HAS JOBS. | SWELL |
| 4. SCOT AND BOB STOP AT A _____ AND A GAL GRINS AT SCOT AND BOB. | BELL |
| | EGGS |
| 5. THE GAL IS _____ | |
| 6. SCOT ASKS IF BOB AND SCOT CAN GET JOBS AT THE _____ PLANT. | |

**Explanatory Note:** This material represents only a portion of one story. In the last half of the story, students must follow the same procedure with regard to the word MEN.

# Introduction to Sample Booklet

**Reading in High Gear** represents a major innovation in teaching techniques used to overcome the years of academic failure that generally haunt the adolescent and adult who, due to circumstance or lack of education, are unable to attain even a minimal level of functional literacy. In this regard, the program is intended to be a significant weapon in the hands of those individuals and organizations seeking to implement the War on Poverty.

Based on the Progressive Choice Reading Method developed by Dr. Myron Woolman, founder and director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc. in Washington, D.C., **Reading in High Gear** incorporates many of the principles of programed instruction in that it provides for a gradual progression through the basic reading skills and permits the learner to move through the material at his own rate with relative independence. The program also utilizes certain elements of both the traditional phonics approach and the newer linguistic method of teaching reading.

Unlike most educational programs, **Reading in High Gear** cannot be related to specific grades in school. The program makes no assumptions about previous reading achievement and starts at the very beginning of the learning-to-read process, with the introduction of the most common letter-sounds and the letter-shapes.

The program is published in three sequences, or cycles, each of which consists of a number of segments. In each segment, there are several lessons, each taught on five related learning levels. To begin, the student must understand the meaning of the spoken word he will ultimately learn to read. He then learns to recognize the elements in the word (e.g. letters, consonant compounds) and how these elements are used to form a word. Finally, the student learns to read the word in its printed form.

This booklet contains material taken from one of the Learner's Workbooks and the related section of the Instructor's Manual. This particular part of the program is designed to teach the letter E.

There are several points that the reader should keep in mind:

- At the point when the letter-shape E is introduced, all other letters of the alphabet have already been taught, with the exception of Y and Q.
- In this part of the program, all letters are taught in upper case only.
- Letter names are not used until later in the program. Only the letter sounds are used.

The five related learning levels used throughout the program are:

1. **Audial Meaning Level:** The learner must understand the meaning of the word he will ultimately learn to read. This involves hearing the word, saying the word and indicating that he knows what the word means when he hears it.
2. **Discrimination Level:** The learner shows that he knows and can print a particular letter-shape used in the word he has learned at the audial level. (Later in the program when all letter-shapes have been learned, the same procedure is followed with whole words.)
3. **Identification Level:** The learner demonstrates that he can identify letter-shapes with letter-sounds.
4. **Compounding Level:** The learner prints and sounds the new letter-shape when it is compounded with letter-shapes he has already learned.
5. **Visual Meaning Level:** The learner reads and indicates by printed responses that he knows the meanings of the words he sees.

# Content and Components of the Program

The total program is divided into three major cycles and each cycle is sub-divided into segments.

**Cycle I** – Four Learner's Workbooks and two Instructor's Manuals

Cycle I is a carefully organized presentation of each letter of the alphabet, except Q, printed in upper case only, with a single sound assigned to each letter. As students progress through the series of letters, they learn to compound new sounds with those learned previously. Compounds may take the form of actual words or nonsense syllables.

**Cycle II** – Two Learner's Workbooks and one Instructor's Manual

Cycle II introduces lower-case counterparts of upper-case letters learned in Cycle I as well as phonetically consistent vowel and consonant compounds, such as oa, ea, igh, th, ch, wh, and qu. The final e and its function of changing the internal vowel to a long sound is also presented. Also, students learn the alphabetical names of the letters.

**Cycle III** – Two Learner's Workbooks and one Instructor's Manual

Cycle III introduces the variant sounds of consonants, vowels and compounds. At this point students learn to use the dictionary, to read and write cursive writing, and gain practice in alphabetizing.

A

B

C

D

**Reading in High Gear**, a new basic reading skills program published by Science Research Associates, Inc., is designed for use in community-action programs being set up across the nation under the Economic Opportunity Act and other poverty-oriented legislation.

These photographs show students working in various phases of the program.

A. A student learns to properly pronounce the word she will ultimately learn to read.

B. A volunteer instructor explains an exercise that is designed to teach the student to identify the letter-shapes of the alphabet with the appropriate letter-sounds. The manual being used by the instructor provides step-by-step procedures that make it possible for the non-professional without formal teacher training to use this program effectively.

C. A student completes an exercise to show that she knows the meaning of the words she has learned to read.

D. **Reading in High Gear** provides for students who achieve a certain level of proficiency in the program to assist fellow students working at a less advanced level. Here, a student assistant checks answers in an exercise that requires the use of words in context.

S R A

Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 East Erie Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Please send me prints of photos A___ B___ C___ D___

**Name** _____

**Address** _____

**City and State** _____

**Publication** _____

Biographical Sketch

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph. D.
Founder and Director,
Institute of Educational Research, Inc.
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Myron Woolman is the founder and director of the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., a non-profit organization located in Washington, D. C. A leading psychologist and learning theorist with several highly regarded military and industrial education programs already to his credit, Woolman established the Institute in 1960 in an effort to develop up-to-date teaching techniques that would prove more efficient and more effective than those generally available in the nation's educational and training institutions.

Reading in High Gear, a new program designed specifically for culturally disadvantaged and functionally illiterate adolescents and published by Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago-based publisher of modern learning systems, is the first major outgrowth of his work at the Institute to be published nationally. It is intended for use with high school dropouts, potential dropouts and adults who have been unable to learn to read well enough to get and hold jobs.

In 1953, while Chief of Proficiency Measurements at McConnell Air Force Base, Wichita, Kansas, Dr. Woolman developed a new method for obtaining rapid and objective measurements of pilot performance during training. This method, known as "The Sensitive Indicator Method," and another, the "Anchored Grading Method" which was designed to increase the reliability of subjective ratings, were widely adopted by the United States Air Force, and other services, for use in pilot evaluation.

Woolman joined the staff of the Human Resources Research Office, George Washington University in February, 1956, and while there developed and experimentally tested a new, programed method for on-site training of Nike Guided Missile Operators. This method was adopted for general use by the U. S. Army in 1958. Similar work for the Bell Telphone Laboratories resulted in the design of a two-week programed learning course to develop conceptual understanding in the field of basic electricity.

Woolman was graduated Magna Cum Laude from Columbia University in 1950 and was designated a President's Scholar the following year. He earned a master's degree from Columbia in 1951 and was awarded a doctorate in psychology from the same institution in 1955.

Since the establishment of his Institute of Educational Research, Woolman has directed his efforts toward the development of methods to increase the speed and accuracy of learning, with major emphasis on especially difficult learning problems. Reading in High Gear is based on the Progressive Choice Reading Method which he originated and perfected. This method, which links a number of programing techniques to teach reading skills and conceptual understanding, provides for a gradual progression through the learning-to-read process that permits the student to move at his own rate with relative independence.

Preliminary experimentation has indicated that this technique is extremely effective with teenagers and adults who, due to circumstances or lack of educational opportunities, have been unable to attain minimal proficiency in reading.

In addition to Reading in High Gear, Woolman is extending a programed method of teaching mentally handicapped children to read, and a study of programed techniques in language development that might be useful to psychiatrists in the treatment of psychotic patients.

Woolman is a member of the American Psychological Association, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Association of University Professors, Phi Delta Kappa and a number of other professional organizations.

Woolman, his wife, and their three children live in Washington, D.C.

# # #

Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. 60611
WH 4-7552 or WH 4-7557 (after 5 p.m.)
Frank S. Johnson, Director

Tel.: Gaylen Hohmann
Manager, Product Publicity
(Home: 664-6381)

2/8/65 jc

Copies of answers to the letter and "Working Paper" copy of Center Proposal – file - Remed. Ed - Lit. Prog

file –
lit. prog
remed. ed.

cc:
Farmer

STERN FAMILY FUND
68 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
—
VU 6-3481

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JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 7, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I'm very grateful to have had an opportunity to review your plans for a national attack on illiteracy. That seems to me to be a very worthy and legitimate activity for CORE.

I really have nothing to say about the working paper itself except compliments. It's excellent and even practical. Any time there may be group discussions on these plans that are open to the public, I would appreciate an opportunity to sit in to learn more.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

file Remed. Ed Lit Program

APR 13 1965

April 12, 1965

Mr. James C. Moore
Associate Director
Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Moore:

About two weeks ago I was in New York and spoke with someone in your office. She indicated that you had received the proposal for the summer project in Prince Edward County, and that it had been forwarded to the Southern Presbyterian Church in Richmond, Virginia.

I would very much like to find out the status of the proposal. If we are to mount this much needed program by the summer we will have to take quite immediate steps. I believe that your office indicated that the proposal was sent to the Rev. Malcolm Calhoun. Should I try to contact Mr. Calhoun directly or should I wait for his reply to you?

I would appreciate it if you could call me at my office (Area Code 202 - 333-1505) or at my home (Area Code 202 - 462-6526).

We are having a Board Meeting on April 27 here in Washington and I feel that we should have something definite by that time if we are to adequately prepare for the summer. Thanks ever so much for your cooperation. I will be looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

April 12, 1965

Mr. R. F. Ehinger
Manager, Personnel Administration
Western Electric Company, Corporated
222 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ehinger:

It was a pleasure to talk to you in your office in December. I had hoped to be in touch with you before now, but between moving to Washington and various demands of my work here I was not able to do so.

You will recall that you asked me to send you a proposal for a literacy project which might be undertaken by Western Electric in cooperation with CORE at the Institute of Educational Research. I am in the process of drawing up a proposal at this time and will have copies sent you within two weeks.

I would like to thank you for your kind cooperation. I trust that we may be able to submit some ideas which will meet with your approval.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

APR 2 6 1965

file - Remed. Ed.
Literacy Prog.

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

April 23, 1965

Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers
1715 "N" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Allan:

Welcome to Washington! I tried to reach you at home but was unable to get through. Since I will be out of town for a few days I thought I would drop you a brief note.

I hope you will be able to come to the reception for Farmer and the Board of Directors of the Center for Community-Action Education. I trust that you received the invitation. It is being held at the home of Edgar Cahn. As you may know, he is Special Assistant to Shriver.

I would also like you to know that we have incorporated the Center here in the District and are hopeful of getting some small projects going with private financing and until such time as we may secure federal support. We are applying for a planning grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity. We have one pilot project going with CCNY CORE in Harlem and another is to begin in North Carolina with the NAACP and CORE.

I will look forward to seeing you on the 27th at the reception. Please give me a ring at the office (333-1505) as I would like to get together with you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

April 23, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
55 West 44th Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Thank you for your kind letter of April 7 sent in response to our proposal for a National Literacy Program. Pending federal support for such a program the Center for Community-Action Education has now been incorporated in the District of Columbia. We have under way a pilot project in Harlem with the CCNY CORE chapter and another project in Durham, North Carolina will be begun in May with Floyd McKissick.

You should have received an invitation to a reception here in Washington for James Farmer and the Board of the Center to be held April 27. The reception will be at the home of Edgar and Jean Cahn. Jean particularly ask me to make a special point of inviting you and urging that you attend.

As our plans progress I would like very much to meet you and bring together a small group of people to discuss some of the problems posed by such a large-scale volunteer undertaking. I believe that Dr. Woolman, Director of The Institute of Educational Research, where I am employed as Research Coordinator, spoke with you about a project in Prince Edward County. While this project is being proposed as an activity of the Institute, it is the type of thing that the Center would eventually hope to be doing.

Again let me thank you for your kind response to the proposal. I will be looking forward to meeting you and I'm hopeful that we can get together before too long.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

April 23, 1965

Dr. Martin Deutsch
Director
Institute for Developmental Studies
Professor
Department of Psychiatry
New York Medical College
Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital
Fifth Avenue at One Hundred and Sixth Street
New York, New York 10029

Dear Dr. Deutsch:

I want to thank you for your letter of March 24 in response to our proposal for the National Literacy Program.

We are currently in the process of drawing up a proposal for a planning grant to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity. During the time of the planning period (probably six months or a year) we would like to explore in depth suggestions such as the ones made by you that the program be confined initially to a large metropolitan area such as Washington. During this planning period it would be our intension to start pilot projects.

I would like very much to be able to discuss our plans with you in some detail in person. You suggested that you might arrange to stop by the office on one of your trips to Washington. This would be most helpful. Please let me know when you may be in town and I will arrange to set up a small conference. I wonder also whether you might be available at sometime in a few months hense for a larger planning conference. We would like to bring together various experts for a day or two for some very real consideration of the problems faced by such a national volunteer effort as we have proposed.

Pending federal support for the Center for Community Action Education we have incorporated here in the District of Columbia and have received a small grant. With this initial funding we have begun a pilot literacy program in Harlem with the CCNY chapter of CORE, and we are shortly to begin another project in Durham, North Carolina working with CORE and the NAACP.

While we have fought to begin these pilot programs with the Accelerated Progressive Choice Method developed by Dr. Woolman it is our very definite intension to explore and test other techniques. You may be aware that the Office of Economic Opportunity is in fact now spending a great deal of money to test APC as well as other literacy methods. The Institute of Educational Research, where I am now employed as Research Coordinator, has two grants form OEO for literacy work in the District of Columbia in the public schools and with drop-outs. OEO is also sponsoring large scale tests of various reading methods in Boston, Kentucky, and elsewhere. One major contract is to Greenly Associates which will be independently testing several literacy techniques in Pennsylvania and California.

Again let me thank you for your support interest. I will be looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

April 23, 1965

Mr. High Salpeter
Police Athletic League
34½ East 12th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear High:

I just wanted to drop you annote thanking you for your March 19 response to the proposal for the National Literacy Program. Mike told me that you had a good meeting in New York last week. I was glad that you got to meet Budd Edwards.

I will be looking forward to meeting you. I do come to New York quite often and would like to try to see you on one of my trips. We have a number of things in the works in New York City that you might be interested in learning about.

Best Wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave. N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

April 23, 1965

Dr. Frank Riessman, Director
Mental Health Aide Program
Albert Einstein College of Medicine
Yeshiva University
Lincoln Hospital
333 Southern Boulevard
Bronx, New York 10454

Dear Frank:

I'm glad that I was able to help with the statement by Farmer for the book by you and Pearl. I also want to thank you for the comments on our proposal for National Literacy Program. We have incorporated the Center for Community-Action Education in the District of Columbia. It is our feeling that we should begin with pilot projects now and the success of these projects will enhance the possibility of federal funding. We have a small project going with CCNY CORE in Harlem and another to begin in May in Durham, North Carolina.

We are also in the process of drawing up a proposal for a planning grant to be submitted to OEO. I have every reason to believe that the proposal will get favorable consideration.

In regard to your suggestion that at least 1,000 non-professional tutors be employed in a paid capacity, I would like to make the following comments. We had thought of hiring a very substantial number of non-professional, indigent persons in capacity other than tutors. It seems that it would be difficult to pay some tutors and not others. Likewise, if this program is to be of the scope planned, it will have to be largely a volunteer effort, otherwise the cost could be prohibited. On the other hand, the use of volunteer Literacy Instructors will necessitate quite a careful supervisory super-structure. It was in this area that we were proposing to hire indigent non-professionals.

I believe that our plans call for at least 1,000 - if not more - personsiin this capacity. I would also like to mention that we have a project with OEO about to begin in Washington with 500 school dropouts. These are to be persons who are recruited for various jab training programs. We will give them literacy instruction and in some cases pay them for the instruction itself. However, the heart of the proposal is that a goodly number of those persons trained in literacy will themselves become Literacy Instructors upon the completion of their

training. As Literacy Instructors they would beppaid upwards of one dollar and twenty-five cents ($1.25) per hour.

As you know, I'm currently working as Research Coordinator for Mike Woolman, author of Reading in High Gear. OEO has approved a grant to Art Greenly Associates to do a large and comprehensive comparison of literacy techniques using welfare clients in Pennsylvania, California and New York. OEO is taking the position that they will test only those literacy techniques which can be purchased from publishers. Reading in High Gear is one of the methods to be tested.

The few pages which you included on the role of the Civil Rights movement at the present time is terrific. As you know from our earlier discussions, your thoughts are right in line with mine. I will be seeing Jim Farmer next week at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Center and will be discussing some of these ideas with him at that time.

One more thing we had talked of creating some kind of advisory board or something of that nature for the Center. Would you be available if we do form such a committee? Also, would you be available for a conference in a few months to discuss in some detail the problems posed by such a large scale, volunteer literacy program as we have suggested?

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

Reply to: 2226 Wisconsin Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

April 23, 1965

Dr. Buell G. Gallager
President
The City College of The City
University of New York
Convent Ave. at 138th Street
New York, New York 10031

Dear Dr. Gallagher:

I appreciated your king response of March 24 to Farmer proposal for the National Literacy campaign.

You may be interested in learning that the Center for Community-Action Education has now been incorporated in the District of Columbia and has begun a pilot project with the CCNY CORE chapter and is to begin another project with CORE and the NAACP in North Carolina next month. We are also preparing a proposal for a planning grant to be submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant to
James Farmer

cc: James Farmer

Dictated but not read

GRC/nds

April 29, 1965

Mr. R. F. Ehinger
Manager, Personnel Administration
Western Electric Company, Corporated
222 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ehinger:

We are greatly pleased that Western Electric has expressed an interest in the national literacy program of the Center for Community-Action Education. We see the Center as a vehicle which can draw together the various components of the local community interested in waging war against poverty.

The support of companies like Western Electric can make real our dream of meaningful educational and vocational opportunity for all.

I am enclosing several copies of our proposal for a project aimed at developing a new approach to bringing education to the poor. It is a novel proposal. We suggest that the poor can themselves become instructors in literacy. We further suggest a new means of cooperation between industry and the community. Should this project be successful, as we have every reason to believe it will, we would hope that other companies would follow this lead so that similar projects could be set up in other communities.

We trust that Western Electric will give thoughtful consideration to this proposal. Mr. Gordon Carey, with whom you have been in touch previously is available to discuss the proposal in more detail and to answer any questions.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer

Enclosure

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

# Agenda for Board of Directors Meeting

## Tuesday, April 27, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

(1) Acceptance of Certificate of Incorporation

(2) Election of temporary Chairman to call meeting to order

(3) Adoption of By-laws

(4) Election of temporary Officers

(5) Approval of agenda

(6) Nomination of additional Board Members

(7) Election of Executive Committee

(8) Report on projects

(9) Submission of Western Electric Proposal
Submission of Planning Grant

(10) Resolutions

(11) New business

(12) Adjournment

# FIELD TEST OF
# THE ACCELERATED PROGRESSIVE CHOICE READING PROGRAM
# WITH ILLITERATE ADULTS
# IN NORTH CAROLINA AND
# PENNSYLVANIA

A Proposal to the:

Western Electric Company

From the:

Center for Community-Action Education
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Date:

April 29, 1965

Project Title:

Field Test of The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program with Illiterate Adults in North Carolina and Pennsylvania.

## I. Project Summary

The Center for Community-Action Education in cooperation with the Institute of Educational Research will use The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program (APC) to develop reading skills for functionally illiterate, older youth and adults in North Carolina and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This program has already been found to be successful in developing reading skills in culturally deprived children and youth. The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program (APC) is designed to rapidly produce language, reading and writing skills. Above all, the program is organized so that upon successful completion, the learner should be reading at or above the 6th-grade level. The ultimate goal of the APC Reading Program is to attain a level of reading skill for the functionally illiterate adult which is sufficient to enable him to achieve broader employment capabilities and to enable him to cope more successfully with the many problems of existence in an increasingly technical society, which places a premium on education and adaptability. This method represents an approach which has been intensively investigated by the Congress of Racial Equality and appears to offer the best basis for extending literacy in cities and communities across the country rapidly and at low cost per trainee.

## II. The Need for the Project

Illiteracy denies approximately twelve per cent (12%) of all Americans their right to fully participate in our democratic society. Edward W. Brice, Director, Adult Education Branch of the U.S. Office of Education and specialist in problems of illiteracy, has stated that the loss to the nation in terms of production potential is staggering:

> The lack of basic Elementary Education among these millions of citizens, both Native and Foreign born, constitutes a continuing national problem of great magnitude and urgency both in time of peace as well as war.

The problem of illiteracy, which affects eight (8) million Americans has been called a national disgrace. Twelve (12) per cent of the adult population, twenty-five (25) years of age and above, are functionally illiterate and many more are educationally retarded. By the vagaries of circumstance, rather than personal choice or fundamental capacity, they are not and have not been among the beneficiaries in the distribution of our national heritage. These persons are unable to cope with the demands of modern technological society, and are largely supported by public funds.

## III. Purpose and Objectives

The major purpose of this project is to evaluate the potential for cooperation between American industry and voluntary community resources in developing successful literacy programs within local communities.

### Objectives

1. To test the effectiveness of utilizing volunteer Literacy Instructors (LIs) to teach functionally illiterate adults and older youth to read using APC outside the formal school setting.

2. To determine the effects of this program on employability and job-related behavior of the adult illiterate population.

## IV. Operation of the Project

The project will be run in Greensboro or Burlington, North Carolina and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania under the auspices of the Center for Community-Action Education. (Other cities or states might be considered should Western Electric so desire.) Staff from the Institute of Educational Research (IER) will supervise and implement the literacy program. Staff of Western Electric will supervise the administration of the project in coordination with IER staff personnel.

1. Literacy Trainees: 500 functionally illiterate youth and adults, approximately 150 in North Carolina and 350 in Philadelphia, will be recruited by local community agencies over a period of six months. Among the cooperating recruiting agencies will be local churches, civil rights organizations, fraternal and civic groups, and labor and industrial organizations.

2. Training Facilities: Training facilities will be arranged and/or provided by Western Electric. In-plant literacy training could be instrumental in providing motivation for developing job skills. However, training could also take place in private homes, churches, offices or practically anywhere which can provide space for 15 persons, adequate light, relative quiet and a sufficient number of tables and chairs.

3. Testing: All persons to be trained will be pre-and post-tested using standard reading tests. Pre-test scores will establish eligibility for the program and post-test scores will establish the amount of gain. Persons whose initial scores are at 6th-grade reading level or above will not be eligible as the goal is to concentrate on the severe underachievers.

4. Quality Control: Periodic visits by staff members of IER and the Center will be made to insure proper use of instructional material, and to relate the progress of the project to the time schedule planned in this proposal. Staff of Western Electric will also visit the projects to familiarize themselves with the program and the progress of the project.

5. Personnel: A Project Director and an Assistant Project Director will be required to direct and plan the operation of the project.

6. Literacy Instructor (LIs): LIs will be trained and hired from the functionally illiterate adult population itself. These persons will be carefully selected and will be paid a nominal wage during the training period. Upon completion of their training ten of those who qualify as LIs will be hired as full-time instructors. Two others will be hired to counsel, recruit and coordinate.

## V. Project Schedule

1. Planning Period - 2 months following project initiation. During this period the project will be planned in detail. The Project Director and his Assistant will be hired. Potential LIs will be recruited.

2. Project Initiation - 1 month.
   (a) Potential LIs will be intensively trained.
   (b) Training facilities will be secured and made ready.
   (c) Recruitment of literacy trainees will begin.
   (d) Pre-testing of functional illiterates will begin.

3. Literacy Training - 9 months.
   500 persons will be trained during this phase. No new trainees will be introduced into the program after the end of the first six months of this phase in order to insure that all trainees will complete the program within the 9 month period. As trainees progress in the program they themselves will begin to function as student-instructors on new trainees coming into the program. It is anticipated that at the completion of the training period, some trainees will continue as employed LIs and some will function as part-time LIs on a volunteer basis.

4. Project Evaluation: Quarterly progress reports will be submitted to Western Electric. In addition, the following three evaluations will be made by the Institute of Educational Research and submitted to Western Electric following completion of the first year.

   (a) Within 3 months completion a report will be presented covering the overall operation of the project.

(b) Within 6 months analyses of the findings will be presented showing changes in literacy skill.
(c) Within one year a report will be submitted relating literacy-skill gains to earnings and job stability.

## VI. The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Method

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Method (APC) was designed specifically to teach reading to culturally disadvantaged adolescents and young adults. It was originally developed by Dr. Myron Woolman under a grant from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. It has been field tested for over a year. Among the groups cooperating in the field research of APC were Bank Street College (New York City), Mobilization for Youth (New York City), Washington Action for Youth (D.C.), Boston Action for Community Development (Boston, Mass.), and The North Carolina Fund (Charlotte, N.C.).

APC is now published by Science Research Associates (Chicago). APC is currently being used in the public schools in Washington, D.C., Charlotte, North Carolina, and Galena Park, Texas. It is also being used by the CCNY CORE chapter in Harlem.

In one of the larger field studies of APC, 146 8th and 9th graders in a public school received an average of 51.2 hours of instruction, in classes ranging in size from 20 to 30 pupils. In this study the mean reading score of the 146 subjects was raised from 4.8 years to 6.0 years in less than 3 months. This study and others indicated significant behavioral and personality changes in the APC trainees as well as greatly improved reading, writing and speaking skills.

APC is now being published by Science Research Associates (Chicago) under the name of "Reading in High Gear".

## VII. Project Expectations

It is projected that this proposal will:

1. Substantially increase the reading ability of at least 400 persons.
2. Substantially increase the employability and income-producing skills of the trainees.
3. Provide significant status gain and increased motivation to the participants.
4. Provide full-time, meaningful employment for the 12 persons who will be trained as literacy instructors and who will be recruited from the ranks of the disadvantaged unemployed.
5. Test the ability of non-professional community agencies to recruit, organize and teach illiterates.
6. Provide a model for cooperation between industry and private social agencies which can be duplicated in many other communities.

## VIII. The Center for Community-Action Education

The Center for Community-Action Education, hereinafter referred to as the Center, was recently incorporated as a non-profit educational organization in the District of Columbia.

The initiative for the formation of the Center came largely from James Farmer, National Director of CORE. The Center is an outgrowth of Mr. Farmer's concern that the civil rights movement be more intimately involved in the day-to-day economic problems of the poor - both black and white. It is the intention of the Center to mount literacy and other educational programs throughout the nation in cooperation with various community organizations.

In addition to James Farmer, the initial Board of Directors of the Center consists of:

Gordon R. Carey - Research Coordinator,
Institute of Educational Research; formerly,
Assistant to the National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality

Floyd B. McKissick - Attorney,
National Chairman,
Congress of Racial Equality

Lyle Spencer, President,
Science Research Associates; Chairman,
Board of Trustees, Roosevelt University

Myron Woolman, Ph.D. - Director
Institute of Educational Research

IX. Budget:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Field Personnel: | | |
| Project Director | $11,000.00 | |
| Ass't Project Director | 6,000.00 | |
| (12) Literacy Instructors | 40,000.00 | |
| Secretary - Typist | 5,200.00 | |
| Payroll Taxes | 4,389.00 | |
| Total Field Personnel | | $ 67,089.00 |
| IER Project Administration Costs: | | |
| Supervision and Report Writing | | 11,870.00 |
| Permanent Equipment: | | |
| 1 Typewriter | $500.00 | |
| File Cabinet | 60.00 | |
| 3 Desks and Chairs | 300.00 | |
| Total Permanent Equipment | | 860.00 |
| Recruitment Costs | | 1,000.00 |
| Proportional Rental Costs in IER | | 2,750.00 |
| Travel | | 5,000.00 |
| Testing Materials | | 3,000.00 |
| Instructional Materials | | 6,000.00 |
| Postage and Express | | 1,000.00 |
| Telephone (long distance calls and on site calls) | | 1,200.00 |
| Quality Control and Data Analysis: | | |
| All testing and evaluation, coding, scoring, machine operation, data analysis and data reduction. Data handling and organization resulting from observation visits will include reports, check-lists, ratings and other evaluations. | | 6,000.00 |
| Total Direct Costs | | $105,769.00 |
| 20% Indirect Costs | | 21,538.00 |
| Total Budget | | $127,308.00 |

*Teachers College · Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027*

HORACE MANN-LINCOLN
INSTITUTE OF SCHOOL
EXPERIMENTATION

March 19, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I have the copy of the working paper you sent titled: "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program." The overall purpose and design of the program seem to me to be quite sound and are aimed at attacking a very serious problem. My major reservation is that the program will rely solely on the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program. I think that the APC Reading Program has considerable promise in the area of developing adult literacy. And, I understand that the method has been extensively tested. However, other materials and programs are being developed and tested and should be included in the proposal. I concur with CORE its feeling that the proposal should not be limited to the use of any one technique and assume that this will be taken seriously in the implementation of the proposal.

In the selection of instructors, you might include some kind of commitment to a specific length of time. Our experience with tutors has been that some of the initial enthusiasm and motivation is readily dissipated, especially if achievement results are not readily forthcoming. In the training program for the Literacy Instructors, I would hope that you would include continued in-service training and not simply an initial orientation program. Our experience with Homework Helpers in the Mobilization for Youth Program suggests that the continued weekly meetings with the tutors have been a very important ingredient in whatever success has been achieved.

The overall idea is an exciting and appealing one. I would certainly support its general design and intent despite the caveats I have suggested above. I hope you will keep me informed of future developments.

Sincerely yours,

A. Harry Passow

A. Harry Passow
Professor of Education

AHP:mbr
cc: Mr. James Farmer

THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY, IOWA 52240

*Department of Speech and Dramatic Art*

March 17, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I find James Farmer's proposal as outlined in the working paper to be extremely exciting. I have great confidence that its goal of a massive increment in literacy among the illiterate will be achieved as planned.

One great fear, however, nags at me as I read this proposal. As you no doubt know, I am a scientific researcher and educational technologist in the area of communication. By this I mean that my specialty is in the processes of imparting rather than in receiving communications. Reduction of illiteracy means improved ability to receive both oral and written communications. Unfortunately, improvement of reading and listening does not seem to have any appreciable effect on the communicative skills of speaking and writing. I could compile a bibliography of experimental references to document this claim if such were desired.

I am not convinced that the achievement of literacy per se enhances the employability of illiterates to the extent many tend to believe. I find it difficult indeed to envision many occupations in which instructions and other kinds of communications cannot be given orally to workers who are illiterate. Where such occupations can be envisioned, I find no strong likelihood that the achievement of literacy either enables such workers to function better in those jobs or to qualify for more remunerative ones. The achievement of literacy seems to me merely to be a means to the end of self-instruction with verbal materials where oral instruction will not be provided; it is not a worthwhile end in itself and it is not a necessary means to the end of increased skill in speaking and writing. It is these latter skills which seem to me the two most important skills in terms of which laymen assess the "literacy" of others and, therefore, the basic language skills which most affect employability and achievement.

I foresee several unfortunate consequences of a program inordinately concerned with improving literacy per se. Because literacy is achieved among illiterates is no reason to assume that they will read either technical books which will increase their job skills or literature of a quality which will improve their education in other ways. It is far more likely that those who do not encounter reading matter so difficult they become non-readers will seek reading matter so easy that literacy has provided them merely with another form of entertainment. And, certainly, for us to enable a great segment of our population to read comic books hardly seems as laudatory as a successful war against illiteracy might sound.

However, if the skills of listening and reading are measured in terms other than that of immediate comprehension, then programs which improve the communicative skills of speaking and writing do usually result in improvement in the skills of listening and reading. Again, a substantial bibliography could be compiled.

Let me mention briefly but one specific example (a more extended treatment can be found in my text, Voice Training, published by Ronald Press, 1964). I have found diction (the quality of words used) to be closely related to the ability to discriminate among synonyms on rather frequently used words (e.g., think, believe, feel; true, right, correct; broad, wide, thick). Further, when training in synonym differentiation was provided, diction improved overall and no more on the words employed in training than on words not employed. Moreover, and very importantly, improved diction resulted in improved vocabulary. Numerous studies could be cited to support the contention that the reverse is by no means the case; vocabulary drill does tend to improve the receptive skills of reading and listening but it does not seem to have perceptible effects on the communicative skills of speaking and writing.

I therefore find the present proposal weak in two important respects: (1) it puts off research on teaching the communicative skills for at least four years from the initiation of the program, so that actual training in any skill other than reading is probably postponed for at least a decade; (2) the emphasis is on literacy per se, rather than on the use of that tool wisely or on the provision of increased skill in both imparting and receiving information, and I believe that voracious readers of puerile printed matter are no better qualified to contribute actively to our society than had they remained illiterate and sought other pastimes.

I am certainly not saying anything derogatory about the Woolman APC Reading Program. It is extremely effective in providing an essential tool for learning, that of enabling a person to select words in his oral vocabulary from symbols which appear on a printed page. To make of this skill a substitute for all other language skills is not only to expect that his great contribution is a linguistic panacea but the consequences of such an expectation in my opinion can be an undeserved defaming of Dr. Woolman, and, even more importantly, a tragedy for all of those lives who were saved from illiteracy when they could have been saved from more grievous forms of enslavement as well.

Very sincerely yours,

Paul Heinberg

Paul Heinberg

PH;jb

POLICE ATHLETIC LEAGUE, INC.
34½ EAST 12TH STREET NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
OREGON 7-1400

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
HIGH SALPETER

March 19, 1965

Mr. Gordon Carey
Educational Consultant - CORE
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

I have your letter of March 8th and of course will follow through on James Farmers' suggestions and your own on your working paper called, "A Proposal For the Implementation of a National Literacy Program". As soon as I complete it you may rest assured that my comments will quickly follow.

Best regards to Jim Farmer and Mike Woolman.

Cordially yours,

High Salpeter
Director

HS/rmp

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
SEATTLE 5

April 5, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of the working paper submitted to the Congress of Racial Equality.

I am, as you know, somewhat familiar with the APC reading program. I have examined the materials carefully, read much of the research that has been done and discussed both theory and methodology with Dr. Woolman. I am very much impressed with this approach to reading and feel that it is particularly well adapted to the kind of program outlined in Mr. Farmer's proposal.

I am very much impressed by the proposal itself. I think the notion of using peers as instructors and developing the program outside of a school setting is a very sound one. I think there is a very good prospect of success and, if successful, the project would make a most significant contribution toward solution of the problems of illiteracy and poverty.

My only reservation would be with respect to the scope of the project in its initial stages. The proposal suggests that at least a score of communities be involved in the initial operational stage. It would seem to me to be advisable to start off on a smaller scale--in four or five communities perhaps--during the planning stage. There will, obviously, be a great many problems to work out in placing such a program into operation and an attempt to begin on a very large scale might jeopardize the success of the project.

I would appreciate very much if you would keep me informed of developments. I certainly hope that something will come of this.

Sincerely,

C. R. Strother

Charles R. Strother
Professor of Psychology

CRS:ff

NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE
FLOWER AND FIFTH AVENUE HOSPITALS
FIFTH AVENUE AT ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10029

March 24, 1965

Dr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Dr. Carey:

I read through the proposal for "Implementing a National Literacy Program" and I am quite enthusiastic about the plans you suggest. I would like to take the liberty of making a few recommendations. For the first year or two, I would suggest that the program be confined to one large metropolitan area such as Washington, D.C. so that the trained field workers could be closely observed and an evaluation could be made of the processes of growth and change both in regard to staff and recepients. It would be very unwise to stay with one technique. I have tremendous respect for Mike Wollman and the technology that he has been developing in the reading area; however, I would like to see the use of alternate techniques with a satisfactory evaluation plan in a few situations. I would hypothesize that some people respond to one technique in a more rapid and efficient manner than they would to other methods. It would be interesting and important to find out what kind of people, with what kinds of skills respond to which techniques; under what circumstance. My last suggestion is that adequate time be allowed for supervision and training of project coordinators so that they can become familiar with the inherent flexibility that can exist in the interpersonal aspects of literacy training and with the multiple strategy that may be indicated in different reading and learning contexts.

Nevertheless, this is an important program and if we here at the Institute can be of help, please let us know.

Best wishes for the success of your work. Perhaps on one of my trips to Washington I could sit and talk with you or some of your staff members and make additional suggestions or elaborate on these brief remarks.

Sincerely,

Martin Deutsch

Martin Deutsch, Ph. D.
Director
Institute for Developmental Studies
Professor
Department of Psychiatry

MD/cmr
Dictated, but not read by Dr. Deutsch.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

AREA CODE 212 SP 7-2000

March 19, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I read your proposal with fascinated interest. It seems to me that the freedom school idea is exactly what we need, something that will go around the schools and reach those people who most need attention.

I would have only a few brief comments on the proposal:

1. I would assume that, when amounts like $50 million are involved, donors would insist on a pilot project to demonstrate the feasability of the major project and to iron out some of the kinks in the operation. I would think that the most important thing to demonstrate is that a L.I. could recruit illiterates (a high percent of those in a given area) and keep them in a class until they become literate.

2. If you already feel you are on the right track with Mr. Woolman's reading program, what would be the function of the research operation at Howard?

3. One gets a bit confused in reading the proposal because you seem to want to go <u>beyond</u> literacy training, and all in one gulp. Eliminating illiteracy is such a giant effort in itself, one wonders if this, in itself, is not enough for one proposal. Beyond this, you speak of skill and job training, etc., and the various activities at Howard. Is this too much? Does it need clarification? Is CORE better able to do skill and job training than other agencies?

4. If you are going to have white middle class L.Is. (among others), and I expect you could get vast numbers of them, will they be able to recruit?

5. I am not quite clear about how the $50 million will be spent.

I hope these comments are of some relevance or use. On the whole

I find the proposal very carefully thought out, imaginative, and clearly and carefully written. I hope you do well with it and I trust we will have a chance to talk further about it.

Regards,

Pat Sexton

Patricia Sexton
Associate Professor
Educational Sociology

P.S. Will some people wonder about the word "action" in "community action" and call up images of picket lines and sit-ins? Does this terminology confuse things or do you feel it adds something vital? Perhaps you have "action" programs in mind that go beyond literacy education and training? I think some people will wonder about this.

**MORGAN STATE COLLEGE**
COLDSPRING LANE AND HILLEN ROAD
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21212

**PROGRAMED LEARNING PROJECT**

April 2, 196[illegible]

[illegible] Gordon A. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
[illegible] Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
[illegible]shington, D.C. 20007

Dear Dr. Carey:

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter of March 8th, however I felt that a problem of the magnitude considered in your proposal required some thought.

Let me begin my comments by stating that I am in favor of a national literacy program. Furthermore, I feel that the needs are extreme enough to recommend that any project of any scope be funded in an effort to get some beginnings in attacking the problem.

With respect to the particular proposal you have forwarded to me, I must say that I am somewhat disappointed. The proposal reads to me like a beginning work statement which may, after long and tedious efforts, develop into a substantiative proposal. At the present moment it is extremely nebulous. There are no specifics to evaluate and make recommendations about. The only portion of the proposal of any substance is the description of the A.F.C. Reading Program and I'm afraid that insufficient data is presented to allow one to state that A.F.C. provides the best hope for literacy in the United States. I would have prefered evaluations of several programs simultaneously with a possible outcome being combinations of methods showing the most probability for success.

I think my major criticism of this as a proposal stems from the fact that you really haven't told anybody precisely what you are going to do; where you are going to get the people; how you are going to evaluate the success or failure of the project; and what you will do in either event.

Please do not misconstrue my comments. I am in favor of a national literacy project, I even think that the A.F.C. method is most probably the best one to try initially, but I do think that it behooves you to provide more specific information in concerning what operations to do.

If I can be any other help to you please feel free to contact me further.

Sincerely,

A. Harvey Block
Professor of Research

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Cottrell

# RUSSELL SAGE FOU.

230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
*Social Psychologist and Secretary*

February 16, 1965

Dr. Myron Woolman
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mike:

Many thanks for your letter of February 9th enclosing your new patent and a copy of the proposal for implementing a national literacy program. I have not read the patent document and don't have much of a head for such things. I have read the NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM proposal and find it exciting indeed.

The situation at this end is that Henry Saltzman is trying to set up a time to visit Charlotte and hopes that I can go down at the same time. I certainly shall if he can arrange a time when I am free. He suggests that after they look at the Charlotte situation they may wish to set up a small meeting at which you could discuss your methods and answer questions. He has looked at the booklet on "Evaluations of the Progressive Choice Reading Method" and says that he has a number of questions that he would like to discuss with you. As soon as I hear anything else I will let you know.

With all good wishes,

As ever,

Slats

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

cc. Flemer

THE CITY COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CONVENT AVE. at 138 ST.
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10031

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1965

Dr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Dr. Carey:

Almost anything which can be done to raise the level of literacy in the nation, and particularly to do so in the large areas of educational blight which affect all races, will be action on the positive side of the ledger of social well being.

The particular proposal which bears CORE's imprint appears, on first reading, to be one of the better proposals for action.

Cordially,

Buell G. Gallagher
President

BGG:sjw

# HumRRO

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH OFFICE

300 NORTH WASHINGTON STREET

ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314

OPERATING UNDER CONTRACT WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

TELEPHONE: 549-3611


18 March 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

This is in reply to your letter of March 8 in which you enclosed "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program", prepared by James Farmer.

While the Proposal as a whole sounds like a very worthwhile one, I will comment on only two aspects which fall within my particular technical competence.

First, the choice of The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program developed by Dr. Myron Wollman is, I believe, a good one. I have known Dr. Wollman for some years during and since his employment in HumRRO and have followed his research and development work. All of it has been careful and well-tested as well as ingenious in design. Second, the provision, paragraph 2 - Part II, on research is of vital importance. I would urge that research be directed toward the measurement of literacy, general social competence and attitudes and that these be applied systematically during the course of the implementation of the literacy program. Such systematic study should add much to our knowledge of mental growth and social competence.

I hope that this Proposal will receive favorable consideration.

Cordially yours,

Meredith P. Crawford

Meredith P. Crawford
Director

MPC:ma

*Institute for Research on Exceptional Children*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS 210 EDUCATION BUILDING · URBANA, ILLINOIS 61803 · AREA CODE: 217, TELEPHONE: 333-0260

March 18, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

This is in response to your request that I comment on "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program."

I have read the manuscript by James Farmer with great interest. I personally feel that it is not only a good idea but actually essential. It is necessary that we have not one center but probably many centers that will develop the procedures and show the way to many other centers.

First of all I think the problem of motivation is a major one. This is mentioned in the manuscript but I consider it as difficult a problem to solve as that of setting up some instructional materials that can be handled without trained teachers. I do not believe that the manuscript points out how motivation can be obtained. In my experience many of the illiterates are very ashamed of their inferiority in this respect, and tend to run away from any help that they may obtain. What incentives will be used to get them started is one problem that needs to be solved.

If illiterates can be brought in to a center for training, the next problem is to use instructional materials that will show them success and progress from day to day. The achievement of success is in itself an incentive and a very powerful motivating factor. Therefore, the way the program is operated, the feeling of achievement every minute, every hour and every day is essential. Programmed learning, of course, with immediate reinforcement and a step to step progress is a good method. With such materials the job of the teacher would be not necessarily instruction in reading, but supportive and motivational. Thus, the employed personnel and the volunteers that are selected have to be selected with care from this point of view.

Your discussion of the cost of such a program does not impress me. If the job has to be done and can be done, this great country can afford to pay what is needed. Saving of funds at the expense of a good program is self-defeating.

With best wishes for your program, I am

Sincerely yours,

Samuel A. Kirk
Director

SAK:ll

# RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
*Social Psychologist and Secretary*


March 22, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

Thank you for your letter of March 8th enclosing a proposal for implementing a national literacy program.

This program is addressed to one of the most crucial elements in the whole effort to achieve a self-respecting participation by the Negro in American democratic life. In my opinion it is well conceived, and I am particularly gratified to note that you have been working this out with the Institute of Educational Research. I believe their methods and approach are admirably suited to a mass program of this sort.

I hope very much that this program can be implemented. Naturally in the development of such a program you would want to do some pilot programs in order to get the bugs out before the thing is mounted on a nation-wide basis. I assume that this is contemplated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

STERN FAMILY FUND
55 WEST 44TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10036
—
YU 6-3481

PHILIP M. STERN
PRESIDENT
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN
VICE-PRESIDENT
EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
VICE-PRESIDENT
THOMAS S. LEMANN
SECRETARY-TREASURER
MRS. EDGAR B. STERN, JR.
MRS. PHILIP M. STERN
SHELLEY APPLETON
RALPH H. BLANCHARD
RICHARD M. SCAMMON
JEROME B. WIESNER
DAVID R. HUNTER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 7, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I'm very grateful to have had an opportunity to review your plans for a national attack on illiteracy. That seems to me to be a very worthy and legitimate activity for CORE.

I really have nothing to say about the working paper itself except compliments. It's excellent and even practical. Any time there may be group discussions on these plans that are open to the public, I would appreciate an opportunity to sit in to learn more.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

April 12, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator
The Institute of Educational Research, Inc.
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I was most happy to receive your letter of march 30 and the copy of the research proposal that you enclosed. Miss Pat Justice, teacher at the Little City Day School in Memphis, Tennessee, is presently using your Basal Progressive Choice reading program; and I was most pleased to review the program with her.

From June 28 through August 20, we will have special classes for 15 EMR children with MA of from 4½ to 7. One hour a day will be devoted to language development under the direction of a teacher with a number of years of experience in this area. I would be most interested in using your Basal Progressive Choice materials with this group in a research framwork. I am most anxious to know if you can provide us with the necessary materials for such a study.

I would like to hear from you at your earliest convenience in regard to providing us with the requested materials for our summer program. Thank you for your consideration of this request.

Sincerely,

James Mann

James Mann
Assistant Professor

mm

COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR · MIGRATION DIVISION

322 WEST 48th STREET · NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

TELEPHONE, CIRCLE 5-0700

March 31, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue N.W.
Washington D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

A few days ago I met with Jim Farmer. Before we discussed the Educational Park as a potential solution to the need for general educational improvement and as part of it to urban segregation, we spoke briefly about the proposal for implementing a national literacy program.

1.) With regard to the literacy program:
I have mainly two suggestions: on page 3, the text may be misleading. As I understand it, the program is geared toward reaching all illiterates, not only Negroes.

Some incentive should be given to participate in such a program. This incentive should not be simply "better chances for the future", but some, even small payment for the time devoted to the program.

2.) Jim shares my opinion about the great potential value of the concept of the Educational Park. He suggested that it should be discussed with Dr. Woolman and that the research which I suggest might become part of the Institute for Educational Research. The enclosed paper on the Educational Park is of a confidential character. Please, read it and let me have your reaction to it.

Very sincerely yours,

Max Wolff
Director of Research

Encl.
MW/lk

SRA

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

259 EAST ERIE STREET, CHICAGO 11, ILL., WHITEHALL 4-7552

MATERIALS OF INSTRUCTION
TESTS AND EVALUATION SERVICES
GUIDANCE PUBLICATIONS AND SERVICES

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 5, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Editorial Consultant
Institute of Educational Research, Incorporated
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington 7, District of Columbia

Dear Gordon,

Responding to your request of February 12 for a grant to the Institute of Educational Research, Incorporated, to conduct a controlled experiment on using volunteers for training purposes to improve the reading ability of culturally deprived youngsters, The Spencer Foundation is glad to make a grant of $[illegible],500.

I assume that these funds will be spent approximately along the lines of your original request and the budget you submitted.

[illegible] has a [illegible] its proposed literacy training program. The specific purpose of this study is to find out, [illegible] whether the idea [illegible] to work on a large scale.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

The key to the study will be, of course, setting up a rigorous experiment that will provide hard data that could be replicated later by other investigators. I would hope that you would use a control group in parallel with your experimental students.

If the study proves successful, you will have data of potentially great value for generalizing this type of work all across the United States and probably in many other countries as well, particularly the underdeveloped ones.

The best of luck, and I hope you will keep me posted on the progress of your experiment.

Sincerely,

Lyle

Lyle M. Spencer

Enclosure: The Spencer Foundation check 921, dated March 5, 1965, for $5,500.00, payable to the Institute of Educational Research, Inc.

cc Mr. James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038

cc Dr. Myron Woolman, Director, Institute of Educational Research

ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

LINCOLN HOSPITAL
333 SOUTHERN BOULEVARD
BRONX, N.Y. 10454

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

March 23, 1965

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007.

Dear Gordon:

James Farmer's proposal for national literacy program is terrific. I have made comments on the proposal which I have enclosed.

My major suggestion is the addition of at least 1,000 employed nonprofessional tutors in addition to the volunteers. I think the Office of Economic Opportunity might be interested in supporting this dimension of the program.

In connection with the discussion I had with you in New York, I have enclosed a couple of pages on the role of the Civil Rights movement in the present period. I would be very much interested in James Farmer's reactions to these proposals.

Cordially,

Frank Riessman

Frank Riessman, Ph.D.
Director
Mental Health Aide Program

FR/jr
Enc.

P.S. I am sending you under separate cover, a draft of my new book with Arthur Pearl entitled, New Careers for the Poor. Since the book has major implications for the Civil Rights movement, I thought you might ask Farmer for a positive statement we could use in publicizing the book. I'd appreciate this very much.

FR

# N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8387


MAR 8 1965

March 16, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

I went over - with some care - the material that you and Jim Farmer wanted me to look at. It seems to me sound, as you realized I would say, since we have discussed this. As you know, I shall be moving to Washington the first week in April and will be at 1715 "N" Street, N.W. We should be in touch with each other as things go on.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Allan

Allan Knight Chalmers
Executive President

AKC/mw

*Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes*

Rcvd Ed Lit Prog

MAY 2 7 1965

**Western Electric Company**
INCORPORATED
PERSONNEL AND PUBLIC RELATIONS DIVISION
222 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
AREA CODE 212 571-2142

R. F. EHINGER
MANAGER,
PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

May 25, 1965

MR. GORDON CAREY, Research Coordinator
Institute of Educational Research
The Center for Community Action Education
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I read with interest Mr. Farmer's letter of April 29, 1965 outlining the plan you want to initiate in order to develop the reading skills of functionally illiterate adults and older youths. I know it represents a tremendous amount of work and study on your part. However, your presentation of a specific proposal to the Western Electric Company goes beyond what I had anticipated as a result of our earlier discussions. You may recall that I expressed interest in obtaining information about your project as we like to be well informed on all matters that relate to the problems of the non-white population. Where pertinent, this information is sent to our operating locations in the field so that they may be in a better position to participate in community activities affecting non-whites.

At your convenience I will be glad to discuss your proposal in more detail as suggested by Mr. Farmer in his letter. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

R F Ehinger

Copy to:
Mr. James Farmer ← THIS COPY FOR

June 7, 1965

Dr. William Stuart Nelson
Vice President
Howard University
2400 6th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Stuart Nelson:

I am enclosing three (3) copies of the minutes of the first meeting of the Center for Community-Action Education as I promised. The three copies of the By-Laws constitute a part of the minutes as well.

I will be in touch with you again shortly.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

bc: James Farmer

file - Remed Ed Literacy Prog

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

June 7, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JUN 8 1965

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are copies of letters which are pertinent to the Center. I have enclosed these so that you may stay abreast of the current correspondence and matters of interest to the Center.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

June 7, 1965

Dr. Thomas Edwards
Science Research Associates
259 East Erie Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Budd:

I was certainly distressed to learn of your recent incarceration by the medical fraternity. It was good to chat with you on the phone the other day and to learn that your problems may not be as serious as was first indicated. I hope you will be back on your feet and feeling better shortly. In the meantime, be sure to take it easy and don't let any of us at IER stir you up unduly.

I am writing now on behalf of the Center for Community-Action Education. Let me just recap briefly some of the developments so as to refresh your memory. The Center is incorporated in the District of Columbia and has to date received no funds except the $5,500.00 grant from the Spencer Foundation. That money was received here early in March. It was specifically intended to help mount two literacy projects - one with CCNY and the other in North Carolina. At CCNY the project has been operating for a couple of months now and has been running <u>fairly</u> smoothly.

North Carolina has not yet gotten underway. This is due to a variety of reasons. You will recall, that the money received from the Spencer Foundation was not sufficient to pay for the two projects in their entirety. IER was to contribute staff time and other services. As you also know, IER was in a great deal of financial difficulty. We spent most of our time

at the Institute trying to solve its financial problems and had very little energy left over for anything else. Then, just as we were about to get started in Durham in the middle of May, we ran into Dr. Monroe Neff, Director of the Division of Community Colleges for the state of North Carolina. He is undertaking a massive literacy project and wanted to take over and finance the Durham project with SRA materials to be paid for by him. We are currently in negotiations with Neff and are not certain how that will turn out.

The other problem in regard to these projects is related to materials. In my letter of February 12 to Lyle Spencer, in which I asked for the grant, I said, "we assume that Science Research Associates will supply us with sufficient sets of Reading in High Gear to cover our needs." On March 5 when Lyle sent the check along with a covering letter, he did not refer to this assumption that SRA would provide the materials. He did say however, "I assume that these funds will be spent approximately along the lines of your study outline and the budget you submitted."

When I spoke with you about a month ago I believe you indicated that SRA could send the APC materials for the two Center projects. (IER is contributing BPC). Specifically, since the project in North Carolina is still being held up I would like to have the Center expand the CCNY project in Harlem to include two classes with the Council for Jobs and Freedom. They have one class set up and ready to go and another ready to start shortly. They need twenty-five (25) sets of "Reading in High Gear" and two sets of instructor manuals. If you could have these sent to them it would be of great help. They should be sent to Mr. John Burke, Council for Jobs and Freedom Inc., 72 West 125th Street, New York City, New York. Thanks ever so much.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC/bb

bc: James Farmer

June 7, 1965

Mrs. Patricia Sexton
New York University
School of Education
Washington Square
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Sexton:

Thanks for your note of May 3, 1965 indicating your availability for a meeting to discuss the Center. Things are, unfortunately, moving along rather slowly and I do not know at this point just when such a meeting will take place. However, I will let you know and I do hope that you will be in the country and that the date may be convenient for you.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC/bb

bc. James Farmer

June 7, 1965

Mr. James O. Williams
Chairman
Philadelphia CORE
2229 N. Broad Street
Philadelphia 32, Pa.

Dear Jim:

Under separate cover I am sending you a complete set of our literacy books published by Science Research Associates. I am also enclosing a copy of the Western Electric proposal in case you did not get it. I heard from Western Electric about two weeks ago and they said neither yes nor no. I will be having a meeting with them shortly but don't expect anything to come through within the next few months.

I am sorry not to have answered your letter sooner. Two weeks ago I had to go to New York and had scheduled a stop in Philadelphia on my way. Then something came up and I couldn't make it. I would like to know who the representative of the Ford Foundation is. If you can send me his name right away I will write or call you and set up an appointment.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

June 7, 1965

Mr. R. F. Ehinger
Manager
Personnel Administration
Western Electric Company
222 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Ehinger:

Thank you for your letter of May 25, 1965. I plan to be in New York City in a couple of weeks and would hope to be able to meet with you at that time. As soon as my schedule is certain I will telephone you to arrange an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

June 7, 1965

Mr. John Burke
Council for Jobs and Freedom, Inc.
72 West 125th Street
New York City, New York

Dear John:

I am sorry to be so long in getting back to you. However, Dr. Thomas Edwards at SRA has been in the hospital for the past couple of weeks. Since he is our contact things have been held up. However, I have now written him and asked him to send twenty-five (25) sets of "Reading in High Gear" along with two sets of instructor manuals directly to you. I trust that you will receive them within a week or ten days. Let me know what happens.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC/bb

bc: James Farmer

June 7, 1965

Dr. Frank Riessman
3120 Arlington Avenue
New York 63, New York

Dear Frank:

In going through some files I came across this letter which I was supposed to have returned to you some months ago. At any rate, here it is.

I would also like to thank you for consenting to serve on an advisory committee for the Center for Community-Action Education. As soon as we get a bit more organized (!) I will be in touch with you again.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

bc: James Farmer

June 7, 1965

Mr. Lyle Spencer
President
Science Research Associates
259 East Erie Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Lyle:

Enclosed are the minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Center and the By-Laws as adopted at that meeting.

Please note in the By-Laws that the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on July 16, 1965 in the District of Columbia. Please mark your calendar and plan to be at this meeting. You will receive another notice giving details.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Thomas Edwards

GRC/bb

bcc: James Farmer

June 7, 1965

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Chairman
Congress of Racial Equality
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

Enclosed are the minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Center and the By-Laws as adopted at that meeting.

Please note in the By-Laws that the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on July 16, 1965 in the District of Columbia. Please mark your calendar and plan to be at this meeting. You will receive another notice giving details.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

bcc: James Farmer

file Remed Ed - Lit Prog

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

JUN 8 1965

June 7, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are the minutes of the first meeting of the Board of Directors of the Center and the By-Laws as adopted at that meeting.

Please note in the By-Laws that the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors will be held on July 16, 1965 in the District of Columbia. Please mark your calendar and plan to be at this meeting. You will receive another notice giving details.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

# MINUTES OF INITIAL MEETING IN LIEU OF REGULAR ANNUAL MEETING OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

The initial meeting of the Board of Directors of the Center for Community-Action Education, was held at 1:30 p.m., April 27, 1965, at 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

The following members of the Board were present:

Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Floyd McKissick
Dr. Myron Woolman
Mr. Gordon Carey

Mr. Lyle Spencer was unable to attend, and sent a letter of his regrets.

Also present was Nina Small, Administrative Assistant of The Institute of Educational Research acting as secretary for the meeting.

Mr. Floyd McKissick served as Temporary Chairman and called the meeting to order.

The Chairman explained the Charter of Incorporation. Dr. Woolman made a motion that the Board accept the Certificate of Incorporation. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Carried.

The Chairman then opened the floor for a motion on adoption of By-Laws. Gordon Carey moved that the By-Laws be adopted as submitted. Myron Woolman seconded the motion. Carried.

Gordon Carey moved that an election of officers to serve until the July Annual Meeting would be proper at this time. Myron Woolman seconded this motion. Carried.

The Chairman then opened the floor for nominations. Myron Woolman nominated James Farmer for President. There were no other nominations. Elected unanimously.

Myron Woolman moved that the two offices of Secretary and Treasurer be combined at this time. James Farmer seconded the motion. Motion Carried.

Myron Woolman nominated Gordon Carey for Secretary-Treasurer. Elected unanimously.

Gordon Carey moved to create a position of Counsel to the Center. James Farmer seconded the motion. Motion Carried.

Gordon Carey moved that Floyd McKissick be retained as Counsel to serve at the pleasure of the Board. James Farmer seconded the motion. Motion Carried.

Gordon Carey moved that the present Board of Directors of the Center shall constitute the Executive Committee until such time as the Annual Meeting. Myron Woolman seconded the motion. Carried.

The Chairman stated that the next order of business was the nomination of additional Board members. Gordon Carey moved that we proceed with nominations for additional members of the Board of Directors and that the President be instructed to prepare formal letters of invitation to persons so nominated. Myron Woolman seconded the motion. Carried.

The Chairman opened nominations for Board members. James Farmer nominated Roy Wilkins, Martin L. King, Jr., Whitney Young, and John Lewis.

Myron Woolman nominated James M. Nabrit, Jr.

Myron Woolman moved that the President be directed to write to each of the nominees that they were unanimously invited to serve as Directors and that if their individual time schedules do not allow for personal attendance at each meeting that they might send representatives to carry their vote. Gordon Carey seconded the motion and moved to accept nominations submitted at this time. Carried unanimously.

Gordon Carey moved that we ask Dr. Nabrit to nominate another person from Howard University to the Board, and that the President direct a letter to President Nabrit asking for this nomination. James Farmer seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman nominated Jerry Wurf. Passed.

Myron Woolman nominated Leonard Cottrell, Jr. Passed.

Gordon Carey nominated Jean Cahn. Passed.

There being no further nomination, the Chairman then asked for a report of projects. Gordon Carey explained the status of Western Electric Project (copy of proposal attached).

James Farmer moved that we cooperate with Howard University in submission of a Planning Grant Proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity. Myron Woolman seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that officers, staff or agents of the Center who handle money be bonded in such amount as to be consistent with the funds handled. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that the President and Secretary-Treasurer be permitted to select a bank or banks deemed convenient. James Farmer seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that all funds to be transferred to the Center bank accounts are to be used for expediting educational programs as consistent with the By-Laws. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that the actions taken by the Incorporators for the purposes of forming the corporation are hereby ratified and that the President and the Secretary-Treasurer are authorized to pay any expenses so incurred. James Farmer seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that the President be authorized to submit any proposals that he may deem to be consistent with the aims of the Center. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Carried.

Myron Woolman moved that the President and/or the Secretary-Treasurer be authorized to enter into any contract or to execute and deliver any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the Corporation. James Farmer seconded the motion. Carried.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously adopted, it was:

> RESOLVED, that the initial meeting in lieu of regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors be, and the same hereby is, adjourned.

_____
Secretary

# BY-LAWS

# OF

# THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION, INC.

## ARTICLE I. BOARD OF DIRECTORS

SECTION 1. General Powers.

The corporate powers, property, business and affairs of the Corporation shall be exercised, vested in, managed, conducted and controlled by its Board of Directors.

SECTION 2. Number, Tenure and Qualifications.

(a) The number of Directors shall be not less than five (5) nor more than seventeen (17).

(b) Each Director shall hold office until the next regular annual meeting of the Board and his successor shall have been elected and qualified, or until his prior death, resignation, or removal. At each such regular annual meeting the remaining members of the Board shall decide whether or not to remain in office, and to elect each other to the Board for the coming year; provided, however, that any member of the Board, with or without cause, may be removed from office at any such meeting or at any other meeting of the Board by an affirmative vote of a majority of the Directors.

SECTION 3. Regular Meetings.

(a) A regular meeting of the Board of Directors shall be held without other notice than this By-Law at 12:00 o'clock noon on the third Friday in the month of July in each year. If the day fixed for the annual meeting shall be a legal holiday in the District of Columbia, then such meeting shall be held on the next succeeding business day.

(b) The Board of Directors may provide, by resolution, the time and place for the holding of additional regular meetings without other notice than such resolution.

SECTION 4. Special Meetings.

Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by or at the request of the President or the Secretary and shall be called by the President or the Secretary at the request of not less than one-third of the Directors. The person or persons authorized to call special meetings of the Board of Directors may fix the place for holding any special meeting of the Board of Directors called by them.

SECTION 5. Notice.

(a) Notice of any special meeting shall be given at least five (5) days previous thereto by written notice delivered personally or mailed to each Director at his business address, or by telegram. If mailed, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when deposited in the United States mail so addressed, with postage thereon prepaid. If notice be given by telegram, such notice shall be deemed to be delivered when the telegram is delivered to the telegraph company.

(b) Emergency meetings may be called upon lesser notice, but the business transacted thereat shall not be deemed the act of the Board of Directors unless (a) at least 1/2 of the members of the Board of Directors are present at the said meeting, (b) at least 1/2 of the members of the Board of Directors certify in writing that an emergency existed of such pressing nature as to necessitate the calling of an emergency session and setting forth the grounds therefor, and

(c) the said certificate and statement of the grounds be mailed within 48 hours to all members of the Board of Directors.

(c) Any Director may waive notice of any meeting. The attendance of a Director at a meeting shall constitute a waiver of notice of such meeting except where a Director attends a meeting for the express purpose of objecting to the transaction of any business because the meeting is not lawfully called or convened.

(d) The business to be transacted at, and the purpose of, any special meeting of the Board of Directors must be specified in the notice, or the waiver of notice, of such meeting, but amendments to the agenda for new business may be offered at the meeting.

SECTION 6. Quorum.

One-third of the Directors shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting of the Board of Directors, but, if less than such number is present at a meeting, a majority of the Directors present may adjourn the meeting from time to time without further notice.

SECTION 7. Manner of Acting.

The act of a majority of the Directors present at a meeting at which a quorum is present shall be the act of the Board of Directors.

SECTION 8. Vacancies.

Any vacancy occurring in the Board of Directors, and any Directorship to be filled by reason of an increase in the number of Directors, may be filled by the affirmative vote of a majority of the

remaining Directors, though less than a quorum of the Board of Directors, unless otherwise provided by law. A Director elected to fill a vacancy shall be elected for the unexpired term of his predecessor in office.

SECTION 9. Presumption of Assent.

A Director who is present at a meeting of the Board of Directors at which action on any corporate matter is taken shall be presumed to have assented to any actions taken unless his dissent shall be entered in the minutes of the meeting or unless he shall file his written dissent to such action with the person acting as the secretary of the meeting before the adjournment thereof of said meeting.

SECTION 10. Executive Committee.

(a) By resolution adopted by a majority of the Directors in office, the Board of Directors may designate and appoint an Executive Committee consisting of the Officers of the corporation and at least three (3) other Directors, which Committee shall have and exercise the authority of the Board of Directors in the management of the Corporation, except that the Executive Committee may not remove a Director or amend the by-laws; provided, however, that such Committee shall report to the full membership of the Board of Directors after each meeting of the Executive Committee by mailing a copy of the minutes of the Executive Committee to each member of the Board of Directors; and the Executive Committee shall in addition report to the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors or more often as appropriate or necessary in the discretion of the Committee or at the request of the Board.

(b) The designation and appointment of any Executive Committee and the delegation thereto of authority shall not operate to relieve the Board of Directors, or any individual Director, of any responsibility imposed upon it or him by law.

SECTION 11. Contracts.

No contract or other transaction between the coporation and any other firm or corporation or other contracting agency shall be affected or invalidated by reason of the fact that any one or more of the Directors is a party to or interested in such contract.

SECTION 12. Action by Directors Without Meeting.

Any action which is required by law to be taken or which may be taken at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Corporation may be taken without a meeting if a consent in writing, setting forth the action so taken, shall be signed by all of the Board of Directors.

## ARTICLE II. OFFICERS

SECTION 1. Number.

(a) The officers of the Corporation shall be a President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, each of whom shall be elected by the Board of Directors. Such other officers and assistant officers as may be deemed necessary may be elected or appointed by the Board of Directors.

(b) The powers and duties of the officers shall be exercised in all cases subject to such directions as the Board of Directors may see fit to give. The respective powers and duties hereinafter set forth are subject to alteration by the Board of Directors.

The Board of Directors also is authorized to delegate the duties of any officer to any other officer, or employee, and to require the performance of duties in addition to those provided for herein.

SECTION 2. Election and Term of Office.

(a) The officers of the Corporation to be elected by the Board of Directors shall be elected annually by the Board of Directors at the regular annual meeting of the Board of Directors. If the election of officers shall not be held at such meeting, such election shall be held as soon thereafter as conveniently may be.

(b) Each officer shall hold office until his successor shall have been duly elected and shall have qualified or until his death or until he shall resign or shall have been removed in the manner hereinafter provided.

SECTION 3. Removal.

Any officer or agent elected or appointed by the Board of Directors may be removed by the Board of Directors at any time by the affirmative vote of a majority of the Board of Directors, after notice to all of the Directors of the intention to seek such removal, whenever in their judgment the best interest of the Corporation would be served thereby.

SECTION 4. Vacancies.

A vacancy in any office because of death, resignation, removal, disqualification or otherwise, may be filled by the Board of Directors for the unexpired portion of the term.

SECTION 5. President.

(a) The President shall be the principal officer of the Corporation and, subject to the control of the Board of Directors, shall in general supervise and control all of the affairs of the Corporation.

(b) He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Board of Directors.

(c) He may sign, with the Secretary or any other proper officer of the Corporation thereunto authorized by the Board of Directors, any deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments which the Board of Directors has authorized to be executed, except in cases where the signing and execution thereof shall be expressly delegated by the Board of Directors or by these By-Laws to some other officer or agent of the Corporation, or shall be required by law to be otherwise signed or executed; and in general shall perform all duties incident to the office of President and such other duties as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors from time to time.

SECTION 6. Secretary.

The Secretary shall:

(a) Keep the minutes of the Board of Directors' meetings in one or more books provided for that purpose;

(b) See that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these By-Laws or as required by law;

(c) Be custodian of the corporate records and of the seal of the Corporation, and see that the seal of the Corporation is affixed to any document, the execution of which on behalf of the Corporation under its seal is duly authorized; and

(d) In general, perform all duties incident to the office of Secretary and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the President or by the Board of Directors.

SECTION 7. Treasurer.

The Treasurer shall:

(a) Have charge and custody of and be responsible for all funds and securities of the Corporation; receive and give receipts for moneys due and payable to the Corporation from any source whatsoever, and deposit all such moneys in the name of the Corporation in such banks, trust companies or other depositories as shall be selected in accordance with the provisions of Article III of these By-Laws;

(b) In general, perform all of the duties incident to the office of Treasurer and such other duties as from time to time may be assigned to him by the President or by the Board of Directors.

(c) If required by the Board of Directors, the treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful discharge of his duties in such sum and with such surety or sureties as the Board of Directors shall determine.

SECTION 8. Salaries.

The salaries of the officers, if any, shall be fixed from time to time by the Executive Committee or Board of Directors, and no officer shall be prevented from receiving such salary by reason of the fact that he is also a Director.

## ARTICLE III. CONTRACTS, LOANS, CHECKS AND DEPOSITS

SECTION 1. Contracts.

The Board of Directors may authorize any officer or officers, or agent or agents, and the Executive Committee is authorized to enter into any contract or to execute and deliver any instrument in the name of and on behalf of the Corporation.

SECTION 2. Loans.

No loans shall be contracted on behalf of the Corporation, and no evidences of indebtedness shall be issued in its name, unless authorized by the Executive Committee or by a resolution of the Board of Directors.

SECTION 3. Checks, Drafts, etc.

All checks, drafts or other orders for the payment of money, notes or other evidences of indebtedness issued in the name of the Corporation, shall be signed by such officer or officers, or agent or agents, of the Corporation and in such manner as shall from time to time be determined by resolution of the Board of Directors.

SECTION 4. Deposits.

All funds of the Corporation not otherwise employed shall be deposited from time to time to the credit of the Corporation in such banks, trust companies or other depositaries as the Board of Directors may select.

## ARTICLE IV. FISCAL YEAR

The fiscal year of the Corporation shall begin on the first (1st) day of July and end on the thirtieth (30th) day of June in each year.

## ARTICLE V. SEAL

The Board of Directors shall provide a corporate seal which shall be circular in form and shall have inscribed thereon the name of the corporation, the state of incorporation and the words, "Corporate Seal".

## ARTICLE VI. WAIVER OF NOTICE

Unless otherwise provided by law, whenever any notice is required to be given to any director of the Corporation under the provisions of these By-Laws or under the provisions of the Articles of Incorporation, a waiver thereof in writing, signed by the person or persons entitled to such notice, whether before or after the time stated therein, shall be deemed equivalent to the giving of such notice.

## ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS

Except as otherwise provided by the Articles of Incorporation or By-Laws, these By-Laws may be altered, amended or repealed and new By-Laws may be adopted by a vote of a majority of the Directors at any regular or special meeting of the Board of Directors.

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THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

JUN 10 1965

June 9, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Dr. Neff which is pretty much self-explanatory. If we can work out arrangements with him (which I think we can) he will actually be taking over our Durham project.

If you have no objections, I would like to put the second Center project in Philadelphia. Unless I hear from you to the contrary I will proceed with arrangements in Philadelphia.

The first Center project in Harlem is proceeding fairly well. We are severely hampered by lack of funds, but that may be taken care of shortly.

Incidentally, we sent to your home signature cards for the Center bank account. As soon as you sign and return them we can open our account.

Let me know when you will be in town again for an evening. We want to get together with Mike, the Cahns and a couple of other people.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Enclosure

GRC/bb

June 8, 1965

Dr. Monroe Neff
Assistant Director
North Carolina Community Colleges
Education Building
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Neff:

It was a pleasure to talk with you the other day on the telephone. I regret that I was unable to be in Durham, but Mr. McKissick, serving as General Counsel for the Center, is more than capable of representing the interests of the Center.

Before going into our ideas for Durham, I would like to give you a bit of background. The Center exists primarily for two purposes: to teach literacy skills, and to involve volunteer workers in meaningful community educational activities. We see Durham as an excellent research laboratory for exploring these twin purposes.

As you know, we had proposed a small pilot project in Durham similar to the one we have in Harlem. We planned to set up classes in four to six sites and involve some 300 trainees. At the time, of course, we did not have knowledge of your literacy program which, like ours, takes the literacy training into the community whenever and wherever the trainees find most convenient.

The problem at hand, then, is whether or not our mutual goals in Durham can be achieved through a cooperative effort.

From our previous conversations, I see no reason why we cannot work together. I believe that we have already agreed to the following:

1. As of July 1, 1965, your literacy project in Durham is to be expanded.
2. The new trainees are to be trained with Reading in High Gear.
3. The availability of literacy trainees is to be the sole limiting factor in expansion.
4. A local committee, to include Floyd McKissick and other community leaders, is to serve as a planning board and liaison with your office.
5. As of July 1, 1965, Reading in High Gear will also be available throughout the state of North Carolina (as one of several methods) for use with your state-wide program.
6. Pre- and post-test data will be collected on all trainees and will be made available to the Center.

If we are in agreement on the above, then I see only one or two minor problems to be resolved. Those problems have to do with control over proper usage of the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Method (Reading in High Gear). The problem of control is two-fold. First, instructors must be oriented to this particular method. (I understand that you have given general training to hundreds of teachers but they should be trained specifically to teach APC). Second, there must be a schedule of visits designed to insure that the instructors continue to use the method properly. These observations and teacher reactions could be of immense value in determining what changes may be required in the APC program material for teaching adult literacy.

If we are to come to a cooperative agreement on Durham, the Center will need to have its time and travel costs to Durham, reimbursed by you. These costs will, of course, be minimal. Enclosed you will find a projection of our costs.

We at the Center are very hopeful that this extension of literacy training in Durham can be begun shortly along the lines spelled out here. We feel that there is a substantial commonality in our points of view and would like to work with you to avoid a duplication of efforts in North Carolina.

Should we not be able to agree on a cooperative project, then the Center for Community-Action Education will, of course, proceed with its independent plans for North Carolina.

I will very much appreciate hearing from you.

Very truly yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Attachment

cc: James Farmer
Floyd McKissick
Myron Woolman

GRC/bb

Estimated Budget for Durham, North Carolina, Cooperative Project

15 round trips*: Washington-Durham-Washington by Center personnel.

| | |
|---|---|
| Transportation @ 50.00 each | $ 750.00 |
| Per Diem @ 16.00 each | 240.00 |
| Personnel for observation and orientation @ 60.00 each | 900.00 |
| Supervisory and administrative costs | 1,500.00 |
| | $3,390.00 |

*Actual cost per trip, per person is $126.00

NOTE: This budget is based on a one year project. Four people will be required during the first month, and one trip per month thereafter.

The New York Times.

July 3, 1965

# VIRGINIA ACCEPTS ANTIPOVERTY AID

## $90,000 to Finance Reading Course Chiefly for Negroes

Special to The New York Times

RICHMOND, July 2—Gov. Albertis S. Harrison Jr. has approved a controversial $90,000 Federal antipoverty project that will provide intensive "catch-up" reading instruction for Negro children in Virginia's Prince Edward County.

The Governor's office said that Mr. Harrison had waived the 30-day period under the Economic Opportunity Act during which he could have held the proposal for approval or veto.

His approval was contained in a telegram sent Wednesday to Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It meant that the summer training program for up to 500 educationally deprived Negro youths in the Tobacco Belt county can begin immediately.

### Center of Resistance

The county has been a center of massive resistance to school desegregation. More than 1,500 Negro children were locked out of their school buildings from 1959 to 1964 after segregationist leaders decided to abolish public education rather than bow to a Federal court order admitting Negroes to the public high school.

During that time, white children attended a private academy established initially with the aid of tax-supported state tuition grants. The United States Supreme Court ordered the public schools reopened last September, and all but a handful of the county's 1,300 white children still attend the $280-a-year academy. The tuition grants have been enjoined by the Federal courts.

Apparently with foreknowledge of the antipoverty grant, the County Board of Supervisors—which ordered the school closing in 1959—voted earlier this week to cut $80,000 from the 1965-66 county school budget. The supervisors' action on Tuesday reduced the county appropriation for the nearly all-Negro public schools to $300,000.

The remedial reading grant is considered a particularly urgent need by school officials because many, if not most, of the county's teen-age Negro children are still seriously disadvantaged as a result of the schools' closing.

This is true even though a private group, with the assistance of the Justice Department, established the so-called Prince Edward Free Schools in the 1963-64 school year in a $1 million effort to overcome the children's deficiencies.

The $90,193 grant will go to the Prince Edward Action Group, Inc., the local community action committee in the county seat of Farmville, to finance an intensive, three-month literacy program for children of both races. Few white children, however, are expected to participate.

The Institute of Educational Research, a Washington-based private agency headed by Dr. Myron Woolman, will operate the remedial reading course under contract, using advance programmed teaching techniques. Dr. Woolman is the developer of an experimental teaching system called the progressive choice reading method. His training material is published by Science Research Associates, an experimental teaching agency that is a subsidiary of the International Business Machines Corporation.

Under various private and Government grants, Dr. Woolman's method has been used in Baltimore, Washington, New York, Charlotte, N. C., and Galena Park, Tex.

In Washington, where a local antipoverty committee, Washington Action for Youth, used the materials, pupils showed the equivalent of a 15-month gain in reading ability and comprehension in 40 hours of classroom training.

The Prince Edward reading project will employ 50 college students as instructors, most of them from Virginia, most of them white. The instructors are expected to begin classes next week.

REPRINTED FROM:

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 1, 1965.

# A LITERACY DRIVE GAINS IN VIRGINIA

## U.S. Helps Negroes in Area Where Schools Closed

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

FARMVILLE, Va., July 29—Painfully and slowly, 500 Negro children are learning to read and write here this summer as part of the Federal campaign against poverty.

The battle against illiteracy, which comes late but is being won, stems from the closing of the public schools here in 1959 under Virginia's strategy of "massive resistance" to court-ordered desegregation. The schools reopened last September, without almost entirely Negro attendance.

The intensive methods being used to impart a sixth-grade level of literacy to the deprived children of Prince Edward County's Negro community are regarded as among the most advanced and promising available.

But it is a "harrowing" struggle against a particularly heartbreaking kind of educational poverty, the young instructors say.

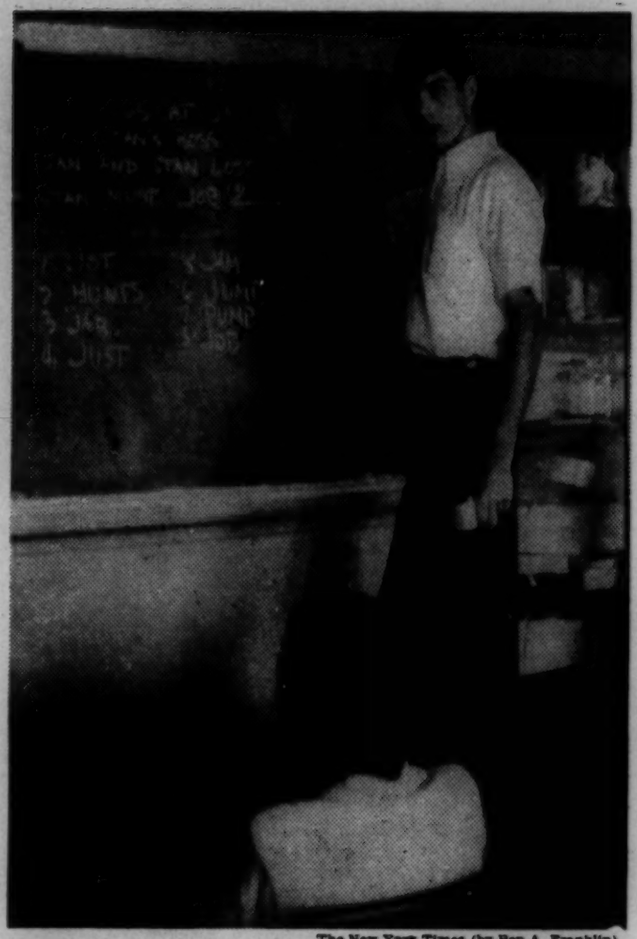
An initial reading achievement test was given to 456 of the children, mostly 12 to 20 years old, when the $93,000 program began five weeks ago. It showed that 86 per cent had scored below the sixth-grade level both in word meaning and paragraph meaning.

### Private Schools Set Up

Prince Edward County, a rural Southside Virginia tobacco area, was one of five original defendants in the United States Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of 1954.

Its decision to abolish its public school system was taken here to thwart a final Federal court order admitting Negro students to the white high school. No other schooljurisdiction in the country had tried such a move.

For four years, while white children attended a hastily established, segregated "private" academy that was partly financed by the state Government through tuition grants, more than 1,500 Negro children here had no formal scholing.



The New York Times (by Ben A. Franklin)

**LABORIOUS TASK: James Locke, a Virginia college student, working with pupils in Farmville, Va., who are striving to regain ability to read, lost when schools were closed in the state's resistance to integration.**

In September, 1963, under the orders of President Kennedy, the Justice Department helped set up the privately endowed, one-year Free School System in the county that gave Negro students their first classroom schooling since June, 1959. But the Negroes' reading achievement scores this year have raised doubts about the effectiveness of that effort.

The scores of the Stanford Achievement Test showed that the largest single group, 34 per cent, had only a second-grade level of reading ability. A total of 61 per cent scored at the third-grade level or below.

Many of these children were under the age of 10 when the public schools were closed.

### Hasn't Advanced to 'Cat'

One of them, a tall, handsome 14-year-old Negro girl, crouched in a small school room armchair designed for her far younger classmates, struggled for minutes to read and make the sound of a simple syllable like "st." She has not yet advanced to complete words such as "cat."

There are three shifts of students attending morning, afternoon and evening classes of four hours each, five days a week. Although the work is hard, progress is apparently going to come rapidly.

The intensive reading course being conducted here under a contract with Prince Edward Action Groun, Inc., the local antipoverty committee, was developed by Dr. Myron Woolman, the head of the private, nonprofit agency in Washington, the Institute of Educational Research. Called "Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program for Culturally Disadvantaged Adolescents and Adults," it has brought encouraging results elsewhere.

Dr. Woolman, a short, baldish and ebullient 48-year-old graduate of Columbia University who speaks in the jagon of the educator and the psychologist, was here today to make his first inspection of the program.

Despite some departures by the young instructors from what he described as "the method," he said what he saw was "exciting."

By Aug. 30, Dr. Woolman said, he expects that the instructors will have made major inroads on the functional illiteracy that for many years has characterized the Negro community here, including many adults. About a dozen Negro adults are enrolled in the program's evening courses.

### Course May Be Extended

Anti poverty officials here believe the literacy course may be extended into the 1965-66 school year.

In one classroom today, attentive students were reading rapidly from "Gulliver's Travels," learning the meanings of words and enlarging their vocabularies by quietly consulting dictionaries. Their diction and pronunciation were being patiently but persistently corrected by their instructor Miss Donna Truesdall, a white student at the College of William and Mary.

Dr. Woolman's staff of instructors, 45 college students of both races, is paid $10 a week each, plus room and board. They are living largely in the Negro community of this small shopping community, which is the county seat, so far without incident.

Farmville, however, is wary of the hundreds of idealistic white and Negro youngsters who have come here in recent summers to help the Negro children. In past years, some of them have participated in civil rights demonstrations.

This summer, the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, pastor of the First Baptist Church, who is prisident of the Virginia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

→

People, has decreed that there will be no public demonstrations. He considers literacy the important civil rights business.

Mr. Grifin, a calm 14-year veteran of the civil rights movement, is co-chairman of the anti poverty program here with Robert E. Taylor, formerly one of the country's foremost segregationist leaders.

Mr. Taylor is still vice president of the Prince Edward School Foundation, the corporate shell of the segregated academy. The antipoverty headquarters here, however, is in space rented for $300 a month at his lumber and manufacturing office, and its staff includes three Negro clerk-typists, the only Negroes currently employed here in white-collar jobs. Mr. Taylor was the initator of the federal antipoverty program in the country.

Mr. Taylor and Mr. Griffin meet frequently with their integrated antipoverty board to plan further programs here. Besides the literacy courses, the county has an active $50,000 Project Head Start program to prepare culturally deprived children for public school. It, too, is financed by the United States Office of Economic Opportunity.

The Prince Edward Academy, the white, segregated school system, apparently grows financially and academically stronger year by year. A county-wide school census published this month indicated that virtually all the county's white children would again attend the segregated academy this fall and that almost all the 1,600 children in the reopened schools would be Negroes.

Richmond Times-Dispatch
MORNING · SUNDAY · EST. 1850
RICHMOND 11, VIRGINIA

*Prince Edward Pilot Project*

# 500 Negro Pupils Getting Help With Reading Ability

**By Robert Holland**
*Times-Dispatch News Bureau*

FARMVILLE, July 21—In modest church buildings, club facilities and schools of Prince Edward county, children are participating in a pilot project that may serve as an example for other areas of the nation to emulate.

Prince Edward, long a foe of the federal government's desegregation pressures, is giving more than 500 of its Negro youngsters plus at least one white child the newest in remedial educational help with an assist from Uncle Sam.

The "Woolman method," so named for Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Education Research, Inc. of Washington, is being used for the first time among children of rural backgrounds. The "accelerated progessive choice reading program" is designed to advance reading levels, on the average, one and one half grades.

For many of the children, the opportunity to advance is something relatively new in itself. In the face of court orders to integrate, the county closed its public schools for a five-year period recently and the Negro children suffered from a lack of education for all but one of those years.

**THIS TIME** around, however, the summer's education is based on community consensus as most white and Negro leaders and organizations are banded together into the Prince Edward Community Action Group, Inc., which is sponsoring Operation Catchup with a $90,193 federal antipoverty grant. Leaders of the project opened up classrooms doors Wednesday for a tour by members of the press for the first time since Catchup started about two weeks ago.

Visitors found youngsters concentrating on their Woolman reader handbooks, containing pictures, symbols, letters and words. Young teachers—many of them college students—were conducting the reading lessons from instructors' manuals.

T-D News Bureau Photo

**'Catchup' Pupils Work in Mobile Classroom**
Teacher Is Miss Ruby Williams of Baltimore

In one room, a teacher with a distinctly Massachusetts accent carefully pronounced "vast" and "victim" and asked her pupils of elementary grade ages to explain meanings. In another, two teachers were checking on work in the handbooks. Outside, some pupils on a brief break were tossing a basketball around the backyard of the local Catholic church. A mobile classroom at the church serves as one of the county's nine Catchup centers.

At noon, children lined up to receive their lunches and milk.

**CLASSES** continue in the afternoon and at night for other shifts of students. A child gets four hours of instruction a day. After the eight-week program has ended the participants will have received 150 hours of reading work. Progress sometimes is as much as three grade levels during this time.

Arthur Dudley of Detroit, project supervisor an former employe of the Prince Edward Free School Association, said the desired pupil-teacher ratio is one to 10. There are 45 instructors, the majority of whom are Virginians, and attempts are being made to secure five more, he said. At last count there were 504 children enrolled.

"Attendance has been pretty good," Dudley remarked. He said about 90 per cent of the youngsters attend each day.

Under the program, "children are started at the same place in their readers. As they advance they are separated and grouped according to their achievement," he said. In essence this amounts to something resembling a one-room school situation with small groups huddled in a room for different levels of education.

**ONE OF** the teachers, Donna Truesdale of the College of William and Mary, remarked during a class break, "This method works fantastically well. I am surprised with the progress of the students."

Gordon R. Carey, research co-ordinator for the Institute of Educational Research, explained that "reading in high gear" starts with the introduction of the most common letter sounds and letter shapes and systematically introduces the student to each of the skills he must acquire to read effectively.

"All students are required to start at the beginning of the program. This tends to fill the voids and correct the errors from their previous learning experience."

Based on the progressive choice reading method, the program uses several different techniques of programmed instruction and elements of both the traditional (phonics) and newer (linguistic) methods of teaching reading. Each student first learns to understand the meaning of the spoken word he will ultimately learn to read. He then learns the shapes and the sounds of each of the elements in this word and finally learns to read the word in its printed form, Carey said.

It is especially designed for disadvantaged youths. In its present form it has been used in Charlotte, N. C., Galena Park, Tex., Washington, New York City, Philadelphia and Boston, he said.

Woolman's method was new to most of the summer's instructors and most of them are not professionals. But this is as intended, Dudley said. "The system is designed to use nonprofessionals. The preference is for the nonprofessionals because the professionals might have ideas of their own to throw in," he said.

Reading courses using Dr. Woolman's copyrighted system have been used to train army missilemen and to help the mentally retarded. But this is the first time it has been used for children from rural homes.

The Rev. L. Francis Griffin, a Negro minister and cochairman of the county's Community Action Project, said the federal government has dubbed the effort here a "demonstration project," which means the government is interested in it for possible use in other areas. Hence Prince Edward has become a model for the educational system, he noted.

MR. GRIFFIN added that about 20 adults are also taking work from the "reading in high gear" workbooks and the hope is to involve as many as 100 adults in the remedial course, if possible.

Robert H. Kirby, state coordinator of economic opportunity projects, visited recently and called the Prince Edward operation the best-organized one he has seen in the state, Mr. Griffin said. A committee of community action is currently studying other ways the county might participate in the variety of antipoverty possibilities. A separate poverty program, Project Head Start, is also going here this summer under the leadership of the county's Council on Human Relations. More than 150 preschool children are enrolled.

Catchup children are from age 10 and up. They are taken by bus to centers at three schools, a mobile unit, A Masonic hall and property of four churches. The teachers live in homes rented for them. They are separated by sex and the homes for girls are chaperoned.

John Perry, recreation supervisor, is arranging a full offering of sports and games for pupils after classes with the co-operation of the county school board. Included are badminton, softball, croquet, volleyball, basketball, checkers, dominoes, baseball and table tennis. The instructors are paid $10 a week. They also are provided two meals and their lodging.

REPRINT

# The Farmville Herald

FARMVILLE, VIRGINIA, FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1965

# 'Catch Up' Materials, Students Provide Vast Research Center

## Woolman Reading Techniques Get First Application In Rural Area

Operation Catch Up here is a great deal more than an isolated local summer-time program to offer remedial reading to elementary and secondary school pupils who fell behind dur-'ng the years of the public school controvery here.

It is also research and a demonstration project of national interest because the 504 young people involved in this classroom study constitute the first rural group subjected to Dr. Myron W. Woolman's reading method.

The Institute of Educational Research, Inc., has previously worked with men in the Armed Forces, with urban groups and with the mentally retarded, all with established successes.

Prince Edward county youths, from 10 to 19 years of age, are studying in daily four-hour stints in nine instructional centers under 45 instructors, most of them college students from a number of states, but chiefly Virginia. The Woolman method prefers nonprofessional instructors who do not bring to the task previously conceived ideas on remedial reading methods. The instructors receive only a $10 weekly stipend and lodging and lunch.

**Prepared Materials**

All instructional materials and guides are contained in the printed pamphlets "Reading In High Gear, the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program." This constitutes the printed course material in the hands of all pupils and teachers.

The 500 odd youths working during the two-months summer program are expected to jump their reading ability one and a half grades after finishing the 150 hours of instruction.

Paul Barth, who occupies an office in the Community Action Group, Inc., operating headquarters in the Taylor Manufacturing Company suite here, works closely with the instructors. He is Dr. Woolman's staff member on the ground here.

While the average 'catch up' expected will be one and a half grades, experiences has shown that some alert and gifted students will advance as much as two and three grades from the 150 hours of instruction.

Backing up the instructional heart of the federal antipoverty program here under a $90,193 grant, is a paid administrative, managerial and service force of 73 persons. Typical of this side of the operation are the CAP, Inc., headquarters and a central kitchen, where light lunches are prepared for all children at First Baptist Church under the direction of Mrs. Mary S. Brown, the program dietician.

**Recreation Added**

Also at work is a recreational staff under John Perry, who during the regular school session is athletic director at R. R. Moton High. Perry said Tuesday that a supervised games program will become operative at

**INSTRUCTIONAL CENTER. This 'Catch Up' program center in the trailer at St. Therese Catholic Church at Farmville is one of nine now operating. Working on remedial reading techniques with the pupils are two instructors, standing, Miss Ruby Williams, a Baltimore, Md., school teacher, and Bill Mitchell, a Wisconsin college student.**

each of the nine instructional centers in every geographical area of the county. On Saturdays a centralized 'Play Day' will find children being brought to the Farmville recreation center at Mary Branch School 2 for competitive play.

Games included are badminton, croquet, volleyball, basketball, ping pong, baseball and checks, Perry said.

The program envisions involvment of unpaid volunteer committees around each center with parents and interested persons helping with the program to buttress the instructional phase of the project.

Also underway through this Economic Opportunity Act program is an effort to enroll adults, who wish to improve reading skills, in the Woolman course. These classes will be offered chiefly at night, after the centers have concluded four-hour morning and afternoon rotations.

**Adults Invited**

Program Supervisor Arthur Dudley said Tuesday, during a CAP, Inc., conducted tour of instructional centers for newspaper reporters, that 20 adults already are studying at the centers. Others may apply at the Farmville headquarters or at the various centers, he added.

The Rev. F. L. Griffin told reporters that the great majority of the paid, nonteaching staff was recruited from Farmville and Prince Edward county.

Children, all of whom but one, are Negro thus far, are transported to and from the centers in six rented buses, Dudley explained. The centers have been established in each of the six magisterial districts of Prince Edward. with two in several.

**LUNCH TIME! After their four-hour morning class a group of Catch Up students at the Worsham School center troop the lunch line. For each there was a bagged sandwich, a cookie and a half-pint of milk. Fruit is added from time to time. Students are Otis Miller, George Patterson, Gwendolyn Harris, Saundra Stokes and Victoria Lambert.**

REPRINT

The Washington Post City Life in Greater Washington

SECTION B SATURDAY, JULY 31, 1965

**In Prince Edward County**

# Poverty War Eases Race Strife

By Gerald Grant
Washington Post Staff Writer

A breakthrough in more than a decade of interracial bitterness has been made this summer in Prince Edward County, Va.

In a County where officials closed the schools for five years rather than see them integrated, white and Negro groups are now cooperating in a Federal anti-poverty program.

The vehicle for this cooperation is the Prince Edward County Community Action Group, Inc., the local poverty war agency.

Robert E. Taylor, a leading businessman who was one of the most strident segregationists in the County's desegregation fight, and the Rev. L. Francis Griffin, a Baptist pastor and statewide leader of the NAACP, are the co-chairmen of the group.

Seats on the 60-man governing committee of the Poverty group have been split equally among whites and Negroes as has its ten-man executive committee. Poor whites and Negro tenant farmers are included on the full committee as well as leading citizens of both races.

Taylor himself proposed that Mr. Griffin be named co-chairman of the poverty effort at a public meeting last February.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Taylor said, "We've been working closely together ever since."

Mr. Griffin added, "Most of the folks of both races are with us all the way."

With a $90,193 Federal grant, nine instructional centers have been opened up in the County this summer as part of a program called Operation Catchup.

All but one of the 504 children enrolled are Negro, but there are Negroes on the predominantly white staff of 73, most of whom are native Virginians. The volunteer force is integrated.

Free lunches are served at the center and a recreational program follows the special remedial reading program, developed by the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., of Washington. Myron W. Woolman, author of the experimental, programmed course (which is also being tried in the Cardozo area schools here), predicts that the students will jump an average of a grade and a half in reading ability after 150 hours of instruction.

Twenty adults, some of them more than 70 years old, are also taking the course at night and having "tremendous success," the minister said.

"We hope this will be the basis for real cooperation in other areas of community life," Mr. Griffin told a reporter. "It certainly indicates that if we can work together in one project successfully, we ought to be able to do so in other areas."

Asked whether the summer co-operation would hasten school desegregation in the fall, Taylor replied:

"I don't know how things will develop . . . I wouldn't have any opinion."

Taylor is vice president of the private, segregated Prince Edward School Foundation — the academy attended by white children to avoid court-ordered integration — and head of a homebuilding firm.

Why did he spur the poverty effort? "This is an entirely different program from anything that's been tried before. It took co-operation to put it through and I think it will be beneficial to the County."

REPRINT

# The VOICE

OF PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY

VOL. I — No. 1 | P. O. Box 16, Farmville, Virginia | July 26, 1965

## Six Years Later

# THEY ARE LEARNING TO READ

About five hundred children and adults in Prince Edward County are learning how to read and write as students in Operation Catch-Up this summer. Catch-Up is a remedial reading program, paid for by the Federal government as part of the war on poverty. It is administered here by the Prince Edward Community Action Group, Inc., Rev. L. F. Griffin and R. E. Taylor Co-Directors.

The teachers are 45 summer volunteers from colleges in Virginia and other states. A few are from here in the county. Volunteers teach four hours a day, sometimes more. They also spend a few hours a day on different projects with the people of the county. Some are working to provide sports, games and other recreation. One group is rehearsing for a theater play. Some are tutoring Negro high school students in Nottaway County who will be entering the white schools next fall. And others will be working in the fields, getting to know the people in the county.

Teachers report that the students are showing real interest in the reading program. For many students it is a sacrifice to come to class, for they are needed to work at home in the tobacco fields. They study hard, often refusing to take a break in the four-hour period. Many say they are sorry to leave at the end of the class day.

At least 25 of the students could not read or write at all before they came into the program, and most are many years behind their age level in reading ability. The reason for this, of course, is the closing of the public schools in Prince Edward County from 1959 to 1964 to avoid desegregation. Teachers and students are working hard to make up for this serious lack of opportunity and are making real progress. Many of them are hoping that Catch-Up will not be simply one more summer program in Prince Edward County, but will be expanded to provide an extensive reading program to all those who were denied an education in the public schools.

Centers for the reading program are:

In Prospect: St. James Methodist Church and Sulphur Springs Church.

In Greenbay: Levi Baptist Church and Verso School.

In Rice: High Bridge Church and High Rock Church.

In Hampden: Worsham School.

In Buffalo: New Hope Church, Spenser's Store, and Triumph Church.

In Farmville: Masonic Hall and St. Theresa's Church.

Title I Remed Ed - Lit. Prog

7/16

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

JUL 6 1965

Annual Meeting Board of Directors
Friday, July 16, 1965
12:00 noon
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Gordon Carey
James Farmer
Floyd McKissick
Lyle Spencer
Myron Woolman

TO: Members of the Board

FROM: James Farmer, President

DATE: July 2, 1965

The meeting on July 16 will be the first annual meeting of the Center for Community-Action Education. The Center has begun several small projects. Literacy projects are underway with two organizations in Harlem, and with the Philadelphia Tutorial Project. Plans are being made for a project in Durham, North Carolina.

I hope that we can have full representation at this meeting. We will discuss the planning grant proposal which is being submitted to the federal government and we will plan our course for the coming year.

There will be a report on our projects as well as routine matters such as the financial report. The viability of the Center depends on the plans and activities of the next few weeks and days. I look forward to seeing you in Washington.

Please let Gordon R. Carey know if you cannot attend. He can also make hotel or other arrangements for you if you so desire.

JF/bb

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THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

Minutes of the Annual Meeting
of the Board of Directors
of The Center for Community-Action Education

Held on: July 16, 1965 - 12:00 noon

Place: 2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Persons in Attendence: James Farmer
Gordon R. Carey
Myron Woolman
Floyd McKissick
Jean Cahn
Hyland Lewis (represening Dr. Stanton L. Wormley)

Lyle Spencer, James Nabrit and Jerry Wurf sent their regrets.

James Farmer, President called the meeting to order.

Gordon Carey, Secretary-Treasurer read the minutes of the previous meeting. They were approved as read.

James Farmer asked that the Agenda be amended to include:

1. Tax Exemption
2. Relationship to Howard University
3. New Address of the Center

Gordon Carey indicated that the following persons had consented to serve on the Board of Directors since the last meeting.

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr. - President, Howard University
Mr. Jerry Wurf - President, American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO
Dr. Stanton L. Wormley - Vice President, Howard University
Mrs. Jean C. Cahn

Mr. Carey reported that no response had been received to the invitation for membership on the Board of Directors from:

Whitney Young
Martin L. King, Jr.
John Lewis

A note was received from Dr. King's secretary stating that he would reply upon his return to the office. Mr. Roy Wilkins and Dr. Leonard Cottrell, Jr. wrote that they were unable to accept for reasons of health. After discussion it was decided that James Farmer call Whitney Young, John Lewis, Dr. King, and Roy Wilkins about membership on Board.

Floyd McKissick suggested that Board positions not filled at this time be held open. Gordon Carey suggested that a sub-committee be formed to submit names of potential board members to next executive committee meeting. After a discussion of the necessity for this committee Gordon Carey moved that the President appoint a committee of at least three people in the Washington area to consider names of persons who might be nominated for the Board of Directors and that the committee be instructed to submit names of suggested nominees by letter to all Board members. Jean Cahn seconded the motion. Motion Carried

The President appointed to the Committee:

Dr. Stanton L. Wormley
Jean Cahn
Gordon R. Carey

Gordon Carey is to convene the committee.

Gordon Carey read the financial report which is incorporated into the minutes of this meeting. There are still some small expenditures to be shown. He reported that Science Research Associates has donated the 300 sets of Reading in High Gear promised for the pilot programs.

Discussion was then opened on possible sources of funding. Gordon Carey reported that Western Electric offered to furnish limited financial support.

Dr. Woolman reported on a recent trip to New York. High Salpeter introduced Gordon Carey and Dr. Woolman to a representative of Pepsi Cola, who indicated interest and possible support. Jean Cahn reported that she has been in contact with the Stern Family Fund which can be used primarily for contact with other foundations.

Jean Cahn reported that she has been invited to discuss the Center with the Ford Foundation. Floyd McKissick is to see Mr. Staples from Ford Foundation in North Carolina next week. Contact is to be maintained and a grant actively pursued.

Corning Glass Company Foundation and other foundations are to be approached.

Floyd McKissick suggested securing full-time help to solicit funds. Dr. Woolman suggested that we wait until some additional funding comes through.

It was agreed by common consent that Jean Cahn and James Farmer make contacts and set up meetings as needed to actively pursue foundation and other private funding. It was agreed that minimal expenses would be paid for their expenses.

Gordon Carey informed members that Jerry Wurf has promised to help get labor support for the Center.

The next item on the Agenda was the tax exemption. Floyd McKissick turned over completed forms for Jean Cahn to file with the Internal Revenue Service.

Gordon Carey gave a report on projects started and contemplated.

1. CCNY CORE is continuing through the summer. (90 subjects.)
2. Council for Jobs for Freedom of New York City. Pre-testing will be done in the next few weeks. They have received 25 sets of "Reading in High Gear."
3. Philadelphia Tutorial Service. (240 subjects.) They will provide their own sets of materials (obtained at discount from SRA) but the Center will do pre- and post-testing and orientation.
4. Durham, North Carolina. Efforts to coordinate the Center's program in Durham with the literacy program of the state of North Carolina have not been successful to date. It was decided to pursue this cooperative effort and to simultaneously set up an independent project with 100 trainees. Floyd McKissick will do all preliminary work on setting up classes and will then make arrangements for orientation of instructors.

Gordon Carey also stated that a commitment has been made to send 40 sets of Reading in High Gear to Mississippi for four classes set up with CORE-COFO, and that the Center had sent one person to Prince Edward County and expended several hundred dollars to help the CAP there for several days prior to funding by OEO.

At this time the Center's project commitments are:

100 trainees in Durham
80 trainees at CCNY-CORE
25 trainees at the Council for Jobs for Freedom
40 trainees in Mississippi COFO-CORE
240 trainees at Philadelphia Tutorial Service
485 (Total number of Center trainees.)

It was noted that no additional projects could be undertaken pending additional funding.
Floyd McKissick moved acceptance of the report. Carried

Floyd McKissick moved that the Center move to the new IER address, 2900 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. until an independent location is found. Jean Cahn seconded the motion. Carried

Floyd McKissick suggested that a new letterhead should be designed. It was agreed by common consent.

The next item on the Agenda was the relationship of the Center to Howard University. James Farmer expressed the interest of the Center in affiliating with Howard University.

Gordon Carey reaffirmed the Board stand that membership on the Board implies no commitment on the part of Howard University.

Dr. Hyland Lewis reaffirmed that no commitment has been made at this time by Howard University, but that Howard University is also interested in pursuing the nature of its relationship to the Center. Gordon Carey is to meet with Dr. Wormley to explore further the future relationship between Howard University and the Center. Dr. Woolman noted that the Center is committed to actively pursue negotiations to establish a formal relationship between Howard University and the Center, and moved that in the meantime a Planning and Demonstration Proposal be submitted by the Center to the federal government and other interested parties. Seconded and Carried.

The Planning and Demonstration proposal report was next on the Agenda. The proposal was submitted to the Board. It covers 7,200 subjects for a minimum of 18 months. (A copy of the proposal is appended to the minutes.) This proposal is to be submitted simultaneously to the Office of Economic Opportunity, Office of Education and the Department of Labor. There was discussion on the proposal. Jean Cahn moved that the proposal be revised where necessary to make clear that it is a Center proposal rather than a CORE proposal. Carried with one dissent.

Jean Cahn further moved that during negotiations with the federal government authorization be given to make such changes in the proposal as are needed. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Carried

The election of officers:

Floyd McKissick nominated James Farmer for President - Elected unanimously.
Gordon Carey nominated Dr. Stanton L. Wormley for Vice President - Elected
Dr. Woolman nominated Gordon R. Carey for Secretary-Treasurer - Elected
Gordon Carey nominated Dr. Myron Woolman for the executive committee - Elected
Jean Cahn nominated Floyd McKissick for the executive committee - Elected
Gordon Carey nominated Jean Cahn for the executive committee - Elected

Jean Cahn moved that all Board of Director members may attend and vote at the meetings of the Executive Committee at their option. Myron Woolman seconded and amended the motion to read that all Board members receive a notice of executive board meetings. Motion passed as amended.

Public Relations for the Center was discussed. Gordon Carey moved that the President be directed to initiate and control all press relations at his discretion. Floyd McKissick seconded. Carried

There being no further business, Floyd McKissick moved for adjournment, Jean Cahn seconded the motion. Carried

The Executive Board meeting will be held on Thursday, August 26, 1965, 11:00 a.m., Washington, D. C.

Respectfully submitted

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC/bb

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

July 16, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Financial Report as of June 30, 1965

Income:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Spencer Foundation | | $5,500.00 |
| Expenditures: | | |
| Projects: | | |
| Travel | $1,527.77 | |
| Testing Material | 94.84 | |
| Postage | 43.00 | |
| Telephone | 106.26 | |
| Expense Advance: | | |
| Paul Barth | 150.00 | |
| | $1,921.87 | 1,921.87 |
| Balance in Account 7/1/65 | | $3,578.13 |

# THE NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM

A Proposal for

Submisson to

The Federal Government

The Center for Community-Action Education

2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20007

July 22, 1965

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# THE NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM

## INTRODUCTION (Section I)

The Center for Community-Action Education, Inc., proposes that a national project be activated immediately utilizing church, union, civil rights and other organized community forces in a systematic effort to erase illiteracy - a prime breeder of poverty, crime and dependency on relief.

The Center holds that this national literacy project will be a necessary and important contribution to the war against poverty. The Center provides a unique organizational capability for this essential new thrust in the movement toward a society of full and real equality. Furthermore, this national literacy drive will involve, in real and meaningful ways, the impoverished and the disinherited who are now restrained from useful participation in our great society.

Three memoranda have been submitted to the President of the United States with copies to the Office of Education and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The first memorandum (Appendix A) was submitted on October 16, 1964 and provides the rationale and a brief presentation of this approach to the illiteracy problem.

The memorandum of November 21, 1964 (Appendix B) provides the general conceptual framework for The Center for Community-Action Education as a national instrument to combine community agencies, educational technology and government into an organized force for training in literacy and job skills.

The substance of the third memorandum submitted to the President on February 3, 1965 is corporated into the body of this proposal as Section IV, "The National Literacy Program." It presents a more detailed presentation of the function and structure of the Center and elaborates the steps involved in mounting a nationwide literacy project.

"The National Literacy Program," Section IV, defines the objective of the Center: providing literacy for one million functionally illiterate Americans. This proposal is concerned with obtaining funding for the Planning and Demonstration Stages of this effort.

Two separate budgets are attached: A six-month budget for the Planning Stage; and a twelve-month budget for the first year of the Demonstration Stage, which is scheduled to phase into the end of the Planning Stage and to continue for between 12 and 24 months.

(Note: In Section IV of this proposal, the Demonstration Stage is referred to as the "Operational Stage.")

## PLANNING STAGE (Section II)

### Objective and Activities

The objective of the Planning Stage is to intensively analyze and detail the plan of action as presented here and in Section IV.

The specific activities to be undertaken during this stage include: (a) conferences, (b) staff organization and training, (c) securing the cooperation of organizations representing various community interests,

(d) planning demonstration projects, (e) laying the groundwork for the expansion of the project on a national basis, (f) develop testing methods which can be administered in the field at minimum cost, (g) develop instructor training techniques which can be used effectively with minimum investment of time and personnel, and (h) develop methods of supervision to insure a high level of instructor performance at low cost.

### Conferences and Consultations

Conferences will be of three kinds:

1. There will be two two-day conferences at which the Center will bring together no more than 25 experts in fields relating to literacy and community organization to intensively analyze and assist in formulating the plans for the Demonstration projects. The first such meeting will take place within sixty (60) days after this proposal has been approved and the second will take place shortly after Demonstration projects have begun.

2. There will be one major national conference on the problems of implementation and community support of the national literacy campaign. This conference will be attended by as many as 200 persons invited from organizations representing business, labor, religion, civil rights, education, Community Action Programs and other agencies concerned with the problem of poverty.

   The conference will last two days and will require as many as 25 additional persons to serve as speakers, panelists, workshop and discussion leaders.

3. Numerous consultations will be required with government officials and others who can offer assistance on problems of penetrating the illiterate population, securing volunteer literacy instructors, securing the facilities and support of community leaders to help insure the success of the project. Other consultants will be utilized on problems of research design and statistical analysis, training techniques and specialized problems.

   Consultants for all conferences will be furnished travel and per diem as well as consultation fees. The 200 participants in the major conference will not be paid, but will have their living expenses paid and in some cases, where necessary, receive reimbursement for travel.

## Planning Stage Staff Requirements

The following staff members will be required to execute the Planning stage and to carry out the activities specified above.

Director - to supervise and coordinate all activites of the Center, and to interpret and implement policy.

Associate Director for Research - to direct the development of training techniques, research, data collection and analysis.

Associate Director for Community Action - to direct and be responsible for staff and projects in the field.

Administrative Assistant - to carry out the administrative functions of the Center under the direction of the Director.

Chief Community Organizer - to develop methods for screening and evaluating community potential, and to supervise the Community Organizers as described on page 12 of Section IV.

Instructor Training Specialist - to develop techinques of Literacy Instructor training, staff training and to supervise the Literacy Training Section described in Section IV, page 12.

Conference Coordinator - to coordinate the conferences and concultant services.

Research Associate - to plan and carry out research under the direction of the Associate Director for Research.

Accountant - to maintain financial records and accounts.

Secretarial and clerical help as outlined in the budget.

Additional staff members will be added during the fifth and sixth months of the Planning stage in order to train them and make preparations in the field prior to the Demonstration Stage. Their duties are outlined in Section III. These additional staff members will be added during the end of the Planning Stage according to the following schedule:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2 Community Organizers | 1 month |
| 1 Statistician | 1 month |
| 18 Supervisors | 2 months |
| 2 Instructor Training Specialists | 1 month |

The Planning period will continue for six months.

DEMONSTRATION STAGE (Section III)

Although the federal government is now sponsoring a number of projects to determine the effectiveness of methods of developing reading skills rapidly, very little, if any, experimentation has been done to determine the best means of penetrating communities in order to most effectively teach literacy skills. The Center will undertake such experimentation as an integral part of the demonstration phase of this project.

Listed below are illustrative problems which will be investigated. This aspect of the study will be detailed during the planning stage:

1. To what degree can volunteers be used within an effective large scale literacy program over extended periods of time?

2. What is the minimum level of professional supervision required to insure efficient utilization of volunteer literacy instructors?

3. Are there any groups of volunteers significantly more effective than others for recruiting and teaching illiterates? For example, if various groups are compared such as college students, housewives, welfare clients, civil rights members, and retired teachers, which group will prove most effective in recruitment and/or teaching?

4. What special methods are required in carrying out a literacy program in large urban areas, rural southern or mountain areas, and small towns?

5. Can "open literacy centers" be utilized in which no formal classes are held, but instead the trainee comes at his discretion to a library-like setting where training materials and instructors are constantly available?

6. What recruitment techniques are most effective?

7. What methods of training literacy instructors will prove most efficient and economical?

Demonstration Projects

During the Demonstration phase the Center will mount literacy projects in widely dispersed geographical areas within representative communities of differing sizes and population characteristics.

It is anticipated that during the Demonstration Stage the Center will be able to train approximately 7,200 literacy trainees in 18 demonstration sites. The study is expected to include communities with a predominantly Spanish-speaking population, an isolated mountain population, migrant or seasonal workers and an Indian population.

While the average number of literacy trainees for the 18 Demonstration projects will be 400, it is expected that there will be considerable variation from community to community. The Center anticipates selecting one of the major urban areas of the nation for one or more projects. In this case we would aim for one thousand or more trainees in that demonstration city.

It is also anticipated that some of the Demonstration projects will be in communities with OEO - funded Community Action Programs. In these communities the Center will coordinate its activities with the CAP and work in close cooperation with it.

The Demonstration project will run substantially as out-lined in Section IV of this proposal. Changes will be made however, on the basis of the determinations made in the Planning Stage. Project plans will also be revised as experience is gained from the Demonstration Projects.

Literacy Instructors

The role of the volunteer Literacy Instructor (LI) is discussed on pages 5-6 and 13-14 of Section IV. LIs will not only have responsibility for instruction, but also for trainee recruitment (see page 15, Section IV) and securing space. (In those cases where sufficient space is not available free of charge, it will be necessary to pay modest rental.)

Project Staff Organization (See page 12, Section IV)

One LI can teach 10 literacy trainees at a time. In the average size project (400 trainees) 40 LIs will be required.

A supervisor will be assigned to direct each project. His duties are described on page 12 of Section IV. (During the Demonstration Stage he will be responsible only for one city or county rather than a large geographical area.) Working under the supervisor will be a half-time Project Coordinator and 5 or 6 volunteer coordinators (who receive expenses only.)

The Demonstration project with 400 literacy trainees would thus have a supervisor and a project coordinator with responsibility for 5 or 6 volunteer coordinators, each of whom would in turn be responsible for 7 or 8 Literacy Instructors.

The supervisor will be assisted by the Community Organizer throughout the duration of the project. The Community Organizers and Instructor Training Specialsists will have major responsibility for each project during its initial stages.

## Literacy Instructor Training

There will be a five day training program for the LIs and volunteer coordinators, held in each of the 18 projects. Training will be done by a team consisting of an Instructor Training Specialist, the Supervisor and a Community Organizer. The LI will be trained to instruct in The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program (APC); to recruit; to help secure training facilities if required; and to maintain appropriate records and reports. (See page 14, Section IV). Each training project will use three selected consultants, one for each of three training days, who will discuss the broader implications of the poverty program and the social significance of the national literacy program. It is anticipated that staff from the Office of Education and OEO will be utilized in each training program.

In rural areas and in certain other locations it will be necessary to bring the LIs into a central place for training. All LI trainees and volunteer coordinators will receive expenses and a small salary for this training period.

## Staff Training

Supervisors will be hired 60 days prior to the beginning of the Demonstration Stage. For their first month of employment they will be brought to a central location for intensive training. The second month they will spend at their project site recruiting LIs and making preparations for their Demonstration project.

Their training will include:

1. an initial orientation
2. observations of literacy instruction in process at various sites
3. intensive training in the theory and use of APC
4. practice teaching
5. seminars and discussions on the availability of community resources; the type and nature of the organizations with which they will be in contact in the field; dynamics of community organization; administration and supervision of staff and volunteers; the relation between illiteracy and poverty and other subjects related to their responsibilities.

Each supervisor will be responsible for hiring and training the part-time Project Coordinator for his project.

Each supervisor will hire clerical help as required and be furnished with a minimum of office supplies and equipment. He will be expected to use his home for his office if possible.

## Staff Requirements

The Demonstration Stage will begin 6 months after the beginning of the Planning Stage and continue for between 12 and 24 months. The additional staff requirements for this second stage are listed below:

2 Community Organizers
2 Instructor Training Specialists
1 Statistician
18 Supervisors
18 Project Coordinators
2 Data Analysts
1 Key Punch Operator

additional clerical help as outlined in budget.

# THE NATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAM

## Section IV

## Part I

### INTRODUCTION

The Center for Community-Action Education is aware of the tragic millions who are imprisoned behind the bars of illiteracy and ignorance. Millions of Americans live marginal existences in poverty because they lack the basic educational and training tools to escape. As civil rights agencies worked to release America from the bondage of racial segregation, we now have the obligation to end the bondage of ignorance.

Illiteracy and undereducation prevent millions of Americans from finding gainful and productive employment. Without basic educational skills they cannot participate effectively in our democracy, cannot be trained for jobs in our increasingly technological society, and are prevented by the life circumstances in which they are imbedded from taking steps to further their education and skills. The ability to read and write is essential to functioning effectively within the American context. Therefore, providing minimal educational skills is a necessary preliminary step for moving out of poverty and out of the ghetto. Unless America is able to provide the basic tools of literacy on a massive scale the success of the anti-poverty program is imperiled. To date, no literacy program adequate to meet the problem has been launched. As a democratic nation we must meet this educational challenge squarely.

A major national effort to provide literacy skills can supply the minimal educational and motivational requirements to enable this population to acquire further training, and in many cases, to move directly into new areas of employment. The task is enormous, but we are convinced that there is available the necessary combination of ingredients to virtually eradicate illiteracy in the United States. To do this job, we must tap the enormous unused resources now lying fallow in the communities themselves.

## Objective

Changing events present new perspectives both to men and nations. We see the years ahead as imposing new responsibilities.

We propose that a major national drive be launched to attack the social sore of illiteracy. This effort must combine (1) the power of Americans acting within their communities spearheaded by the dynamic thrust of the civil rights organizations, (2) the research and educational capabilities of leading educators and psychologists working within the framework of a major university, and (3) the participation of various arms of the Federal Government committed to the elimination of poverty. These combined forces could in two years of operation raise approximately one million functional illiterates to a sixth-grade reading level through the utilization of volunteer literacy instructors.

## Requirements for an Effective Program

To implement an effective national literacy program six essential ingredients are required:

1. A social force adequate to penetrate the population most in need of literacy skills.

2. A method for developing literacy which can produce substantial results on a massive scale and which can be taught by non-teachers.

3. A large group of persons able to serve as volunteer instructors.

4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.

5. Community facilities made available for instruction.

6. Adequate funding to plan, operate and direct.

Social Force

A national literacy program can succeed only if it has the ability to reach those persons who are most in need of literacy skills. That is, we must have the ability to reach, motivate and train the most deprived, the poorest and least motivated segments of our society.

We are striving, then, to reach a population which, for various reasons, did not respond to traditional educational methods or which was denied the opportunity of availing itself of an education. Most illiterates presently are beyond the reach of educators and the schools. Due to their past failures and consequent feelings of inadequacy they cannot or will not again attempt to seek an education through presently available means.

We must, therefore, establish contact with this population through those people with whom they have lived and in whom they have confidence. We must motivate and train through institutions which are currently satisfying physical, social and psychological needs.

Due to the advances gained through the civil rights movement within the past decade, civil rights organizations are in a unique position to reorient and train large segments of the Negro community. In fact, if they do not meet this challenge they will be delinquent since once having given rise to hope within the Negro community they now have an obligation to translate that hope into programs which will be both socially and economically meaningful. Likewise, churches have the potential to reach and teach immense numbers of illiterates. Many unions have members who could benefit from such a program if the program were operated within the union itself. Further, employers could provide literacy within the plan to simplify the development of job skills. There are literally thousands of fraternal organizations, community agencies and other groups which could provide training in literacy if given the proper techniques, support and rationale.

Civil rights organizations, unions, churches and others do have the ability to reach most of those who are in desperate need of basic education for survival. These groups can and must rise to the challenge of training the populations with which they have established rapport. Unless such action is taken, these illiterates and poverty stricken populations will remain in poverty and will continue to exist at great social and economic cost to the society.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and other organizations have already expressed their enthusiasm for this proposal and their willingness to cooperate in bringing it to life. These organizations, along with CORE have had astonishing success in motivating and training the hard-core population that is most in need of literacy skills and jobs. These organizations, the churches and other national and regional organizations have already existing regional and local administrative structures which readily become the operational super-structure for the literacy program. Even more important, they have the commitment to do the task and the energy and social force which will permit them to reach those who cannot be reached through any other means.

Method

The technology used for literacy training must be able to provide substantial reading-skill gains in populations which are considered to be difficult to teach. The literacy materials must be designed so that volunteer instructors who lack professional training as teachers are able to use them with no difficulty. It must be available for mass use and must relate to the social and educational needs of the trainee. Specifically, the required literacy training technique must satisfy certain crucial criteria. The techniques must be:

1. suitable for use in non-school settings;
2. designed to be used effectively by persons with high school educations;
3. appropriate for use in groups varying from 1 to 30 in size;
4. consistent with the interests and values of the learner population, thus stimulating involvement in the learning process;
5. intrinsically motivating, thus, resulting in a lower proportion of dropouts by giving students feelings of accomplishment;
6. relatively inexpensive to purchase in quantity; and
7. appropriate to serve as the first phase in developing job interests and job skills.

CORE has investigated various literacy methods carefully and feels that The Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, D. C., holds the best possibility for success and comes close to meeting the above criteria.

The APC Reading Program is a carefully programmed approach to developing literacy skills which presents the material to be learned in small, readily digestible units. The learner realizes a high rate of success throughout the program, and as he progresses from one phase to another he becomes a student-instructor. He is able to proceed at his own rate

with materials which have been tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of his circumstances. The method is, in fact, designed specifically for those who have not responded to traditional educational methods.

The Woolman method has been extensively tested, using mental retardates through grants from the National Institute of Mental Health. It has been used in public schools in a number of states. In a recent test with pre-dropouts (underachieving students) in a junior high school in North Carolina, very impressive results were achieved. In six classes averaging over 25 students per class, 51.2 hours of instruction in APC resulted in a mean reading gain of 1.2 years per student. Just as striking is the interest, involvement, discipline and motivation of both students and instructors. Dr. E. Terry Schwarz of Bank Street College of Education in New York City made the following comments in a report at the conclusion of a study using APC during the summer of 1964:

> The observed reactions of students to the program were overwhelmingly positive.... It is not overstating to say that almost every youngster at some time finished a book toward the end of an instructional period and was asked if he wanted to stop or go on. The decisions were unanimously in favor of continuing immediately. In one group, where instruction was on a one to one basis and in three hour blocks of time, the students wouldn't take a break and tutors finally would ask for one.....

While the Center does not feel that this literacy proposal should be limited to the use of any one technique, we are convinced that The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program is a highly functional tool which offers the best method now available for non-teachers to teach the educationally and socially deprived.

Instructors

Central to this proposal for a national literacy campaign is the availability of literally thousands of part-time volunteer instructors who will be selected on the basis of the following qualifications:

1. High school graduate or equivalent in reading-achievement level.

2. High degree of motivation to work with deprived persons.

3. At least four hours a week to contribute as an instructor.

4. Ability to follow instructions, adhere to work routines and to accurately complete periodic reports.

5. Ability to cooperate with others in performing coordinated activities.

The organizations which will be affiliated with the literacy-action program have extensive experience in recruiting, organizing and utilizing volunteers. Present plans call for the recruitment of many literacy instructors from the dropout and potential dropout population. Retired teachers, housewives, students, church members and union members are additional sources of volunteer literacy instructors. Literacy trainees who complete the literacy program will likewise become candidates for the job of Literacy Instructor. Since we project a training period of only 150 hours to reach the required reading-achievement level, we expect a constantly expanding number of volunteer Literacy Instructors (LIs). Although this proposal has received practically no publicity, CORE has been flooded with offers of assistance from many individuals and agencies. The combined resources of the many organizations that have expressed an active interest in this proposal could produce adequate volunteer LIs in communities of all sizes within every state of the nation.

The Proposed Community-Action Structure

We propose that this national literacy effort be spearheaded by the civil rights groups in coordination with Howard University. A Center for Community-Action Education would be set up within the University for this purpose. All activities of the National Literacy Program would be planned, directed and coordinated from the Center. The Center would have the responsibility of assuring that:

1. Research was performed to advance and improve the development of literacy methods suited to the needs of the National Literacy Program.

2. Suitable literacy-training materials were developed in accordance with the needs of the population being trained.

3. Educational, psychological and governmental resources were coordinated to optimize the efficiency of field operations.

4. Specific problems were isolated and given attention by "Task Forces" selected to make recommendations for the solution of "Community-Action" problems related to literacy and education.

5. There were suitable techniques for implementation, direction and guidance of the National Literacy Program in the field. These tasks would involve such problems as:

    a. coordination of the cooperating national and regional organizations,
    b. screening and selection of communities and community agencies for participation,
    c. training of Literacy Instructors,
    d. supervision and quality control of instructors,
    e. coordination and quality control of local community training programs,
    f. evaluation of training programs, and
    g. trouble-shooting methods to detect problems and strengthen training methods.

6. Extension of the literacy-training program to provide greater employability and increased awareness of social heritage and civic responsibilities.

Thus, the Center would constitute a merger of the research, educational and technical genius of the nation combined with the social-action capabilities of existing and proven national organizations. The Center would be the vehicle for merging the prime ingredients necessary for an effective national literacy program, i.e., educational methods, instructional resources, community facilities, funding, and a broad base of popular support.

Through the Center for Community-Action Education any community or community agency in the nation would be able to institute a local literacy-training program as long as the community or agency could demonstrate its ability to (1) supply LIs, (2) carry on a sustained and stable program coordinated with other agencies in the community, (3) provide adequate physical facilities for the literacy-training program, and (4) serve all elements of the community without regard to national origin, color or creed.

Howard University, because of its location, history as a pioneer for the educationally disadvantaged, and its deep commitment to the improvement of the status of the socially deprived, is viewed as the ideal setting for the Center for Community-Action Education. In addition to these factors, Howard University offers resources for further research and development through its existing staff and facilities. Above all, the concept of the Center for Community-Action Education is particularly congenial to the purposes and goals of Howard University. Its location, in this context, is viewed as having symbolic value as an assertion of purpose and dedication to the cause of education for the underprivileged. The Center would operate within Howard University and utilizing its facilities and personnel where possible. However, it would be free to pursue its objectives within those limits agreed upon by the Board of Trustees of the University and the Board of Trustees of the Center.

The type of program which the Center plans to undertake is a natural extension of many programs now in effect at Howard University. The Center would initially concentrate on producing literacy skills on a mass basis, and would be limited to education and training problems at all levels, in coordination with Howard University. The Center would strive to support research, development, and training to extend the capability of those persons who finish the literacy training. The Center would use all available resources from the University, across the nation and the world to develop techniques and methods to improve the efficiency of community-action systems of education and training. The goals would be to meet the total needs of the person emerging from illiteracy into the world of employability, and to develop the most efficient means of moving persons into positions where they could satisfy their responsibilities as citizens and employees in a world of constant change.

## Community Facilities

Most facilities will be outside the public-school structure; therefore, adequate facilities for training will be required elsewhere. It may well be that, in many cases, settings quite dissimilar from the typical school classroom will be necessary since many literacy trainees associate their schooling and the school itself with feelings of deep personal failure. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, "Ys", union halls, plant facilities and community centers should make excellent training sites in many areas. The local sponsoring community agency will have the major responsibility for soliciting and providing the facilities which in many communities will be made available through the cooperating national organizations.

The specific requirements for the training facilities are:

1. accessibility to the population to be trained.
2. adequate space to seat the training group comfortably.
3. sufficient quiet and freedom from distraction to permit focus on the task.
4. sufficient lighting to permit performance of the work.

## Funding

If the National Literacy Training is to reach those persons who are most in need, the program must have broad-scale financing, independent of individual local communities. It is possible to minimize costs through the use of volunteer LIs and free community facilities. However, if we are to train a million persons in such a national program, the costs will mount to a level where federal support appears to be required. In a volunteer program a large supportive staff is essential. Costs per individual are expected to be very low. On a large scale, the average cost of developing a sixth-grade reading level in an illiterate is expected to total less than $50.00. If we are to reach one million persons with literacy skills in a two-year period, the cost over the two years of operation should total less than fifty million dollars.

In view of the severe educational crisis facing America, an immediate and massive attack is justified at a national level. If we are to make appreciable progress on the elimination of poverty in the near future, we must reach the hard-core masses of underprivileged who are being bypassed by the present programs. In view of the magnitude of the project proposed, our estimate of 50 million dollars represents a relatively small sum as compared with other expenditures now being made. Further, the results which appear possible are sufficient in scope, and within a population sector, which makes the cost minute in comparison with the ultimate savings which can be anticipated when persons shift from illiteracy to literacy. Beyond the practical investment involved in getting these people from dependency into jobs, the funding of this venture offers a unique opportunity to provide support where it is most needed, and to those who need it most.

This task is visualized as national in scope. It sets up a new structure, the Center for Community-Action Education, which is expected to supply our nation and the world with methods and techniques for overcoming ancient hostilities and misunderstandings. It will pioneer new educational and training methods specifically adapted to the needs of our age, and will at the outset, provide literacy skills to a million Americans.

This new force, the Center for Community-Action Education, is called for by the problems of our time. As part of its function, it will help to overcome problems inherited from the past. Its estimated cost appears to be quite low in comparison with the gains which it promises to give to all Americans.

## The Center for Community-Action Education

The Center for Community-Action Education is planned to increase the potential of community-action education and training. The Center will be uncommitted to specific educational methods or techniques except as they can demonstrate their value as tools for improving community-action education. Initially the Center will emphasize the planning, research, development and implementation of the National Literacy Project. It will also develop, at a later point, educational and training systems aimed at improving the ability of each community to provide a better economic and cultural base for its members.

Ultimately, the Center is expected to provide assistance for planning and organizing methods of re-training to maintain and improve the employability of workers with (1) obsolete job skills, (2) low skills which can be upgraded, (3) skills limited to particular geographic areas, etc. In all cases, the Center will attempt to provide each community with methods and techniques best suited for its particular local problems.

### Structure of the Center

The Center will consist of four operational arms: Planning, Research, Development and Community-Action.

1. Planning

   This division will map out over-all plans and strategies. It will coordinate the three other arms and also will act as a resource for them. It will sponsor conferences, seminars, workshops and other activities aimed at solving community-action problems.

2. Research

   The Research division will develop a theory of community - action research and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning and to narrowing the gap between potential and performance, with emphasis on literacy techniques and other projects of the Center.

3. Development

   This division will design and prepare educational materials suited to the requirements of the spectrum of community-action problems.

4. Community-Action

This division will be responsible to carry out the program developed by the three other arms. It carries the techniques directly into the community.

Control of policy will rest within a Board of Directors consisting of designated personnel from the staff of the Center and Howard University, representatives of the civil rights organizations and appropriate representatives drawn from the fields of education, psychology, business, labor, religion, etc.

In addition to the Board of Directors, there will be an advisory committee consisting of a panel of experts also drawn from such disciplines as economics, social work, psychiatry, psychology, etc.

The Center itself would be headed by a Director who would also serve as Director of Planning; an Associate Director for Research and Development; an Associate Director for Community-Action; and an Administrative Director.

## Operation of the Center

The National Literacy Project will take place in three successive stages. These are: (1) Planning stage, (2) Operational stage and (3) Extension stage. Each of these stages will be discussed:

## Planning Stage

During the planning stage the Center will plan new research and continue the development of existing programs to meet the requirements of the functionally illiterate populations to be trained. Also, the Center will further develop and extend pilot projects such as the ones now being started under the auspices of the Congress of Racial Equality. During this first period the Center will begin to hire and train personnel for the supervisory field apparatus, later described, and for the training of volunteer Literacy Instructors. Physical facilities for the Center will be established and systems set up for data processing and quality control of the field operation. Initial selection of communities in which the literacy program would begin will also take place in this planning stage.

## Operational Stage

By the end of the planning stage, the Center will be in position to begin the National Literacy Programs in at least a score of communities across the nation. In this stage, the entire field apparatus will be activated. This apparatus consists of three main classifications of personnel: (1) Community Organizers, (2) Literacy Instructor Trainers (LITs) and (3) Field Supervisors.

Community Organizers

Community Organizers will serve primarily to investigate and screen those community organizations which express interest in having literacy programs. The organizer will evaluate the particular community agency and the community itself in terms of pre-established evaluational methods. It will be his function to obtain the data and forward it to the Center. The Center will then be in a position to decide which communities will best meet the conditions required for the operation of the program. Once the decision has been made the Community Organizers will also serve to stimulate interest in the literacy program, and to interpret the aims of the Center to a wide audience.

The Literacy Training Section of the field operation will consist of those persons responsible to guide and direct the initiation of the program in the local community. It will be their responsibility to insure proper training of Literacy Instructors, work with local organizations, and monitor the literacy program in its initial weeks of operation, to insure that it is functioning properly.

The supervisory staff will operate at three levels:

1. Supervisors
2. Project Coordinators (PC)
3. Volunteer Coordinators (VC)

Since literacy instruction will be performed by volunteers, a careful system of supervision is required to insure that the program maintains its quality and continuity of operation in each community. The echelon immediately above the volunteer Literacy Instructors (LIs) will be the Volunteer Literacy Coordinators. The VLC will be responsible for supervising the activities of from five to ten LI's. He will insure (1) that the students are instructed properly, (2) that the instructors are carrying out their responsibilities as scheduled, (3) that the facilities used for the training are given adequate care. It will also be his duty (4) to contact those students who drop out of the program and try to straighten out their problems, and (5) to carefully report to his supervisor difficulties which he sees in the functioning of the project and to make recommendations for project improvement. For each group of Volunteer Literacy Coordinators there will be a Project Coordinator. Project Coordinators are expected in large part, to be drawn from among the LIs themselves. As these are paid positions, the National Literacy Program would provide a limited number of jobs for persons indigenous to the community. In the echelon above the Project Coordinators would be a staff of professional Supervisors, they would generally supervise, trouble-shoot and oversee the program across fairly large geographical areas. It would be their responsibility to see that all data and other information on local projects get to the Center. This National Literacy Program supervisory staff will be organized on a local, state, and regional basis.

In the operational stage the National Literacy Program should quickly move into high gear and spread rapidly across all regions of the United States. During this phase we expect to build an expanding system (in which students become instructors) and ultimately provide a million persons with literacy training.

Extension Stage

During this third (expansionary) stage of operation, in addition to the continuation of the literacy program, the scope of the Center will be expanded beyond the goal of providing a sixth grade reading capability. While for many persons a functional sixth grade literacy level will provide stimulation to seek further education and broader employment opportunity this literacy level will also provide a base for seeking higher employment skills. Various experimental programs will be carried out during this extension stage. These experimental programs will include such methods as: (1) vocabulary expansion programs, (2) verbalization programs, (3) English composition programs, (4) arithmetic concepts programs, and (5) vocational skill programs including electrical repair, mechanical equipment repair, etc.

These experimental pilot projects are to be carried out using experimental groups of students who have established a minimum sixth grade reading level.

The Center's Research division, during this stage, is also expected to experimentally produce training techniques for obtaining high school equivalency in a very short period of time.

We propose the following schedule for the duration of the various phases:

Stage 1. To begin as soon as funding permits, and to continue for six months.

Stage 2. To begin at the conclusion of Stage 1, and to continue for approximately 24 months.

Stage 3. To begin after 18 months of Stage 2.

The Literacy Instructor (LI) (Summary Job Descriptions)

The Literacy Instructor is the core of the literacy program. It is he who will be in constant contact with the trainee. To the extent that the LIs are successful, the Center will be able to make gains in reading and writing ability. However, since the literacy training material is expected to be programmed and largely self-instructional, we will be working with a system that is efficient to the extent that LIs perform each step as required. LI's must also bring enthusiasm, involvement and dedication as many students will require emotional support as well as instruction in reading. However, the academic background of the LI may be relatively low; he may not have completed high school and may be a housewife or in an unskilled job situation. Many LIs will in

fact, gain as much or more from the National Literacy Program as their students because of the requirements for planning and scheduling and attention to language skills. We are hopeful that many LIs will become motivated to seek careers as teachers.

In Part I of this proposal the qualifications of the LI were specified.

The specific duties of the Instructor are:

1. to give instruction using materials supplied to him.
2. to recruit trainees.
3. to help secure facilities in which to carry on instruction.
4. to maintain and periodically submit all necessary records and reports.

Prior to the time the LI is expected to begin instructing, the Center will train him for the above duties. In the case of highly educated and motivated persons the time required for training will be minimal - perhaps 10 hours. For persons with little experience in working with others and for those who may have only a tenth grade reading capability themselves, the training period may extend up to 25 hours.

In a given city for example, we could start with an initial cadre of 40 potential LIs. Within a week most would have completed their training. We expect 25% attrition so that of the original 40, about 30 would become Literacy Instructors. The others will have dropped out or been unacceptable for a variety of reasons.

If sufficient literacy training recruits had not already been located and if adequate training facilities had not been secured, the first assignment for most of the LIs in this illustrative community would be recruitment of students and facilities. As trainees are increasingly recruited, a larger portion of the LIs would begin instruction, and a correspondingly smaller proportion function as recruiters. Some LIs will perform in both capacities, and some will function in one or the other. Eventually we can expect a high proportion of LIs to become regular instructors and others will continue to recruit on the basis of demonstrated merit. Some proportion of LIs would become Volunteer Literacy Coordinators or even join the field staff of the Center.

The number of LIs in this hypothetical community is expected to expand. Others can enlist in the project for LI training and can be trained in their LI duties by experienced Instructors. Likewise, as trainees move ahead in the literacy instruction, many of them will become student-LIs in from 30 to 100 hours of instruction as provided for in Dr. Woolman's reading method, depending on their initial level. Upon completion of the training program they can perform as LIs and instruct their own groups. In this manner, in any community, the number of LIs (and trainees) can continue to expand.

## Trainee Recruitment

The recruitment of LIs in sufficient numbers to mount the program is not expected to constitute a major problem. Recruitment of large masses of literacy trainees is expected to pose the Community-Action arm of the Center with its greatest challenge. For this reason the support of the civil rights groups and other community agencies allied with them is of vital importance to the success of this project. The key to the recruitment of the functionally illiterate lies within the LI himself. As far as possible it will be desirable to select a majority of the LI's from essentially the same population group from which the literacy trainees will be recruited. These LIs will be trusted community members who have a ready rapport with the prospective trainee. Since one of the responsibilities of the LIs will be to recruit their own students and since a high proportion of the LIs will be neighbors of prospective literacy trainees, recruitment will be informal and should be both more economical and more successful than has been the case in typical community service agencies. The LI speaks the same language as the trainee, and offers a ready example of successful accomplishment for all to see.

As a result of these same factors and because the literacy training materials are designed to be intrinsically motivating, the drop-out problem is expected to be minimal.

Present planning calls for recruiting a large number of the initial LIs from the membership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Due to the involvement of civil rights organizations we expect strong initial support for this project, particularly for improving the literacy level of Negroes. However, it is most important that all coordinating organizations work on the principle that literacy training will take place without regard to color.

APPENDIX A

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

TO: The President

FROM: James Farmer

RE: Participation of CORE in the Anti-Poverty Program

Summary: A proposal for CORE's participation in the War Against Poverty through a program of remedial education. To develop literacy skills in one million Americans during a period of eighteen months would require an investment of thirty million dollars. This memorandum comes as a response to the request of the President for further details on the proposals set forth by James Farmer to the President on December 9, 1963.

The Civil Rights Act is a giant step on the road to equality. The Congress of Racial Equality views its passage with satisfaction because this Act spells out the minimum that the American people must do to conform to the spirit and letter of the XIV Amendment. However, men are not suddenly transformed merely because laws have been passed.

We must now face the appalling fact that in 1961 one out of three children in America's largest cities was educationally deprived. There are whole communities in this country where this condition has persisted for generations. Though the War Against Poverty is only a beginning, it is an absolute necessity if millions of Americans are to have an opportunity to catch up with those who have raced ahead. The Anti-Poverty Program is consistent with pressing national needs as well as with CORE's own objectives.

A large proportion of our Negro citizens as well as many whites cannot enjoy the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness because they live in squalor and despair. The passage of the Civil Rights Bill has given many Americans, particularly Negro Americans, the opportunity to begin the movement to obtain full equality. Until now many Americans have faced a locked door instead of a future. Now we have the key, but we must still turn the lock, open the door and advance into a future in which equality becomes a social and economic reality.

CORE is prepared to move into long range action for greater and greater equality. An important new thrust is political action. One million Negroes have been registered during the past year. Now that they have been registered we will encourage them to vote. Also, CORE is prepared to raise the level of economic activity through fostering the development of cooperatives and small industry. We will encourage full participation in American corporate life.

First and foremost, of course, is the matter of education. If people cannot read they remain isolated from the dominating ideas underlying our Great Society. The illiterate lacks the means for economic elevation and cannot participate in the fight against prejudice. CORE will move into programs of education and training so that the unemployable can become employable. CORE will actively help to develop those skills which are prerequisite to obtaining the job skills required in an automated economy.

CORE fully endorses your Anti-Poverty Program as being completely compatible with its goals. Men without skills cannot be equal in pay to men able to perform skilled work. There are inequalities bred of ignorance which are perpetuated from generation to generation. This chain of human misery must be broken by direct action within the community itself. The letter of the law will in itself do nothing. CORE stands ready to join in this next great stage of progress towards fuller equality.

When we speak of equality we mean that we in CORE see no reason for any American to be illiterate if he wants to learn to read. Likewise, we deplore the waste of human potential caused by the enormous number of high school dropouts. The school dropout is in reality forced out because we as a society have failed him.

There are many reasons why CORE considers illiteracy a special problem. Discrimination against the Negro by failing to educate him, in many cases excludes him from the ballot box because of complicated literacy requirements for registration. As the man without the vote is voiceless and powerless in our democracy, CORE has an obligation to provide, if it is possible, the literacy skills which the state has failed to provide.

CORE is committed to the War Against Poverty, not as a bystander and not as part of an audience. CORE sees itself as a part of the democratic march to an America in which equality is not a slogan, but a fact of life. CORE is ready to add its own special brand of yeast to your program. We differ from official state and local organizations and school systems because CORE members are a living part of their own communities. CORE works from the inside out and not from the outside in. It is a unique organization consisting of volunteers, so dedicated to extending the boundaries of equality that they have spent dearly of their time and energy, risking violence and imprisonment, and some have even paid the price of life itself. As our nation strides into a new more technical era, we can increase the boundaries of liberty only by extending the boundaries of knowledge. The more than 70,000 members of CORE will lend their energies to improving the political, economic, cultural and educational standards of those whom this society has neglected. We stand ready to enlist our strength into this new crusade to stamp out ignorance.

Granted the availability of funds, CORE is ready to start a program to teach literacy skills to one million Americans of all ages without reference to race, creed, sex or color. We expect this to be done in the following stages:

1. Train selected CORE leaders and staff in the use of a new method of teaching reading developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research. This method permits any literate person to teach a less literate or illiterate person to read, and does not require special school facilities or trained personnel.

2. Use these CORE-trained persons to provide skills to one thousand selected community volunteers and set up one hundred and fifty literacy development units throughout the country.

3. Once these programs have begun, we will use them to train others, and expand the number of literacy development units until we reach one thousand units.

CORE is convinced, on the basis of its analysis of Dr. Woolman's methods that we can substantially increase the literacy skills of one million Americans within eighteen months. We estimate that this program will cost less than $30 per trainee. The total cost for the first million CORE readers will be less than $30 million dollars. We expect our second million readers to cost even less. We in CORE will work with school drop-outs, welfare clients, prisoners, and those hidden men and women who have been forced to silently submit to eternal ignorance in every community. CORE is ready to throw its full force into helping these people climb this next rung on the ladder of equality. Beyond this next rung on the ladder there is a next and a next. The price of freedom is eternal vigilance, then the cost of equality is eternal progress.

James Farmer

16 October 1964

APPENDIX B

Memorandum to
The President

Subject:

**A Plan of Action**

**For Remedial Education**

(A follow-up on my memorandum
of October 16, 1964.)

From James Farmer
November 21, 1964

In my previous memo to you (October 16, 1964) I suggested that CORE believes that it is possible, working with other organizations and private citizens, to provide literacy skills for a million Americans in an eighteen month period with an investment of $30,000,000. I stressed the fact that CORE is an organization of volunteers, who are accepted and trusted within the communities most in need. Further, I stated that it is possible to perform this task in whatever buildings and facilities are available, using non-teachers to instruct with the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington.

The fact that millions of Americans see the fruits of our rich, productive society and yet cannot taste those fruits is a violation of the right of all citizens to equal opportunity. Moreover, these millions of economically and socially disfranchised Americans represent an unstable and potentially explosive force within our society. From the point of view of simple justice, economic growth, and social stability, we must attack this problem with all available resources. The social advances made possible by the Civil Rights Act and the promise in the Economic Opportunities Act are like a menu presented to long-hungry diners. These legislative acts must be followed by something tangible or the very hopes they raise will stimulate further disillusionment and resentment. The problem infects every American community and action must be taken wherever the problem exists.

In considering the issue, I am convinced that CORE has only begun to make its contribution. We must help the disadvantaged develop literacy and job skills and a concommitant confidence in their future as Americans.

I have a deep conviction that CORE must participate actively at the community level, lending support to these important programs as they begin to function within our deprived communities. The dropouts, illiterates and the unemployed cannot be helped by law, buildings, money or good intentions. They distrust officials and schools, in whatever guise they appear, and they can only be brought into full and active participation in our society by people they trust using methods of training which are suited to their needs. Above all, there must be mutual confidence between the people who operate the programs and those to whom the training is given.

The prime fact of the war on poverty is that the trainee must not only enlist but actively participate if he is to learn. Learning, as you know, is a personal matter and requires both confidence in the teacher and a willingness to invest oneself in the process sufficiently to succeed. I am convinced that the next step is for organizations such as CORE to move forward into the national arena and if this important step is to succeed, to act as a catalyst for simplifying and accelerating the process of education and training.

Further, it is necessary for organizations such as CORE not only to participate in community education, but also to assist in developing the new educational methods and techniques required for community-action education, as contrasted with public education, which, to date, has been ineffective in coping with the problems rampant in our deprived communities.

While it is the responsibility of the schools to educate, it is our obligation to supplement that education where necessary and to reach those who have failed to respond to the schools. No one can reach the youth on the streets in quite the same manner as another youth or an adult who has come from the same background and environment. CORE feels strongly that the Negro protest organizations along with individual churches, local unions, social clubs and community groups have a unique role to play in motivating and educating those Americans who remain functionally illiterate. Our record shows that we have had astonishing success in motivating and training the very population that is most in need of inspiration, most in need of enrichment, most in need of literacy skills, most in need of jobs. We do not propose a program for non-whites alone. We propose to begin a campaign in which volunteers of all ages, backgrounds and races will be able to offer a unique learning experience to hundreds of thousands and even millions of disadvantaged and underprivileged persons.

We have in the field the structure for putting into effect a large scale literacy program. We have the methodology. With the proper funding we will be in a position to effect substantial literacy programs throughout the rural South and in hundreds of cities and towns. Through coordination of the efforts of private agencies and with the assistance of the federal government we believe we can make great strides toward the elimination of illiteracy in this great nation.

Our objective is to teach people to read and thus provide them with the underpinning required to go on to further educational and employment levels. But we have an even greater objective. Negroes and other members of depressed minority groups have been taught to reject their own potential. Those on the bottom have for their own self-protection become apathetic and lethargic: to try to advance is to be beaten down. Thus, millions of Americans have chosen to accept their inferior status. The militant civil rights campaigns of the past decade have awakened the sleeping aspirations of many of these sullen millions. For the first time we have brought the spark of

life into whole communities. While we have provided the awakening, we must now shift our programs so that we may provide the tools to translate these new-found aspirations into reality.

The ingredients necessary for the successful implementation of a literacy program which can provide reading skills and motivation for further growth are:

1. A population receptive to the idea of learning and self-advancement.

2. A technology which can provide the ability to advance reading skills at a substantial rate and which also has built-in self-motivating factors.

3. A large group of persons able to act as instructors.

4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.

5. Community facilities available for implementing the program over a long period of time.

6. Funds.

## Population

There is no need to dwell on the need or the receptivity of a large population. The statistical evidence is overwhelming. This has also been dealt with here and in the earlier memorandum.

## Technology

The method developed by Dr. Myron Woolman appears to hold the best possibility for success. It is a programmed approach which has been designed for use by relatively untrained personnel. It incorporates the learning by teaching approach. The content of the reading material can be tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of the southern Negro child and adult, the ghettoized high school dropout or the Appalachian white, and it allows the student to advance as rapidly as his own capabilities permit. CORE has observed the method in operation in the field. Our staff was amazed at the interest, involvement, discipline

and motivation of both instructors and students.

Others who have studied Progressive Choice in practice attest to its striking ability to stimulate and hold the learner. Students almost unanimously ask to spend longer hours on the program than time permits. They take tremendous pride in their accomplishments and in their successes. We are thoroughly convinced that Accelerated Progressive Choice offers the best opportunity for non-teachers to reach and teach the educationally and socially deprived.

Instructors

Many volunteer Literacy Instructors will be drawn from the dropout or potential dropout population itself. Ratired teachers, housewives, student volunteers, church members and workers can also become volunteer Literacy Instructors.

The initial cadre of instructors will come from the active membership of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the churches. In many cases the instructors will recruit their own students. As students progress in the method they themselves will instruct others just entering the program. With CORE's extensive experience in the utilization of volunteers we will be able to recruit an ever-expanding number of instructors who will have wider and wider outreach.

We have observed student helpers on the junior high school level giving instruction in this method in a public school in North Carolina. It was startling to see that the student helpers were as effective in teaching as were the teachers. If 8th graders are able to teach reading to other 8th graders it becomes obvious that the number of potential teachers is limitless and that the demands of the Woolman method on the instructor do not preclude using youngsters themselves under supervision to teach others. A number of CORE chapters in New York are somewhat acquainted with the literacy program and many of our high school members have come to us asking when they can begin to implement the program in their schools and through their chapters. With the small amount of publicity there has been on the literacy program my office has been flooded with offers of professional assistance, with volunteers who want to become instructors and with inquiries from communities wanting to know when they can begin the program.

Structure

I propose that a Center for Research in Community-Action Education be established in an appropriate university setting. Preliminary discussions have already been carried on with two universities and this proposal has met with initial positive responses. The university would receive and account for funds from all sources, public and private. The Center's sole initial function would be to research, develop and execute the literacy program on a national scale. This aspect of the Center's work shall be referred to as Phase 1.

The Center will require four operational arms: Research, Development, Planning and Community Action. Under Phase 1 the functions of these departments would be:

a. Research Arm: To develop theory and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning, with emphasis on narrowing the gap between human potential and performance.

b. Development Arm: To design and produce educational materials specific to the requirements for Community-Action Education Programs.

c. Planning Arm: To coordinate the professional, educational governmental, and organizational resources to facilitate work done in the field. Further it would operate as a resource for the other three arms in the Center.

d. The Community Action Arm: This arm would do the work of going out into the communities to carry out the plan of action and use the materials developed through the research and development arms. It would also evaluate and make recommendations for change in the methods of implementation employed by the cooperating agencies.

I further propose, however, that the scope of the University Center eventually be expanded into Phase II. In this second phase the Center should broaden its program to include all aspects of quality, integrated education. For example, Phase II should be concerned with sharply reducing the proportion of dropouts and increasing the ability of students to learn.

The functions of the four departments under Phase II would be expanded to include the following:

a. Research Arm: Research in the whole area of school integration, and other research appropriate to developing quality education within the public schools.

b. Development Arm: Development of proposals at the request of school systems and local organizations for achievment of quality, integrated education, and development of materials and textbooks toward this end.

c. Planning Arm: Communication and coordination of the work being done by community action groups, boards of education, governmental agencies, and various experimental projects. Planning and expediting the transition from community-action education to public school education inasmuch as the success of Phase II will progressively render Phase I unnecessary.

d. Community Action Arm: Act in a consultative capacity to school boards, school supervisors and community groups to assist in the solution of educational and training problems arising from intergroup tensions or desegregation.

It should be pointed out that the expanded scope (Phase II) of the Center is independent of and not a requisite for the national reading program (Phase I). A financial commitment to Phase I implies no such commitment or endorsement of the projected second phase.

Community Facilities

In addition to the University Center which would serve as the research administrative, and supervisory headquarters for the literacy development program, certain community resources will be required. It has been indicated that the body of instructors will be a prime resource provided by the community. Places in which to teach also will be necessary. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, union halls, plant facilities and community centers will be ideal. In fact, the logic of the program indicates that the more the quarters are unlike a typical school setting, the better.

Funds

The educational crisis facing America requires a massive effort on the part of volunteer agencies. Only the federal government can support such an effort on the scale which is imperative. However, on a large scale the average cost of developing an eighth grade reading level in students beginning near point zero can be less than $50. This low cost will be possible due to the use of volunteer instructors and free facilities.

In most cases the cost to a community or agency desiring to undertake the literacy program should consist solely of the investment of time and energy. The materials, research and supervisory staff would be paid for by the funds made available by the federal government. I am in the process of preparing a budget which will be available shortly.

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

I would suggest that we begin implementation of the literacy program in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. We should move next to Pittsburgh and New York City. After that we should expand into the South and as rapidly as possible spread to cities across the nation.

At the beginning we would use the network of CORE chapters, NAACP, Urban League, SNCC and SCLC units and Freedom Schools which already have expressed an interest in the project as the nucleus for implementation. These groups are uniquely equipped to move into this type of community program rapidly and effectively and without necessitating new and elaborate community machinery. But we shall by no means limit participation to civil rights organizations. Already, one of America's major industries has approached CORE about the possibilities of putting the reading method into effect among the workers in its plants.

The Center at the outset will develop facilities to train Literacy Instructors both on its own premises and in the field. In any given city we would start with a cadre of between twenty and fifty Literacy Instructor Trainees. They can be trained as Literacy Instructors in from twenty-five to forty hours of instruction depending upon the number of hours they have available and on their own motivational and educational level. At the end of their training period they will be fully equipped to: 1) instruct in the Accelerated Progressive Choice method, 2) recruit their own students, 3) secure their own facilities in which to carry on their instruction if necessary, and 4) maintain all appropriate records.

As Literacy Instructors they will work largely within their own neighborhoods with students of compatible backgrounds with whom they readily can establish rapport. Each Instructor will be able to teach up to twelve persons in a group. Depending upon their initial level the students can become student-Instructors within a period of 30 to 150 hours of instruction and many of them are expected, at the end of 250 to 300 hours of instruction, to be fully qualified as literacy instructors without having gone through cadre training.

The Community Action arm of the University Center will also develop a large staff of Community Reading Program Consultants whose function will be to investigate, develop and supervise new agencies which can serve as fruitful local instruments for this aspect of the War Against Poverty. Working under the Program Consultants will be teams of paid staff members drawn from the ranks of the Literacy Instructors, who will check on each local Instructor and provide him with methods for continually improving his effectiveness.

Coordinated and planned from the Center, largely utilizing the already existing structures of national and regional organizations, and drawing upon local initiative, the nation-wide literacy program can be functional in a surprisingly short period of time and with an extremely low per capita expense.

I believe that this welding of research, development, and planning to community action represents a major new force in the War on Poverty and the struggle for equality in our nation. This program is, as you know, very much a part of my deepest convictions and I would participate personally and actively in the Center to insure its viability. I intend to seek, and am confident of gaining, the support of all civil rights groups, as well as unions, churches, the business community, and the general public in this task.

Within the framework of a Research Center such as the one outlined, a target on the order of one million literacy trainees appears both practical and feasible. This Center is a vehicle which has not existed to this time, because there was no public requirement to combine research, development and community action. Now, it seems to me, it is a necessary development to help insure the success of the War on Poverty. It utilizes many forces and combines them into a synchronous and functional system.

This new kind of war demands its own special weapons. The Center for Research in Community-Action Education will be a vital addition to our nation's arsenal in prosecuting this war - against poverty and for social justice.

# Appendix C

## Comments on the Center for Community-Action Education Proposal

CORE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1965

Dear Mr. Carey:

Dr. Warren and I have noted with great interest your letter of March 8, 1965 and the attached draft by Mr. Farmer dated February 3, 1965. We think that it is essential that the National Literacy Program be implemented without delay.

A vast majority of those who are not literate are in this condition because of unequal opportunity and not because of mental retardation. The program outlined in Mr. Farmer's working paper is a good example of what the Office of Economic Opportunity can carry out through its community action, job corps, and VISTA programs.

I want to commend you on giving this fine proposal and suggest that you take it up with Mr. Jack Conway at the Office of Economic Opportunity at your very earliest opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Edward H. Forgotson

Edward H. Forgotson, M.D.
Deputy Special Assistant
to the President
for Mental Retardation

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant, CORE
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

*Institute for Research on Exceptional Children*

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS 210 EDUCATION BUILDING · URBANA, ILLINOIS 61803 · AREA CODE: 217, TELEPHONE: 333-0260

March 18, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educatio al Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

This is in response to your request that I comment on "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program."

I have read the manuscript by James Farmer with great interest. I personally feel that it is not only a good idea but actually essential. It is necessary that we have not one center but probably many centers that will develop the procedures and show the way to many other centers.

First of all I think the problem of motivation is a major one. This is mentioned in the manuscript but I consider it as difficult a problem to solve as that of setting up some instructional materials that can be handled without trained teachers. I do not believe that the manuscript points out how motivation can be obtained. In my experience many of the illiterates are very ashamed of their inferiority in this respect, and tend to run away from any help that they may obtain. What incentives will be used to get them started is one problem that needs to be solved.

If illiterates can be brought in to a center for training, the next problem is to use instructional materials that will show them success and progress from day to day. The achievement of success is in itself an incentive and a very powerful motivating factor. Therefore, the way the program is operated, the feeling of achievement every minute, every hour and every day is essential. Programmed learning, of course, with immediate reinforcement and a step to step progress is a good method. With such materials the job of the teacher would be not necessarily instruction in reading, but supportive and motivational. Thus, the employed personnel and the volunteers that are selected have to be selected with care from this point of view.

Your discussion of the cost of such a program does not impress me. If the job has to be done and can be done, this great country can afford to pay what is needed. Saving of funds at the expense of a good program is self-defeating.

With best wishes for your program, I am

Sincerely yours,

Samuel A. Kirk

Samuel A. Kirk
Director

SAK:il

April 7, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey,
Educational Consultant
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

I'm very grateful to have had an opportunity to review your plans for a national attack on illiteracy. That seems to me to be a very worthy and legitimate activity for CORE.

I really have nothing to say about the working paper itself except compliments. It's excellent and even practical. Any time there may be group discussions on these plans that are open to the public, I would appreciate an opportunity to sit in to learn more.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

David R. Hunter

SRA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 5, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Editorial Consultant
Institute of Educational Research, Incorporated
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington 7, District of Columbia

Dear Gordon,

I think that CORE has a brilliant idea in its proposed literacy training program. The specific purpose of this study, as I understand it, is to find out whether the idea can be made to work on a large scale.

The key to the study will be, of course, setting up a rigorous experiment that will provide hard data that could be replicated later by other investigators. I would hope that you would use a control group in parallel with your experimental students.

If the study proves successful, you will have data of potentially great value for generalizing this type of work all across the United States and probably in many other countries as well, particularly the underdeveloped ones.

The best of luck, and I hope you will keep me posted on the progress of your experiment.

Sincerely,

Lyle M. Spencer

HumRRO
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH OFFICE
300 NORTH WASHINGTON STREET
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22314

18 March 1965

OPERATING UNDER CONTRACT
WITH
THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY

TELEPHONE:
549-3611

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

This is in reply to your letter of March 8 in which you enclosed "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program", prepared by James Farmer.

While the Proposal as a whole sounds like a very worthwhile one, I will comment on only two aspects which fall within my particular technical competence.

First, the choice of The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program developed by Dr. Myron Wollman is, I believe, a good one. I have known Dr. Wollman for some years during and since his employment in HumRRO and have followed his research and development work. All of it has been careful and well-tested as well as ingenious in design. Second, the provision, paragraph 2 - Part II, on research is of vital importance. I would urge that research be directed toward the measurement of literacy, general social competence and attitudes and that these be applied systematically during the course of the implementation of the literacy program. Such systematic study should add much to our knowledge of mental growth and social competence.

I hope that this Proposal will receive favorable consideration.

Cordially yours,

Meredith P. Crawford

Meredith P. Crawford
Director

MPC:ma

*Teachers College · Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027*

HORACE MANN-LINCOLN
INSTITUTE OF SCHOOL
EXPERIMENTATION

March 19, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I have the copy of the working paper you sent titled: "Proposal for Implementing a National Literacy Program." The overall purpose and design of the program seem to me to be quite sound and are aimed at attacking a very serious problem. My major reservation is that the program will rely solely on the Accelerated Progressive Choice (APC) Reading Program. I think that the APC Reading Program has considerable promise in the area of developing adult literacy. And, I understand that the method has been extensively tested. However, other materials and programs are being developed and tested and should be included in the proposal. I concur with CORE its feeling that the proposal should not be limited to the use of any one technique and assume that this will be taken seriously in the implementation of the proposal.

In the selection of instructors, you might include some kind of commitment to a specific length of time. Our experience with tutors has been that some of the initial enthusiasm and motivation is readily dissipated, especially if achievement results are not readily forthcoming. In the training program for the Literacy Instructors, I would hope that you would include continued in-service training and not simply an initial orientation program. Our experience with Homework Helpers in the Mobilization for Youth Program suggests that the continued weekly meetings with the tutors have been a very important ingredient in whatever success has been achieved.

The overall idea is an exciting and appealing one. I would certainly support its general design and intent despite the caveats I have suggested above. I hope you will keep me informed of future developments.

Sincerely yours,

A. Harry Passow

A. Harry Passow
Professor of Education

AHP:mbr
cc: Mr. James Farmer

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

Jim Farmer

MAR 8 1965

March 16, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

I went over - with some care - the material that you and Jim Farmer wanted me to look at. It seems to me sound, as you realized I would say, since we have discussed this. As you know, I shall be moving to Washington the first week in April and will be at 1715 "N" Street, N.W. We should be in touch with each other as things go on.

Looking forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Allan

Allan Knight Chalmers
Executive President

AKC/mw

*Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes*

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
SEATTLE 5

April 5, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Mr. Carey:

I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of the working paper submitted to the Congress of Racial Equality.

I am, as you know, somewhat familiar with the APC reading program. I have examined the materials carefully, read much of the research that has been done and discussed both theory and methodology with Dr. Woolman. I am very much impressed with this approach to reading and feel that it is particularly well adapted to the kind of program outlined in Mr. Farmer's proposal.

I am very much impressed by the proposal itself. I think the notion of using peers as instructors and developing the program outside of a school setting is a very sound one. I think there is a very good prospect of success and, if successful, the project would make a most significant contribution toward solution of the problems of illiteracy and poverty.

My only reservation would be with respect to the scope of the project in its initial stages. The proposal suggests that at least a score of communities be involved in the initial operational stage. It would seem to me to be advisable to start off on a smaller scale--in four or five communities perhaps--during the planning stage. There will, obviously, be a great many problems to work out in placing such a program into operation and an attempt to begin on a very large scale might jeopardize the success of the project.

I would appreciate very much if you would keep me informed of developments. I certainly hope that something will come of this.

Sincerely,

C. R. Strother

Charles R. Strother
Professor of Psychology

CRS:ff

cc. Harmon

THE CITY COLLEGE
OF
THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CONVENT AVE. at 138 ST.
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10031

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 24, 1965

Dr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Dr. Carey:

Almost anything which can be done to raise the level of literacy in the nation, and particularly to do so in the large areas of educational blight which affect all races, will be action on the positive side of the ledger of social well being.

The particular proposal which bears CORE's imprint appears, on first reading, to be one of the better proposals for action.

Cordially,

Buell G. Gallagher
President

BGG:sjw

ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

LINCOLN HOSPITAL
333 SOUTHERN BOULEVARD
BRONX, N.Y. 10454

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

March 23, 1965

Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Gordon:

James Farmer's proposal for national literacy program is terrific. I have made comments on the proposal which I have enclosed.

My major suggestion is the addition of at least 1,000 employed nonprofessional tutors in addition to the volunteers. I think the Office of Economic Opportunity might be interested in supporting this dimension of the program.

In connection with the discussion I had with you in New York, I have enclosed a couple of pages on the role of the Civil Rights movement in the present period. I would be very much interested in James Farmer's reactions to these proposals.

Cordially,

Frank Riessman

Frank Riessman, Ph.D.
Director
Mental Health Aide Program

FR/jr
Enc.

P.S. I am sending you under separate cover, a draft of my new book with Arthur Pearl entitled, New Careers for the Poor. Since the book has major implications for the Civil Rights movement, I thought you might ask Farmer for a positive statement we could use in publicizing the book. I'd appreciate this very much.

FR

# RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION

230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
*Social Psychologist and Secretary*


March 22, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Carey:

Thank you for your letter of March 8th enclosing a proposal for implementing a national literacy program.

This program is addressed to one of the most crucial elements in the whole effort to achieve a self-respecting participation by the Negro in American democratic life. In my opinion it is well conceived, and I am particularly gratified to note that you have been working this out with the Institute of Educational Research. I believe their methods and approach are admirably suited to a mass program of this sort.

I hope very much that this program can be implemented. Naturally in the development of such a program you would want to do some pilot programs in order to get the bugs out before the thing is mounted on a nation-wide basis. I assume that this is contemplated.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.

NEW YORK MEDICAL COLLEGE
FLOWER AND FIFTH AVENUE HOSPITALS
FIFTH AVENUE AT ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10029

March 24, 1965

Dr. Gordon R. Carey
Educational Consultant
Institute of Educational Research
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Dr. Carey:

I read through the proposal for "Implementing a National Literacy Program" and I am quite enthusiastic about the plans you suggest. I would like to take the liberty of making a few recommendations. For the first year or two, I would suggest that the program be confined to one large metropolitan area such as Washington, D.C. so that the trained field workers could be closely observed and an evaluation could be made of the processes of growth and change both in regard to staff and recepients. It would be very unwise to stay with one technique. I have tremendous respect for Mike Wollman and the technology that he has been developing in the reading area; however, I would like to see the use of alternate techniques with a satisfactory evaluation plan in a few situations. I would hypothesize that some people respond to one technique in a more rapid and efficient manner than they would to other methods. It would be interesting and important to find out what kind of people, with what kinds of skills respond to which techniques; under what circumstance. My last suggestion is that adequate time be allowed for supervision and training of project coordinators so that they can become familiar with the inherent flexibility that can exist in the interpersonal aspects of literacy training and with the multiple strategy that may be indicated in different reading and learning contexts.

Nevertheless, this is an important program and if we here at the Institute can be of help, please let us know.

Best wishes for the success of your work. Perhaps on one of my trips to Washington I could sit and talk with you or some of your staff members and make additional suggestions or elaborate on these brief remarks.

Sincerely,

Martin Deutsch

Martin Deutsch, Ph. D.
Director
Institute for Developmental Studies
Professor
Department of Psychiatry

MD/cmr
Dictated, but not read by Dr. Deutsch.

First Six (6) Months - Planning

Budget:

Personnel

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Director | 100% | | $15,000.00 |
| 1 | Associate Dir. Com. Action | 50% | | 4,250.00 |
| 1 | Associate Dir. Research | 20% | | 2,400.00 |
| 1 | Administrative Assistant | 100% | | 5,500.00 |
| 1 | Chief Com. Organizer | 100% | | 7,250.00 |
| 2 | Community Organizers | 100% | (1 month) | 2,000.00 |
| 1 | Conference Coordinator | 100% | | 4,000.00 |
| 1 | Research Associate | 100% | | 3,750.00 |
| 1 | Statistician | 100% | (1 month) | 1,000.00 |
| 18 | Supervisors (Project) | 100% | (2 months) | 25,512.00 |
| 1 | Instruction Training Supvr. | 100% | | 5,000.00 |
| 2 | Instruction Training Supvr. | 100% | (1 month) | 1,500.00 |
| 2 | Secretaries | 100% | | 6,000.00 |
| 1 | Typist | 100% | | 2,450.00 |
| 1 | File Clerk | 100% | | 1,900.00 |
| 1 | Payroll-figure Clerk | 100% | | 2,450.00 |
| 1 | Bookkeeper-Accountant | 100% | | 3,500.00 |
| 1 | Porter | 100% | | 1,560.00 |
| | | | | 95,022.00 |
| | (FICA, UNEMPLOYMENT, WORKMEN'S COMP., ETC. | | 6%) | 5,701.00 |
| | (FRINGE BENEFITS | | 6%) | 5,701.00 |
| | | | | $106,424.00 |

Permanent Equipment:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10 Executive Desks | @ $120.00 | $ 1,200.00 |
| 10 Executive Chairs | @ 37.00 | 370.00 |
| 10 Clerical Desks | @ 75.00 | 750.00 |
| 5 Clerical Tables | @ 50.00 | 250.00 |
| 5 Typists Chairs | @ 25.00 | 125.00 |
| 17 Chairs | @ 17.00 | 289.00 |
| 3 Dictating Machines | @ 165.00 | 495.00 |
| 5 Electric Typewriters | @ 440.00 | 2,200.00 |
| 1 Electric Printer | @ 250.00 | 250.00 |
| 1 Electric Adding Machine | @ 200.00 | 200.00 |
| 1 Electric Calculator | @ 450.00 | 450.00 |
| 10 File Cabinets | @ 60.00 | 600.00 |
| 1 Copying Machine | @ 450.00 | 450.00 |
| 1 Conference Table | @ 250.00 | 250.00 |
| 15 Conference Chairs | @ 37.00 | 555.00 |
| Miscellaneous Office Equip. | | 1,155.00 |
| 18 Portable Typewriters | @ 110.00 | 1,980.00 |
| Total Permanent Equipment | | $11,569.00 |

Consumable Supplies:

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office Supplies | $ 2,000.00 |
| Field Office Supplies | 500.00 |
| Postage | 800.00 |
| Total Consumable Supplies | $ 3,300.00 |

Planning Consultants:

Consulting costs for training of Supervisors, research design and statistical analysis problems, staff training techniques and staff training techniques and specialized planning problems.
50 consultants @ $100.00 $ 5,000.00

Long Distance Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 5,000.00 |
| Community Organizers | 8,000.00 |
| Training Specialists | 4,000.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 5,000.00 |
| Consultants | 500.00 |
| Total Long Distance Travel | $ 22,500.00 |

Local Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 750.00 |
| Community Organizers | 350.00 |
| Training Specialists | 200.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 1,000.00 |
| Total Local Travel | $ 2,300.00 |

Per Diem: @ $16.00 per day

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 1,600.00 |
| Community Organizers | 4,000.00 |
| Training Supervisors | 1,600.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 7,200.00 |
| Consultants | 1,120.00 |
| Total Per Diem | $ 15,520.00 |

Conferences:

One Small Conference (under 50)
One Large Conference (approx. 200)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rental of Space | $ 2,500.00 |
| Travel | 16,250.00 |
| Per Diem-Consultants and Participants | 8,000.00 |
| Consultants Fees | 5,000.00 |
| Total Conference Costs | 31,750.00 |

Miscellaneous Expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Insurance | $ 1,000.00 |
| Books, Subscriptions, Dues | 800.00 |
| Rental of Facilities | 10,000.00 |
| Maintenance | 250.00 |
| Telephone | 6,000.00 |
| Utilities | 600.00 |
| Legal Expenses | 1,800.00 |
| Accounting and Audit Expenses | 2,400.00 |
| Staff Recruitment (Moving Expense, Travel, etc.) | 3,500.00 |
| Equipment Maintenance | 400.00 |
| Total Miscellaneous Expenses | 26,750.00 |
| Total Estimated Budget | $225,113.00 |

12 Month Demonstration

Budget:

| Personnel | % of Time | | Amount |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Director | 100% | | $ 30,000.00 |
| 1 Assoc. Dir. for Com. Action | 50% | | 8,500.00 |
| 1 Assoc. Dir. for Research | 20% | | 4,800.00 |
| 1 Administrative Assistant | 100% | | 11,000.00 |
| 1 Chief Community Organizer | 100% | | 14,500.00 |
| 2 Community Organizers | 100% | | 24,000.00 |
| 1 Conference Coordinator | 100% | (6 months) | 4,000.00 |
| 1 Research Associate | 100% | | 7,500.00 |
| 1 Statistician | 100% | | 12,000.00 |
| 2 Data Analysts | 100% | | 17,000.00 |
| 18 Supervisors (Project) | 100% | | 153,000.00 |
| 18 Project Coordinators | 50% | | 54,000.00 |
| 1 Instruction Training Spec. | 100% | | 10,000.00 |
| 2 Instruction Training Spec. | 100% | | 18,000.00 |
| 1 Key Punch Operator | 100% | | 6,000.00 |
| 2 Secretaries | 100% | | 12,000.00 |
| 3 Typists | 100% | | 14,700.00 |
| 1 File Clerk | 100% | | 3,800.00 |
| 1 Payroll-figure Clerk | 100% | | 4,900.00 |
| 1 Bookkeeper-Accountant | 100% | | 7,000.00 |
| 1 Shipping - Stock Clerk | 100% | | 3,380.00 |
| 1 Porter | 100% | | 3,120.00 |
| Part-time Clerical Help (Field Centers) $20.00 wk. ea. | | | 18,720.00 |
| | | | $441,920.00 |
| (FICA, UNEMPLOYMENT, WORKMEN'S COMP., ETC. | 6%) | | 26,515.00 |
| (FRINGE BENEFITS | 6%) | | 26,515.00 |
| | Total Personnel | | $494,950.00 |

Demonstration Stage Consultants:

Consulting costs for field and coordinating problems, recruitment and volunteer supervision problems.
20 consultants @ $100.00 per day $ 2,000.00

Consumable Supplies:

| | |
|---|---|
| Main Office Supplies | $ 3,600.00 |
| Field Office Supplies | 2,700.00 |
| Postage | 1,200.00 |
| Shipping | 5,000.00 |
| Total Consumable Supplies | $12,500.00 |

Test Materials:

| | |
|---|---|
| 10,000 subjects @ $3.00 | $30,000.00 |
| IBM Computer, Test Scoring Machine, Key Punch Machine & Sorter (Rental of Time and Machines) | 10,684.00 |
| Total Test Materials | $40,684.00 |

Special Instructional Costs:

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 Volunteer Coordinators Expenses: 52 weeks @ $10.00 | $52,000.00 |
| 18 Project Coordinators Expenses: 52 weeks @ $10.00 | 9,360.00 |
| Instructional Materials - | |
| 7200 Complete Workbook Sets of "Reading in High Gear" @ $8.50 | 61,200.00 |
| 850 Complete Instructional Manual Sets of "Reading in High Gear" @ $15.00 | 12,750.00 |
| 2800 Cycle I, Workbook Sets @ $4.25 | 11,900.00 |
| 800 Cycle II, Workbook Sets @ $3.00 | 2,400.00 |
| 100 Complete Sets, Workbooks and Instructional Manuals of "Reading in High Gear" @ $22.50 | 2,250.00 |
| Total Special Ins. Costs | $151,860.00 |

Long Distance Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 10,000.00 |
| Community Organizer | 18,000.00 |
| Training Specialists | 12,000.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 10,000.00 |
| Consultants | 2,000.00 |
| Total Long Distance Travel | $ 52,000.00 |

Local Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 1,500.00 |
| Community Organizers | 700.00 |
| Training Specialists | 500.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 18,000.00 |
| Total Local Travel | $ 20,700.00 |

Per Diem: @ $16.00 per day

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 3,200.00 |
| Community Organizers | 5,500.00 |
| Training Supervisors | 3,600.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 9,352.00 |
| Data Staff | 80.00 |
| Consultants | 3,520.00 |
| Total Per Diem | $ 25,252.00 |

Conferences:

One Small Conference (under 50)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rental of Space | $ 500.00 |
| Travel | 5,000.00 |
| Per Diem-Consultants and Participants | 800.00 |
| Consultants | 2,500.00 |
| Total Conference Costs | $ 8,800.00 |

Training and Orientation of Literacy Instructors:

720 Volunteer Literacy Instructors Expenses of 5 day meetings

| | |
|---|---|
| Transportation for Literacy Instructors | $ 500.00 |
| Food and Housing for Literacy Instructors | 25,600.00 |
| Consultant Fees for Literacy Instructors | 36,000.00 |
| Training Materials | 7,200.00 |
| Consultants 54 @ $100.00 | 5,400.00 |
| Total Training and Orientation of Literacy Instructors | $ 74,700.00 |

Miscellaneous Expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Insurance | $ 2,000.00 |
| Books, Subscriptions, Dues | 1,000.00 |
| Rental of Facilities | 20,000.00 |
| Contingency Rental (Field Requirements) | 18,000.00 |
| Maintenance | 520.00 |
| Telephone | 12,000.00 |
| Field Telephones | 18,000.00 |
| Utilities | 1,200.00 |
| Legal Expenses | 3,600.00 |
| Accounting and Audit Expenses | 4,800.00 |
| Staff Recruitment (Moving Expense, Travel, etc.) | 3,500.00 |
| Equipment Maintenance | 1,000.00 |
| Total Miscellaneous Expenses | $ 85,620.00 |
| Total Estimated Budget | $969,066.00 |

Second Year Demonstration

Budget

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Personnel:** | Total: | $514,994.00 |
| (This figure reflects a 5% increase in salary rate over the previous year, after a decrease of $4,480.00 due to elimination of the Conference Coordinator.) | | |
| **Consultants:** | | |
| 20 Consultants @ $100 per day | | $ 2,000.00 |
| **Consumable Supplies:** | | |
| Main Office Supplies | | $ 3,600.00 |
| Field Office Supplies | | 2,700.00 |
| Postage | | 1,800.00 |
| | Total Consumable Supplies | $ 8,100.00 |

Machine Rental:

| | |
|---|---|
| IBM Computer, Test Scoring Machine, Key Punch Machine & Sorter (Rental of Time and Machines) | |
| Total Machine Rental | $10,684.00 |

Special Instructional Costs:

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 Volunteer Coordinators Expenses: 52 weeks @ $10.00 | $52,000.00 |
| 18 Project Coordinators Expenses: 52 weeks @ $10.00 | 9,360.00 |
| Total Special Ins. Costs | $61,360.00 |

Long Distance Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $10,000.00 |
| Community Organizers | 18,000.00 |
| Training Specialists | 12,000.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 10,000.00 |
| Consultants | 2,000.00 |
| Total Long Distance Travel | $52,000.00 |

Local Travel:

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 1,500.00 |
| Community Organizers | 700.00 |
| Training Specialists | 500.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 18,000.00 |
| Total Local Travel | $20,700.00 |

Per Diem: @ $16.00 per day

| | |
|---|---|
| Executive Staff | $ 3,200.00 |
| Community Organizers | 5,500.00 |
| Training Supervisors | 3,600.00 |
| Program Supervisors | 9,352.00 |
| Data Staff | 80.00 |
| Consultants | 3,520.00 |
| Total Per Diem | $ 25,252.00 |

Miscellaneous Expenses:

| | |
|---|---|
| Insurance | $ 2,000.00 |
| Books, Subscriptions, Dues | 1,000.00 |
| Rental of Facilities | 20,000.00 |
| Contingency Rental (Field Requirements) | 18,000.00 |
| Maintenance | 520.00 |
| Telephone | 12,000.00 |
| Field Telephones | 18,000.00 |
| Utilities | 1,200.00 |
| Legal Expenses | 3,600.00 |
| Accounting and Audit Expenses | 4,800.00 |
| Staff Recruitment (Moving Expense, Travel, etc.) | 3,500.00 |
| Equipment Maintenance | 1,000.00 |
| Total Miscellaneous Expenses | $ 85,620.00 |
| Total Estimated Budget | $780,710.00 |

file from Ed Liv. Prog

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

July 23, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed are two copies of the proposal as finally revised for submission. Budgets are attached. Copies of the proposal are being sent to Sandy, Office of Education, Howard University, Floyd, etc.

We should submit formally within two (2) weeks but we would like to get additional civil rights names on the Board prior to submission.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

P.S. I hope you can take the NEA speaking engagement. You will receive a letter from NEA shortly. Nancy knows about it.

Encl: Center Proposal

GRC/bb

Oct. 9th — NO
9:00 a.m.
New Hampshire

Expenses + modest honorarium

Remed. Ed
Lit. Prog.
JUL 29 1965

July 28, 1965

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

Dear Roy:

I am writing in response to your June 18 letter to Jim Farmer in regard to the Center for Community-Action Education. The Board members at the July 16 meeting expressed their appreciation for your reply and their regret that you were not able to serve personally on the Board of Directors.

I understand that Jim called you last week and discussed the possibility of John Morsell sitting on the Board of Directors as the de facto representative of the NAACP.

We would appreciate very much a letter from you indicating the Association's wholehearted support for the National Literacy Program and the Center for Community-Action Education, and the desire of the Association to cooperate fully in the literacy programs of the Center. If you can do this and appoint John Morsell as your representative on the Board we would be most appreciative. We feel that the role of the Association in the Center's program will be crucial to its success.

I am enclosing two (2) copies of the minutes of the July 16 Annual Meeting and two (2) copies of the Planning and Demonstration Proposal which is being submitted to the federal government.

I want to thank you for taking time from your busy schedule to attend to these matters. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

Encls: Minutes of the Center
Planning and Demonstration Proposal

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

Rem Ed
Lit Prog

AUG 12 1965

August 11, 1965

Mr. John Lewis
Chairman
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

We were most pleased to learn from James Farmer that you had agreed to serve on the Board of Directors of the Center for Community-Action Education.

Your support of the goals and program of the Center is greatly appreciated. It is our hope that the Center will be able to bring literacy skills to at least a million disadvantaged, functionally illiterate Americans. The Center should be able to provide the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and other civil rights groups with literacy programs for use within their own organizational structures.

In order to acquaint you with the activities and plans of the Center to date, I am sending a packet of materials under separate cover. Included will be a copy of the Charter, By-Laws, and Minutes of the two Board meetings which have taken place. Also included is a copy of the proposal for the Planning and Demonstration Phases of the National Literacy Project which is being submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity this week.

I should like to point out that in recognition of your heavy schedule, and that of other Board members, you can be represented at meetings of the Center by the delegate of your choice. We hope that you will be able personally to attend as many meetings as

feasible, but when this is not possible your delegate will, of course, have full voting rights at Center meetings.

Again let me thank you on behalf of Jim and the Center for agreeing to serve with us on the Board.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

August 11, 1965

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Martin:

We were most pleased to learn from James Farmer that you had agreed to serve on the Board of Directors of the Center for Community-Action Education.

Your support of the goals and program of the Center is greatly appreciated. It is our hope that the Center will be able to bring literacy skills to at least a million disadvantaged, functionally illiterate Americans. The Center should be able to provide the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights groups with literacy programs for use within their own organizational structures.

In order to acquaint you with the activities and plans of the Center to date, I am sending a packet of materials under separate cover. Included will be a copy of the Charter, By-Laws, and Minutes of the two Board meetings which have taken place. Also included is a copy of the proposal for the Planning and Demonstration Phases of the National Literacy Project which is being submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity this week.

I should like to point out that in recognition of your heavy schedule, and that of other Board members, you can be represented at meetings of the Center by the delegate of your choice. We hope that you will be able personally to attend as many meetings

as feasible, but when this is not possible your delegate will, of course, have full voting rights at Center meetings.

Again let me thank you on behalf of Jim and the Center for agreeing to serve with us on the Board.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

August 11, 1965

Dr. John Morsell
Assistant Executive Director
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear John:

We were most pleased to learn from James Farmer that you had agreed to serve on the Board of Directors of the Center for Community-Action Education.

Your support of the goals and program of the Center is greatly appreciated. It is our hope that the Center will be able to bring literacy skills to at least a million disadvantaged, functionally illiterate Americans. The Center should be able to provide the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other civil rights groups with literacy programs for use within their own organizational structures.

In order to acquaint you with the activities and plans of the Center to date, I am sending a packet of materials under separate cover. Included will be a copy of the Charter, By-Laws, and Minutes of the two Board meetings which have taken place. Also included is a copy of the proposal for the Planning and Demonstration Phases of the National Literacy Project which is being submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity this week.

I should like to point out that in recognition of your heavy schedule, and that of other Board members, you can be represented at meetings of the Center by the delegate of your choice. We hope that you will be able personally

to attend as many meetings as feasible, but when this is not possible your delegate will, of course, have full voting rights at Center meetings.

Again let me thank you on behalf of Jim and the Center for agreeing to serve with us on the Board.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

cc: James Farmer

GRC/bb

August 16, 1965

Dr. Edward Brice
Director
Adult Education Branch
U.S. Office of Education
7th and D Street, S.W.
Room 5068
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Brice:

I am enclosing a copy of our proposal for the National Cooperative Literacy Program which is being submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity today. We feel this project can be of the greatest significance to America's struggle against ignorance and poverty.

I trust that you will circulate this proposal within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as you see fit. Your cooperation in securing federal support for this project will be appreciated by millions of Americans who are now locked in a universe of poverty and degragation by their lack of basic educational skills.

Best personal regards,

James Farmer
President

Enclosure

JF/bb

August 16, 1965

The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
President
The United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am enclosing a copy of our proposal for the National Cooperative Literacy Program, the educational project which we discussed. The proposal is being formally submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity today. I am also sending a copy to the Vice President.

You will please note that the present proposal is limited to a six month Planning period and a twelve month Demonstration phase.

This project has the active support and cooperation of each of the civil rights organizations as well as that of labor and other community agencies. We look upon this undertaking as an important arm of the national effort to eliminate the causes of poverty.

Those who struggled in the streets to achieve first class citizenship for all Americans must now attack the problems of poverty and ignorance. In so doing we can help to realize the promise of America for the poor and the rich of each and every segment of our heterogeneous nation.

We hope that the federal government will support this project. We intend to direct our energies to the long range problems which lie at the roots of poverty.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
President

Enclosure

cc: The Vice President

Remed Ed – Lit Prog

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

333-1508

AUG 16 1965

8/26

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Board of Directors

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer

SUBJECT: Executive Committee Meeting

DATE: August 13, 1965

*Gordon Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Floyd McKissick*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman*

At the Annual Meeting Myron Woolman, Floyd McKissick, and Jean Cahn were elected to serve on the Executive Committee for the coming year along with the officers of the Center.

The Executive Committee will be meeting monthly and will carry on the official business of the Center between meetings.

At the Annual Meeting action was taken and is recorded in the minutes of that meeting; "Jean Cahn moved that all Board of Director members may attend and vote at their option. Myron Woolman seconded and amended the motion to read that all Board members receive a notice of executive board meetings. Motion passed as amended."

Therefore each member of the Board of Directors will receive notice of all Executive Committee meetings and we hope that they will be able to attend as many meetings as possible.

The first of the Executive Committee meetings will be held on:

Thursday, August 26, 1965
11:00 a.m.
2900 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Please note that as of August 15, 1965, the new address of the Center will be 2900 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

We look forward to seeing you.

August 16, 1965

Dr. Sanford Kravitz
Chief Research Program
and Development
Office of Economic Opportunity
Embers Building
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Room 541
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dr. Kravitz:

Accompanying this letter, I am submitting our applications for OEO support of our proposals for the National Cooperative Literacy Program. I trust that the papers are in proper order. If any additional information is required you can obtain it from Gordon Carey. I understand that he and Dr. Woolman are meeting with you later this week to discuss the proposal at some length.

I appreciate greatly your consideration of this application. We hope that it will be approved by OEO. Utilizing the structure and approach outlined in our proposal I am convinced that the Center will constitute a unique and crucial aspect of the war against poverty.

Copies of the proposal are being sent for informational purposes to the President, the Vice President and the Office of Education.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
President

Enclosures

THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.
2226 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 7, D. C.

file Remed-Ed.
Lit Prog

APR 19 1965

April 15, 1965

James M. Nabrit, Jr.
President
Howard University
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Dr. Nabrit:

I would like to thank you for your comments on the draft proposal for the establishment of the Center for Community-Action Education. As you may know, I met with Dr. Nelson several weeks ago to discuss some of the topics raised in your letter of March 23. I am also meeting with Dr. Lewis this week.

Farmer, McKissick and I are quite flexible in regard to the kind of relationship which the University might establish in regard to the Center. I would like, at this time, to inform you of some of the steps that we have taken to get the Center concept off the ground.

First of all, we are not optomistic about getting large federal funding within the next few months. However, we are working with OEO on the preporation of a proposal for a planning grant. We would like to discuss this planning grant with you while it is still in the formative stages.

Because we feel that federal funding may be a good way off we have taken certain actions so that the Center might begin some smaller projects such as the Prince Edward study (see enclosed). Specifically, we have:

1. Incorporated the Center in the District of Columbia. The incorporators are James Farmer, Myron Woolman and myself. (At a later date we might well choose to dissolve the corporation in order to establish a relationship with Howard.)

2. Received a small grant (5,500.00) from the Spencer Foundation in Chicago to begin two literacy projects. One has already begun with the CCNY CORE chapter and the other is about to get underway in Durham, North Carolina. These two projects will involve only a few hundred youth.

3. We have begun conversations with several foundations and large businesses about funding.

4. We have called the first Board meeting of the Center in order to nominate additional Board members, establish by-laws and the like.

We have been advised that our likelihood of receiving substantial federal support will be enhanced by getting projects underway prior to formal application to the government.

I should also like you to know that independent of the Center, the Office of Economic Opportunity is sponsoring a good many research projects throughout the nation to test the literacy methods developed by Dr. Woolman. You will recall that the development of these methods was accomplished by the Institute of Educational Research (IER) with grants from the National Institute of Mental Health and the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.

The $151,000 grant to IER referred to in your letter is one of the studies being made of Dr. Woolman's Progressive Choice Method by OEO. Another is a three year project currently underway in the Model School Division of the District of Columbia. Other OEO projects are either operating, or have been approved, for Boston, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and California. These studies are being done entirely apart from the Center and were, in fact, in the works prior to the meeting with you last year. They are, none-the-less, important to the Center since the Office of Education and OEO are looking to these studies to validate our methods on a large scale. These studies constitute the largest research project ever undertaken in the field of literacy.

Shortly, you will be receiving a formal invitation to serve on the Board of Directors. We would also like you to designate another representative of the University to serve as a Director. We envision the Board to have 15 or 17 members. An Executive Committee consisting of 5 to 7 Directors will also be established and we would hope that youror the Director that you designate could serve on the Executive Committee as well. Other persons to be considered as Directors at the initial meeting of the incorporation will be Leonard Cottrell, Alan Knight Chalmers, Stephan Currier, Jean Camper Cahn, M. L. King,Jr., Walter Reuther, Phillip Stern, Lyle Spencer, Floyd McKissick, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young. Your views on these persons, and any additional names that you might consider will be welcomed.

On Tuesday, April 27, following the meeting of the incorporation there will be a reception at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Cahn. An invitation will probably reach you before this letter. We would hope very much that you will be able to attend.

Finally, Floyd McKissick will be in Washington on April 27 and we would like to arrange a meeting with you on that morning if it is at all convenient. In this regard I will telephone your office early next week. At this meeting we could discuss in more detail the points raised here and in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Research Coordinator

c.c. James Farmer
Floyd McKissick
Wm. Stuart Nelson

GRC:nds

file Rem Ed. - Liv. Proj

APR 19 1965

LAW OFFICES OF
McKISSICK & BURT
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

OFFICE 682-8108

F. B. McKISSICK
M. C. BURT, JR.

April 17, 1965

The Institute of
Educational Research, Inc.
2226 Wisconsin Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Attention: Mr. Gordon Carey

COPY

Dear Gordon:

Mary Hatley of the North Carolina Fund arranged an appointment for us to meet with Monroe Neff, Assistant Director, of the North Carolina Department of Community Colleges. This conference is scheduled for 11:00 a.m. Wednesday, April 28, 1965 at North Carolina Fund office in Durham. This is the day after our Board meeting of the Center For Community Action Education in Washington. I am advising you in advance as we will, have to return to Durham the morning after the reception. Incidentally, I got an invitation on yesterday.

It is also necessary that we have a written Proposal in shortly after our conference with Mr. Neff. Miss Hatley visualizes a cooperative program in cooperation with Operation Breakthrough and the North Carolina Department of Community Colleges for setting up and establishing three (3) experimental adult illiteracy training programs with the use of SRA materials.

As you know, the North Carolina Department of Community Colleges already has received a Federal Grant for the purpose of teaching all phases of adult education and it is through this program that our experimental classes can best be set up.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

MCKISSICK & BURT

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:dk

CC: Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

August 16, 1965

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President
The United States of America
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Vice President:

I am enclosing a copy of the proposal from the Center for Community-Action Education which is being submitted to the Office of Economic Opportunity today. Also enclosed is a copy of my letter to the President

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for the encouragement, advice and assistance which you gave us in regard to this national literary proposal at our meeting with you in February.

I look forward to participating actively in the program outlined in the proposal to OEO. I trust that the federal government will choose to support it. Your cooperation in this regard will be appreciated by those Americans who are locked in a universe of poverty and degradation by their lack of basic educational skills.

At the February meeting we also discussed the situation in Prince Edward County, Virginia. I have been gratified to see the Prince Edward literacy project get started so rapidly and operate so well. I am particularly grateful for the help and cooperation of Dr. Sanford Kravitz of the Office of Economic Opportunity, who was instrumental in the initiation of the program in Prince Edward County.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
President

Enclosures:2?

revised list prog

333-7328

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2900 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Meeting of the Board of Directors
Executive Group - Center for
Community-Action Education

Held on: August 26, 1965

Place: 2900 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Persons in Attendance:

James Farmer
Dr. Stanton L. Wormley
Colonel Robinson (Guest)
Dr. Myron Woolman
Mr. Gordon R. Carey

*Jean Camper Cahn*
*Gordon R. Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ph.D.*
*John Lewis*
*Floyd B. McKissick*
*John Morsell, Ph.D.*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman, Ph.D.*
*Stanton Wormley, Ph.D.*
*Jerry Wurf*

James Farmer opened the meeting.

The Minutes of the previous meeting were distributed. Dr. Woolman moved that they be accepted as presented. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Motion carried.

The next business on the floor was Gordon Carey's report on the status of the National Cooperative Literacy Program proposal. The Center is apparently qualified to receive OEO funds. Jean Cahn has received a letter of sponsorship from HARYOU ACT. Letters are also on file from Roy Wilkins, Dr. Nabrit and Dr. King indicating support. Gordon Carey enumerated the additional Members of the Board who have consented to serve since the last meeting. They are as follows:

Dr. M.L.King, Jr.
Dr. John Morsell
Mr. John Lewis

Gordon Carey informed the group that the proposal has been formally submitted to OEO and that copies have been sent to the President, Vice-President and to Dr. Brice of the Office of Education.

Mr. Farmer explained the background of the proposal. A first memorandum was sent to the President with the suggestion to the President that it would be feasible to combine many new forces in this fight against poverty. A second memorandum was sent to the President after consultation with Dr.Woolman. The third memorandum sent to the President, after conferences with Dr. Nelson and Dr. Nabrit of Howard University, included the thought of possible affiliation with Howard University.

Dr. Edward Brice met with Gordon Carey before the formal submission and made a number of suggestions. The proposal was formally submitted to Dr. Sanford Kravitz at the OEO on Monday August 16, 1965.

Dr. Woolman and GordonCarey discussed the meeting in New York with Mr. Jake Duryea of Pepsi Cola, in reference to backing by major Industry. Dr. Woolman reported on the project in New York with the CCNY group. They had about 100 subjects in their tutoring group. The CCNY students are acting as instructors and doing a good job.

In Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Tutorial Service, headed by Thurman Harrison has a group of 240 subjects with 60 volunteer instructors. They purchased their own booklets but IER has tested the students and conducted orientation of the instructors. The last workshop was unsatisfactory as only 20 people showed up out of the 200 expected.

Floyd McKissick is to formulate the project in Durham, N.C. in conjunction with the business school.

Help has also been given Blyden Jackson in Harlem on the program he is conducting.

The next business to be conducted was discussion of additional nominations to the Board. Cernoria Johnson, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Urban League was suggested for nomination by Whitney Young. She was nominated by Gordon Carey. Elected.

James Farmer suggested that the balance of the seats on the Board be reserved for representatives of the poor from the following segments of the committee:

1. The poor
2. The Church
3. Education - Dr. Woolman suggested this field be carried from Teachers group
4. Industry

The next business to be discussed was the Advisory Committee. Dr.Woolman moved that a small Advisory Committee be established and a sub-committee formed to define the function, scope and method of nominating members of the advisory committee. Gordon Carey seconded the motion. Motion Carried.

The committee which was formed consisted of Gordon Carey, Jean Cahn, and Dr. Stanton Wormley. Gordon Carey is to convene this committee.

The floor was then opened for additional suggestions for Board Members. Dr. Blake, President of the National Council of Churches was suggested. It was also suggested that three additional members of the advisory committee come from other church groups. Gordon Carey nominated Rev. William Carson Blake to the Board of Directors. Elected.
James Farmer suggested that the member of the poor be left open until committee meets to discuss prospective members.

James Farmer suggested that Gordon Carey call the next meeting when required. Dr. Woolman moved that the meeting be adjourned. Dr.Wormley seconded the motion. Meeting adjourned at 1:20 p.m.

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2900 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

333-7328

MEMORANDUM

NOV 3 1965

TO: The Board of Directors

From: Gordon R. Carey, Secretary-Treasurer

Subject: Board Meeting

Date: November 2, 1965

*Jean Camper Cahn*
*Gordon R. Carey*
*James Farmer*
*Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ph.D.*
*John Lewis*
*Floyd B. McKissick*
*John Morsell, Ph.D.*
*Lyle Spencer*
*Myron Woolman, Ph.D.*
*Stanton Wormley, Ph.D.*
*Jerry Wurf*

A meeting of the Board of Directors is tentatively scheduled for:

Wednesday, November 15, 1965
11.00 a.m.
2900 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Please keep this date open. We will send notice later to confirm the date of the meeting or to cancel it.

United States Court of Appeals
Washington, D. C. 20001

cc: Gordon

September 8, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dr. Myron Woolman
Institute of Educational Research, Inc.
2226 Wisconsin Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Farmer and Dr. Woolman:

It was indeed a pleasure to meet with you, Mr. Carey and Mr. Coleman last Friday. I thoroughly enjoyed talking with you and learning more of your plans and proposals. You know that I am most interested and should like to be of assistance.

After talking with my colleagues, however, I have decided that it would be inappropriate for me to join your Advisory Board. As you are aware, under the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Section 4, questions concerning denial of voting rights may be litigated in the District of Columbia. Conceivably, it might be my function to consider the three judge District Court which would hear such cases. I am sure that you will appreciate my position. Please accept my good wishes for success in your very significant educational projects.

Sincerely,

Remed Ed
Lit prog

November 9, 1965

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Institute for Educational Research
2900 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Gordon:

As I told Dave the other day, Mr. Farmer will attend the Board m
meeting at 10:00 A.M. on the 15th. He plans to arrive in Washington the evening before, but has not let me know at what time. He will not be in the office between now and then, so I imagine he will call you Sunday to let you know whether or not someone should meet him.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Assistant

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

# WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
R. W. McFALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NC223 (47)(38)DEA294 C
DE WA194 NL PD WASHINGTON DC 8
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK 1963 NOV 8 PM 11 16
BOARD MEETING-CENTER FOR COMMUNITY ACTION EDUCATION CONFIRMED ON MONDAY NOVEMBER 15TH AT 10AM WASHINGTON DC 2900 M STREET NORTHWEST. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU CAN BE PRESENT OR IF YOU WILL BE REPRESENTED. PROJECT APPROACHING IMPLEMENTATION STAGE. YOUR PARTICIPATION ESPECIALLY VALUABLE
GORDON R CAREY SECRETARY-TREASURER.

11-9-63
DS

SF1201(R2-65)

THE CENTER FOR COMMUNITY-ACTION EDUCATION
2900 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

333-7328

DEC 10 1965

December 8, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim,

Jean Camper Cahn
Gordon R. Carey
James Farmer
Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ph.D.
John Lewis
Floyd B. McKissick
John Morsell, Ph.D.
Lyle Spencer
Myron Woolman, Ph.D.
Stanton Wormley, Ph.D.
Jerry Wurf

Thanks ever so much for your participation in the meeting with the National Industrial Conference Board. I think that this group can be an invaluable resource and contact with industry for the Center.

I have several things to remind you of and/or bring to your attention:

1) Did you call Dr. Sanford Kravitz or Miss Catherine James?

2) Did we get the letter or telegram from Whitney Young?

3) How will we be handling publicity and public relations for the Center? Is Val handling your personal publicity, and if so, should he handle this as well? It is possible that the Center Proposal could be signed any day now. At any rate, it is going to be signed very, very soon and we need to be prepared. In addition to what you will have to say publicly about the Center, we should have a written press release to be given to the Negro press, etc. We will also need very shortly some kind of public relations brochure, pamphlet or other gadget to publicize the Center - possibly with pictures and the works. How should we proceed?

4) At the White House Conference, I had a long talk with Bill Clay of St. Louis. What would you think of Clay as staff material for the Center? He might be interested in heading up a project in St. Louis.

5) I am now working on an organizational chart and job descriptions. I will get these to you within a few days.

Please call me on any or all of the above. Things will be moving rapidly from now on. Maybe we can set up a schedule whereby you can be here on a regular basis. At any rate, I think we need to discuss staff, public relations and other matters in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC:ng

Thomas J. W

IBM

(Henry Mo

F. Watson

(Morganthau III calling)

(to salon printer)

Center

**Western Electric Company**
INCORPORATED
195 BROADWAY NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007
AREA CODE 212 571-2345

DEC 30 1965

December 29, 1965

MR. JAMES FARMER
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to confirm my appointment with you on Monday, January 3rd, at 2 p.m. I would like to discuss with you:

a) CORE: As one of the first companies to endorse and implement the principles of Plans for Progress, Western Electric has shown a continuing interest in furthering the achievement level of minority groups. As such, we are preparing a guide for the management personnel of our locations on the various civil-rights groups. This guide will provide an evaluative tool for them in making contributions, joining community-action groups, or settling local civil-rights disputes.

b) The Center for Community-Action Education, Inc.: As you may know, some of WE's locations have initiated their own community job-retraining programs, and the Company plans to launch a new volunteer-action program shortly. Thus, we are interested in knowing how the new group will operate, what essentially will be its philosophy, and how, if possible, could an industrial firm like Western Electric contribute to the program's success.

Sincerely,

J. Hodes

JEFF HODES
Public Relations

:car

Remed Ed
Lit Prog

December 30, 1965

Mr. Barry Gordy
2648 West Grand Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Barry:

Here is the information on the Center that I promised to send. Enclosed are a copy of the application as it went to the Office of Economic Opportunity and copies of letters from distinguished people who are knowledgeable in the field of literacy. The application is going to be approved in a matter of days by the Office of Economic Opportunity. They want there to be some matching private funds and we are expecting sizable private funds to come in fromiindustry.

I am extremely anxious to have sizeable contributions from Negro businessmen. I'd like you to be the first to put cash on the line. We want to be able to publicize this fact and say to the nation that a distinguished Negro of means has started the ball rolling on remedying the academic skills of minority peoples in our land. Let America follow suit.

My best,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns
Enclosures

Your copy was sent to 2900 M St.

January 6, 1966

Dr. Myron Woolman
Director, Institute of Educational Research
2900 M. Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mike:

This letter is a follow-up of our phone conversation of Sunday, December 26, and today. As I indicated then, Dr. King, Rev. Andrew Young and myself were all pleased to know that the Center for Community Action Education is being funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity and that Mr. Jim Farmer will be serving as Director for the Center.

As I mentioned to you, the Citizenship Education Program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference would be more than willing to conduct the first pilot literacy program here in the South under the auspices of the Center for Community Action Education. We have already discussed Selma, Alabama, as being an excellent sight for a literacy training program since (1) Dallas County has a relatively high rate of illiteracy and (2) SCLC has been involved in a series of programs in Alabama and especially in Dallas County that are relevant to community organization. At the present time SCLC has a strong staff functioning in the Dallas County area.

On January 20, Mrs. Dorothy Cotton and I will be meeting with the Negro leadership in the Dallas County Area to discuss the implementation of the literacy program. We are looking forward to becoming more extensively involved and providing basic and remedial education for disadvantaged citizens in the South and sincerely welcome your interests in working with us.

At the present time the Citizenship Education Program is yet involved in an effort to obtain funds from the United States Office of Education to set up a research and demonstration project in basic education, and this effort could readily dovetail with the efforts and objectives of the Center for Community Action Education under the leadership of Mr. James Farmer.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please feel free to write me.

Respectfully,

Robert L. Green
Education Director

cc: Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
Rev. Andrew Young
Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Mrs. Dorothy Cotton
Dr. James Costar

Center

JAN 12 1966

10 January 1966

Mr. Henry Morgenthau III
97 Lake View Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Morgenthau:

As requestee gy Mr. Farmer, I am enclosing a copy of the proposal which was submitted to OEO on behalf of the Center.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Secretary-Treasurer

GRC:lsh

Enc.

cc to J. Farmer

Center

February 2, 1966

Miss Una Corbett
1223 Woodbourne Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Miss Corbett:

I was delighted to receive your letter of January 24th referring to Mr. Herbert Lennhoff who has expressed an interest in my new Center for Community Action Education.

The Center has not yet gotten off the ground, but we expect the funding to go into effect February 15th or March 1st.

The press stories represented a leak, not a press release. I would appreciate it if you would ask Mr. Lennhoff to write to me s sending a resume. He should send it to me in care of The Center for Community Action Education, 2900 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

We shall shortly be putting together the staff and he will be hearing from us.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

Letter

JAN 27 1966

1223 Woodbourne Avenue
Baltimore 12, Maryland
January 24, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
Congress for Racial Equality
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

A friend has asked me to write you about his interest in the new program on literacy and employment which you are to direct.

When you gave the Roosevelt Day Dinner address here in 1964, I spoke to you about V. F. Calverton and the old days here at his home. I am the mother of George's daughter, and because I was teaching in the public schools, I was not often at the week-end meetings there, so you will not remember me. But I have followed your career with interest and admiration since Olson wrote so prophetically of you in 1940 as "the outstanding youth leader of his people." I also cherish your tribute to George in the Memorial Issue

of the Modern Quarterly. I wrote the article on 2110 in that issue, using pseudonym Vera Fulton.

Herbert Lennhoff, husband of a friend, was at that ADA dinner to hear you. Knowing that I had spoken to you that evening, he called me after hearing your recent television interview and reading the New York Times account of your next undertaking. He would like very much to have a part in the program, and asked me to present his name and qualifications to you.

He is at present working in a geriatrics research project at the City Hospitals here. Under the direction of physicians, he set up the program, organized the office, and runs it successfully. He is also a statistician. He is a man of broad liberal views, and is keenly interested in the civil rights movement and the anti-poverty program. He can be reached:

Herbert Lennhoff
4000 N. Charles Street
Baltimore 18, Maryland

All the old 2110 group who are left are very proud of you. George's daughter, Joy, is active in the good causes in Montgomery County, Maryland, her husband Phil Ray, a professor at U. of Md. And I am active in the old spots, but chiefly school integration.

Success in your new undertaking!

With good wishes,
Lola Corbett

file - Romes Ed - Lit Prog. folder

Feb 3rd memo to
President on Lit. Prog.
is in cabinet
in Mr. Farmer's
office

SENDER WAITING

TELEGRAPH ANSWER

# TERN UNION

TELEGRAM Educ consult

SF-1201 (4-60)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

| SYMBOLS | |
|---|---|
| DL | Day Letter |
| NL | Night Letter |
| LT | International Letter Telegram |

...c telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

N GPA097(EWMR020) WC055 (WMR( GOVT DL PD VIA GP (NREG THERESA HOTEL)

WUX THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC 16 NFT

telg. sent
unable to attend -
Gordon will go

file
Reyned
Ed.

JAMES FARMER, DIRECTOR CORE

38 PARK ROW NYK

MY STAFF AND I PLAN TO MEET INFORMALLY AT 11 A.M. WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, WITH DAVID SCHOENFELD, AUTHOR OF REPORT ON PIONEERING CONSUMER EDUCATION PROJECT IN LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK.

REPORT PUBLISHED LAST WEEK BY CONSUMERS UNION. WOULD LIKE TO HAVE YOU JOIN US, ROOM 444, EXECUTIVE BUILDING, 17TH AND PENNYSYLVANIA AVENUE, NORTHWEST, CAN YOU ATTEND REPORT BEING SENT

ESTHER PETERSON SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Harvey Cummings
c/o Carolyn Blenilles Inc
309 5th Ave
N. Y. - OR 9 8500

AV 1-8245

B- 43776

file for Nancy — Remedial Ed

— from Don Sumner

"You cannot drink
from the spring
high up on the mountain
unless you climb
for the water"
— Charles C. Spaulding

# GUIDE for TEACHERS

**on contributions of Afro-Americans**

**to the American culture**

**Grades: Kindergarten 6th grade**

**Price $1.00**

# GUIDE FOR TEACHERS: Contributions of Afro-Americans to the American Culture

Theme: "Prominent Persons and Their Contributions"

Pupil's Goal: To understand contributions of the Afro-American and the impact of these contributions upon American culture.

Teachers' Goal: To guide pupils in understanding the acculturative process in America in relation to the Afro-American's presence in the United States.

## FOREWORD

A group of teachers, a librarian and an administrator began working a few years ago to create methods and procedures which would improve the image of, the aspirational level of and knowledge about the heritage of pupils of African descent within the public school classroom. This group, formerly the Negro History Committee has become the Interboro Committee on Afro-American History. As organizer of this committee, which was formed at P.S. 93, Brooklyn, N.Y., in the fall of 1960 , it has been rewarding and challenging to be a part of such an important project. This "Guide for Teachers" represents this writer's role in the committee. Other results of the committee's work are: promotion of the use of Afro-American pictures in classroom charts for general teaching experiences; involving Parent Associations to purchase books, records, pictures for classroom and school library use on a year round basis; projecting historical knowledge of Afro-American history through school assemblies, quizzes, bulletin board projects; and participation in professional meetings. Members of P.S. 93 faculty who initially volunteered leisure time for research and identification of areas are: Alice Finnegan, Lolita Chandler, Charles Chaplin; Phyllis King, Olivia L. Hollis, Aubrey Nicholson, Sylvia Taylor, Beatrice Thompson, Glovinia Wilkinson. Mr. Elias Emanuel, Assistant Principal, developed a very excellent school wide program as described above and has enabled the entire faculty to be alert to opportunities throughout the year for orientation and reinforcement. Members of P.S. 118 Queens, N.Y., faculty who joined in 1962 are: Inez V. Allen, Wynolia W. Pulliam, Christine Williams, Enola E. Phillips, Portia M. Greene, Lois M. Desvigne, Gloria A. McIntyre, Joyce H. Patterson, Marian B. Hassell, Dorothy Ransom. Seymour Fruchter, Assistant Principal of P.S. 118, involved the student General Organization and Parent Association to purchase and mount charts for year round use in each classroom. Mr. Julius Nislow, Principal, P.S. 93, Brooklyn and Mr. Louis Abramowitz, Principal, P.S. 118,Queens endorsed the expansion of curriculum activities to include those developed by the committee.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For devoting leisure time to research and expansion of ideas, I am deeply grateful to those professionals listed above. For initial help and constant encouragement, I am indebted to Mrs. Hortense Beveridge, former President of the Brooklyn Branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., For typing various portions of this manuscript, Muriel Walker, Nina Perchuk and Nancy Segee were of great assistance. The Parent Association of P.S. 118 Queens assisted in reproducing earlier issues. Joan Baucus executed the cover. Belafonte Presents, Inc., gave specific help in the area of folk music. In December, 1962, a grant for publication was received from the Jamaica Branch, N.A.A.C.P. I am especially indebted to this organization for assistance and for obtaining official approval from Assistant Superintendent Louise T. Ryan for distribution to schools in Queens County, N.Y. "The Snow", "The Game", "Falkes and Drops" and "Snow Prints" reprinted from GLADIOLA GARDENS BY Effie Lee Newsome by permission of Associated Publishers, Washington,D.C. "Val" and "Tommy" from BRONZEVILLE BOYS AND GIRLS by Gwendolyn Brooks, copyright (c) 1956 by Gwendolyn Brooks Blakely reprinted with permission of Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., N.Y.. Excerpts from "The Seeding" by Paul Laurence Dunbar reprinted by permission of DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, from THE COMPLETE POEMS OF PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR, copyright, 1913 by Dodd, Mead and Co., I believe it is important that I express gratitude to my husband, Richard, for he has been patient beyond expectations during the 20,000 hours spent in developing, writing, expanding and distributing this work.

Copyright (c) Edwina Chavers Johnson, 1963
Revised August 1963

Price $1.00.Send check to: Guide for Teachers 114-53 207 Street
Cambria Heights Queens N.Y. 11411

# CALENDAR OF AFRO-AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA

| Day | Name | Year Birth | Year Death | Contribution |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **JANUARY** | | | | |
| 4 | Benjamin Lundy | 1789 | 1839 | Colonizationist |
| 17 | Paul Cuffee | 1759 | 1817 | Colonizationist seaman, philanthropist |
| 18 | Dr. Daniel Hale Williams | 1858 | 1939 | Surgeon, performed first successful human heart operation |
| | **Note:** | | | |
| 5 | George Washington Carver Day Governor's Decree, 1945, N.Y. | 1864 | 1943 | World's greatest Chemurgist |
| **FEBRUARY** | | | | |
| 1 | Langston Hughes | 1902 | --- | Poet - Writer |
| 3 | Dr. Charles Henry Turner | 1867 | 1923 | Biologist, studied ant colony life |
| 14 | Richard Allen | 1760 | 1831 | Founder of African Methodist Movement |
| 14 | Frederick Douglass | 1817 | 1895 | Abolitionist, Statesman, Orator |
| 23 | Dr. W.E.B. DuBois | 1868 | 1963 | Writer, Historian, Scholar |
| 27 | Marian Anderson | 1908 | --- | Concert Artist |
| | **Note:** Negro History Week embraces Douglass' birthdate. | | | |
| **MARCH** | | | | |
| 12 | Col. Charles Young | 1864 | 1922 | Martyr, Soldier |
| 18 | Norbert Rillieux | 1806 | 1894 | Inventor of the sugar refining process |
| | **Note:** | | | |
| 5 | Crispus Attucks | in 1770 was | | First American to die in cause of Revolutionary War |
| 7 | Estevanico in | 1539 was | | Discoverer of 7 cities of Cibola in South - west. |
| 10 | Harriet Tubman | | 1913 | Underground Railrodd Leader |
| 20 | Jan Matzelinger | 1852 | 1887 | Patented the shoe lasting machine |
| **APRIL** | | | | |
| 5 | Capt. Robert Smalls | 1839 | 1915 | Civil War Hero deliverer of "Planter" southern gun-boat to union lines. |
| 5 | Booker T. Washington | 1856 | 1915 | Educator, Orator |
| 9 | Paul Robeson | 1898 | ---- | Baritone, Actor |
| 23 | Granville T. Woods | 1856 | 1910 | Inventor |
| 26 | James Beckwith | 1798 | 1867 | Fur Trader, Explorer, Beckwith Pass on Pacific Coast named in his honor. |
| 29 | "Duke" Ellington | 1899 | --- | Musician, composer |
| 26 | John James Audubon | 1785 | 1851 | Artist orthnologist Audubon Society named after him. |
| **MAY** | | | | |
| 2 | Elijah McCoy | 1844 | 1928 | Inventor |
| 2 | Nannie H. Burroughs | 1879 | 1961 | Educator |
| 6 | Major Martin Delany | 1812 | 1885 | Author, civil war hero. |
| 11 | Wm. Grant Still | 1895 | ---- | Musician, orchestral music. |
| 13 | Joe Louis | 1914 | ---- | Heavyweight Champion |
| 30 | Countee Cullen | 1903 | 1946 | Poet |
| | **Note:** Lewis Temple, a slave, died May 18, 1854, inventor of Temple Toggle Harpoon. | | | |
| **JUNE** | | | | |
| 3 | Dr. Charles R. Drew | 1904 | 1950 | Developer of blood plasma. |
| 3 | Roland Hayes | 1887 | ---- | Concert Artist |
| 11 | Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown | 1882 | 1961 | Author, Educator |
| 17 | James Weldon Johnson | 1871 | 1938 | Poet, Composer lawyer |
| 20 | Charles W. Chestnutt | 1858 | 1932 | Pioneer |
| 21 | Henry O. Tanner | 1859 | 1937 | Painter |
| 27 | Paul Laurence Dunbar | 1872 | 1906 | Poet |
| | **Note:** On June 30, Joseph Cinque, in 1839 Led revolt aboard the Amistad, Slave ship, began return to Africa | | | |
| **JULY** | | | | |
| 11 | Mary McLeod Bethune | 1875 | 1955 | Educator, Presidential Advisor |
| 24 | Ira Aldridge | 1807 | 1867 | Actor |
| 24 | Charles S. Johnson | 1893 | 1956 | Sociologist |
| | **Note:** On July 18 Sgt. Wm. H. Carney, | in 1863 | died | Civil War Hero. |
| **AUGUST** | | | | |
| 4 | Robert Purvis | 1810 | 1898 | Abolitionist |
| 7 | Dr. Ralph J. Bunche | 1904 | ---- | Social Scientist, Nobel Prize Winner. |
| 8 | Matthew A. Henson | 1866 | 1955 | Explorer, planted U. S. Flag on North Pole. |
| 10 | Clarence Cameron White | 1880 | 1960 | Violinist, Composer |
| 14 | Ernest Everett Just | 1883 | 1941 | Marine-Biologist |
| 16 | Peter Salem | | 1816 | Minuteman of Bunker Hill, Revolutionary War. |
| **SEPTEMBER** | | | | |
| 1 | Hiram R. Revels | 1822 | 1901 | 1st U.S. Negro Senator |
| 2 | James Forten | 1776 | 1842 | Inventor, Abolitionist |
| 12 | Prince Hall | 1748 | 1807 | Free Masonry Leader |
| 12 | Jesse Owens | 1913 | ---- | Olympic Star |
| 13 | Alain Leroy Locke | 1886 | 1954 | Philosopher, Author |
| | John Henry (Many writer's believe John Henry's feats took place in Sept. mid-1800's) | | | Legendary figure who defeated a machine in a steel-drilling contest |
| **OCTOBER** | | | | |
| 10 | R. Nathaniel Dett | 1882 | 1943 | Pianist-composer |
| **NOVEMBER** | | | | |
| 9 | Benjamin Banneker | 1731 | 1806 | Astronomer, Inventor, Mathematician |
| 16 | W. C. Handy | 1873 | 1958 | Originator of Blues |
| **DECEMBER** | | | | |
| 15 | Wm. A. Hinton | 1883 | 1959 | Bacteriologist-developer of Hinton test for syphillis. |
| 19 | Dr. Carter G. Woodson | 1875 | 1950 | Historian |

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# KINDERGARTEN-GRADE 2

Language Arts

Pupils may be introduced to the poems of Effie Lee Newsome and Gwendolyn Brooks. The selections included below are examples of the style of these two poets.

The Snow - by Effie Lee Newsome
The snow's a courteous visitor.
It brings its blankets as it comes,
And goes to bed right on the ground
It never snores nor makes a sound.

Flakes and Drops - by Effie Lee Newsome
The snow comes down in little flakes
And rain in little drops.
The water helps to swell the lakes
And goes to moisten crops.

Tommy - by Gwendolyn Brooks
I put a seed into the ground
And said, "I'll watch it grow."
I watered it and cared for it
As well as I could know.

One day I walked in my back yard,
And oh, what did I see!
My seed had popped itself right out
Without consulting me.

Pupils may learn the following excerpts from a longer poem by Paul Laurence Dunbar.

The Seedling
As a quiet little seedling
Lay within its darksome bed,
To itself it fell a-talking
And this is what it said:

"I am not so very robust
But I'll so the best I can".
And the seedling from that moment
Its work of life began.

Little folks, be like the seedling,
Always do the best you can;
Every child must share life's labor
Just as well as every man.

The stories of George Washington Carver and of John Henry have been simplified for young children's comprehension:

George Washington Carver

George Washington Carver lived long ago before our parents were born. He was very, very poor. Like most boys and girls he enjoyed watching birds and other animals of the woods. He began studying science when he was young and made up his mind to learn all that he could about plants and animals. He discovered peanut butter could be made from peanuts. He made ink and paste from sweet potatoes. Jan. 5 is "Carver Day" in New York State.

John Henry, Mighty Railroad Builder

John Henry lived long ago when men had to work with their hands very often because there were not many machines to work for them. John Henry was so strong, he could work harder and faster than any other man. He used a hammer to cut through big mountains and to make tunnels for trains. One day a big drilling machine was made. John Henry decided to race this machine. John Henry won the race! He could cut through the mountain faster than a drilling machine.

K-2 (con'd.)

The following poems may be learned by pupils:

Peanuts grow on vines,
They ripen under the ground.
Pretty soon from them we make
Peanut butter for all around.
E. Johnson

John Henry was a strong man
He worked hard every day.
He dug a tunnel with his hammer
Faster than a drill, they say.
E. Johnson

Brother Bear went everywhere
Eating the food of his friends.
They put him to sleep
In order to keep their food
Till the cold winter ends.
E. Johnson

Other Language Arts activities are : creative writing by the pupils, cooperative poems, narrative charts, jingles about G. W. Carver, John Henry and Brother Bear.

Science

Plant sweet potatoes; follow the growth. Inspect peanuts; taste peanut butter. Teacher may have materials for children to see, touch and taste.

Crafts

Make John Henry's hammer out of construction paper or oak tag or laundry cardboard.

Crayon pictures of large tunnel John Henry dug. Paint or crayon the sleeping bear or the animals of the forest he knew.

Physical Activities

Play songs:
Bon-Ton or Sissy in De Barn. "Play Songs of the Deep South" by Altona Trent-Johns, page 2.
Willowbee (First Version). "Play Songs of the Deep South," pg. 14
Chickama, Chickama-Craney Crow. "Play Songs of the Deep South pg.32
Skip to My Lou (formerly "Poor Lolette") - "Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin #9, pg. 54
Shoo Fly - "Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin", pg. 88

Big Muscle Activity.

Pretending to be John Henry, swinging his mighty hammer, in rhythm.

Music

Folk songs
"There's a Little Wheel A-turning" - "Music Through the Year", pg.83
"Skip to My Lou"
"Chickama, Chickama"
"Jimmy Crack-corn" (Blue Tail Fly)
"John Henry"
"Shoo-Fly"

Audio-Visual Aids

Filmstrip: "George Washington Carver"
Tape"John Henry and the Steam Drill" - from Tales from the Four Winds
Records: Y.P.R. 403-A "Let's all Join In" (includes John Henry)
F.C. 7406 - "Follow the Sun" - Charity Bailey
Illustrations for Bulletin Board: John Henry at Work
George Washington Carver
Brother Bear and Forest Friends

K-2 (cont'd)

Reference Materials for Teachers

"The Child's Story of the Negro" by Jane D. Shackelford
"Play Songs of the Deep South" by Altona Trent-Johns
"Gladiola Gardens" by Effie Lee Newsome
"Golden Slippers" by Arna Bontemps
"Bronzeville Boys and Girls" by Gwendolyn Brooks

# GRADES 3-4

It is suggested that teachers utilize the material presented for K-2 as well as that which follows; thus the curriculum will have greater continuity. Sources under "References for Teachers" K-2 are valid for 3-4 teachers' use.

Language Arts

Pupils may learn of the lives of writers as well as of their work.

Paul Laurence Dunbar

Paul Laurence Dunbar was a poet. He wrote of many subjects, often using dialect which is not easily understood today. One of his most beloved is, "The Seedling", which describes nature's wonder of spring and rejuvenation of plant life. Dunbar lived nearly one hundred years ago.

"The Seedling" may be read to the class or learned by the class in whole or in part. See page 156, "The Child's Story of the Negro", for the poem in its entirety.

Phyllis Wheatley

Phyllis Wheatley was a slave girl. She showed talent at an early age, so her owners taught her to read and to write. She could read Latin as well as English. She wrote five books of verse. She wrote a poem in honor of George Washington and in return received from the President an invitation to visit him.

Effie Lee Newsome

Effie Lee Newsome is presently Elementary School Librarian at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. She began writing poetry at the age of seven and has written on subjects children enjoy most: the seasons, toys, games, holidays, nature's mysteries and family life. Here are a few selections suitable for February and March, taken from"Gladiola Garden". Miss Newsome also paints and writes musical compositions.

The Game

I've often seen the snowflakes play
A funny little game of tag,
And dart in such a jerky way
They all get mixed up in their play

I always find it hard to say
Which lead and which ones lag
Their movements are so much the same
I can't find out who wins the game
They never stop to brag.
There really seems no way to know
What's "it" when suddenly - they go!

Snow Prints

Along the paths my overshoes
Make little pits in twos and twos,
But often on that very day
The sunshine melts them all away.

It seems a funny kind of waste,
These footprints getting all erased.
It takes a very ice day
To ever make them really stay.

Grades 3-4 (con'd.)

## Gwendolyn Brooks

Gwendolyn Brooks has written many poems. She is well known. She won the Pulitzer prize for 1954. Here is one of her poems:

### Val

When grown-ups at parties are laughing,
I do not like the sound.
It doesn't have any frosting
It doesn't go up from the ground.

So when my Daddy chased me
Away from the bend in the stair
With a "Get about your business!"
I didn't really care.

I'd rather be in the basement.
I'd rather be outside.
I'd rather get my bicycle
And ride.

The legend of John Henry (who actually lived and was famous for his strength and speed) is one of America's favorites. Music, poetry and stories have been told for generations about John Henry, ,the son of a poor minister,who lived about a century ago. His hard work and determination to be the "best" gave him a place among the immortals.

### John Henry, Mighty Man

John Henry was a healthy little boy. He grew up to be a strong man. His muscles were like steel and he helped to cut the first railroad tunnel through the mountains of West Virginia. The mountains are made of rocks and the rocks had to be drilled through.

John Henry, with his steel pick and iron hammer, became the best "driller" of the countryside. The mountains would tremble and shake when John Henry's hammer struck.

One day a large steam drill was brought to the mountain. This steam drill was a machine which could drill through rocks very rapidly. John Henry decided he would have a race with this machine. Everyone came to watch this race between a man and a machine.

John Henry won. He had drilled deeper and faster than the steam drill.

The folk story of Brother Bear can be read by the pupils themselves, or dramatized as the teacher reads to the class. The story can be found in "Child's Story of the Negro" by Jane D. Shackelford.

## Language Arts Activities

The teacher may read any or all selections to class. Pupils may read poems and stories for themselves.

Creative Writing:
- Write to authors.
- Present oral or written reports.
- Compose class or individual poems.
- Start a picture and news file.
- Children write of their own aspirations.

## Social Studies

The stories of Frederick Douglass, George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune and Benjamin Banneker, Crispus Attucks, Robert Smalls, are suitable. Excellent short stories may be found in "Child's Story of the Negro" by Jane Shackelford.

## Crispus Attucks, a Hero of the Revolutionary War

For many years, the anniversary of the American Independence was celebrated on March 5th, in honor of the day that the first fighting for liberty took place. The American colonists were growing tired of the British taxation and strict rules, and wished to be independent of Britain altogether.

In 1770, on March 5, a group of soldiers were standing in a place called Boston Commons, in Boston, Massachusetts. Small groups of people stood around talking,many of them angry because the soldiers kept telling them to move along.

One man stepped forth and dared the soldiers. He had become tired of the soldiers bullying people around - for he himself loved freedom more than anything else in the world. He had once been a slave and run away to freedom. His name was Crispus Attucks.

Hewould not move when the soldiers told him to. He and his friends quarreled with the soldiers. Crispus Attucks struck one of the soldiers down with a stick. His friends joined him in daring the soldiers. Crispus Attucks and his four friends were killed by the soldiers' bullets.

There is a statue in Boston Commons in honor of Crispus Attucks and his four brave companions.

## Captain Robert Smalls

There were 186,000 Negro soldiers in the Civil War. Many more served as spies, scouts and guides. No one was more willing to fight than the Negro, for the Civil War was fought because of slavery, and at that time, most Negroes in America were slaves.

Of the 186,000 who fought, there were many who won the highest honor, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for bravery beyond the call of duty.

One of the most exciting stories of the Civil War is about Robert Smalls. Robert Smalls was born April 5, 1839. He was born in slavery and obtained his freedom by impersonating the captain of a southern gun-boat and taking the gun-boat through to a Union port!

Smalls and his companions served as slaves aboard the Confederate gun-boat, "Planter". Smalls studied the manner in which the officers of the boat operated the machinery. One night, when the officers had left the boat, Robert Smalls took charge of the boat and guided it right through the Confederate ports. As hepassed each post, he gave the correct signal, and the Confederate guards thought nothing strange was going on! The clever Robert Smalls pulled the Captain's hat down over his own head and pulled the collar of the Captain's coat around his neck so that his face would not be seen. Fortunately there was fog in the air and Smalls, and his companions, easily slipped the gunboat through the waters to Union territory.

Robert Smalls delivered the gun-boat to the Union lines, won his freedom and became a captain in the Union Navy. Later, he became a Congressman of the United States. He died in 1915.

His adventures are described in "Captain of the Planter" by Dorothy Sterling.

## Matthew A. Henson, Co-discoverer of the North Pole

Matthew A. Henson loved adventure even as a small boy. He joined Admiral Peary's party and made several trips with Admiral Peary to the North Pole region. On the successful trip, which enabled the men to finally reach the Pole, Admiral Peary suffered frost bite. Then Matthew A. Henson went ahead and planted the American flag atop the world. A monument to Matthew Alexander Henson, co-discoverer of the North Pole, stands in Maryland in his honor.

Grades 3-4 (con'd.)

George Washington Carver

George Washington Carver was born a slave. He was very poor. Like most boys and girls, George loved to paint and to look at beautiful plants. He spent much time looking at beautiful plants. He decided to learn all he could about different plants and animals. He worked in many places and studied in several schools. He became famous when he discovered that from the sweet potatoes, more than 100 items could be made: such as, ink, paste, starch, meal, flour, vinegar and shoe blacking.

He made more than 300 different items from the peanuts, such as: milk, shaving lotions, dyes, linoleum, flour, butter (peanut butter), face powder, breakfast foods, and hair shampoo.

All of his life he continued to study and to paint. One of his paintings hangs in the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris. He is known all over the world because of his great work. He lived a useful and good life.

January 5th is "Carver Day" in New York State. Carver Day was establis in 1945 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was born a slave, on February 14, 1817. He escaped by masquerading as a sailor. He learned to read and write by himself, for there were no schools for runaway slaves. He had a great desire to help other slaves become free--and a wish to serve America. He became a great writer and orator. He published a paper and wrote stories telling why Negroes should be freed.

Booker T. Washington

Booker T. Washington was born a slave on April 18, 1856. The house in which his family lived had no windows, no light, not even a floor--only the earth beneath their feet. From this poor and deprived home Booker T. Washington aspired to become a learned man. He worked diligently at cleaning, polishing and dusting in order to earn his keep in school. He attended college and was such a brilliant student, his name was suggested for higher honors. He was sent to Alabama and established Tuskegee Institute there. George Washington Carver began his famous scientific work at Tuskegee Institute. Mary Mc Leod Bethune gained hope and confidence by visiting Tuskegee Institute. Booker T. Washington is known all over the world because of his work and his ideas. When you visit New York University's Hall of Fame you will see a bust of Booker T. Washington, famous educator.

Mary McLeod Bethune

Mary McLeod Bethune was born just after all American slaves had been freed. She had sixteen brothers and sisters. The seventeen children worked with their parents to buy the land on which they had lived during slavery. When Mary was just a little girl, because she was unable to read, she was greatly insulted one day by a rich girl who could read. Mary decided that no one would insult her again--she would learn to read too. At that time in history, very few of the former slaves could read and there were almost no schools. Instead of being angry about the rich girl's insult, she decided to learn to read. Instead of fighting the rich girl who had hurt her feelings, she made up her mind to become educated and to help others. Mary finally learned to read and write. Then she decided to devote her whole life to teaching others. She began a school with only one dollar and fifty cents. She baked pies and sold them to workmen. She grew vegetables in the school garden and sold those to people in the community. She taught her pupils to sing beautiful songs--which are still sung today by students in her school. Before she died in 1954, Mrs. Bethune's school, Bethune-Cookman College, was worth over $1,000,000. Imagine, from $1.50 to $1,000,000. Mrs. Bethune received a high honor from the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and became an advisor to him.

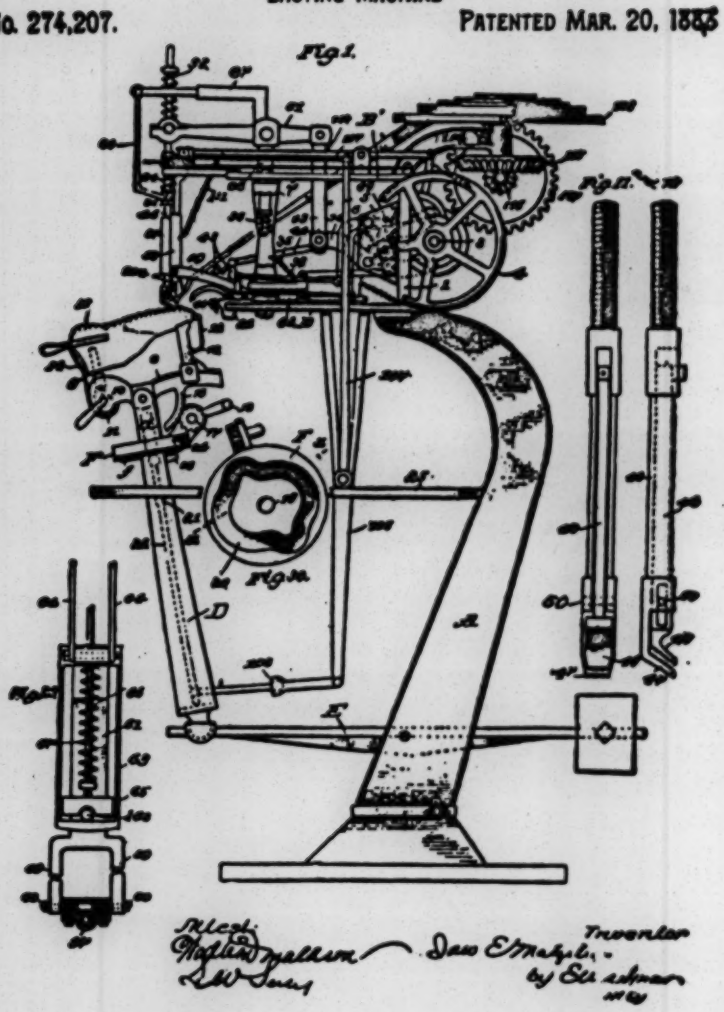
Grades 3-4 (con't)

## Jan Matzeliger

On March 20, 1883, a young man named Jan Matzeliger obtained a patent for an invention called a "lasting machine". This invention of his made the greatest change in the making of shoes.

Jan Matzeliger had worked for a period of time as a shoemaker's helper, or apprentice, in Philadelphia and New York. He was very upset because the work took so long. Shoes had to be put together by hand. Matzeliger worked for eleven years to perfect his invention. This invention of his made the manufacturing of shoes by machine possible.

The United Shoe Manufacturing Company bought his invention and America became the leading country in the industry of making shoes. That is why shoes can be bought so cheaply today!


J. E. MATZELIGER
LASTING MACHINE
No. 274,207. PATENTED MAR. 20, 1883
Fig 1.
Fig II.
Fig III.
Fig IV.
Inventor

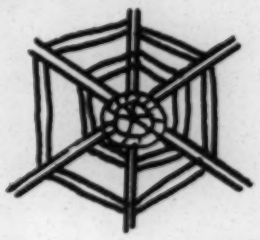
Jan Matzeliger's own drawings of his lasting machine, 1883.

--Hughes, L. and Meltzer, M. A Pictorial History of the Negro in America. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956, pages 226-227.

Grades 3-4 (con'd.)

Benjamin Banneker

Benjamin Banneker lived almost 200 years ago. His grandmother taught him to read. He attended school in Maryland and spent most of his time studying instead of playing. He enjoyed arithmetic and spent long hours working out difficult problems. When he became a young man he began to experiment with mathematical ideas. He made a clock which ran for twenty years without need of repairs. It is said to have been the first striking clock made in the United States. George Washington called him to work with a group of other men to plan the city of Washington D.C. Washington, D.C. has an interesting feature. All streets radiate from the Capitol. An aerial view of the city has the following appearance:



Pupils might compare a map of Washington, D.C. with a map of New York City.

Science

Plant sweet potato, follow its growth. Inspect peanuts, taste peanut butter.

Discuss Dr. Carver's discoveries made from the sweet potato: ink, paste, starch, meal, flour, vinegar, shoe blacking, - several of the 100 he discovered.

Discuss some of Dr. Carver's more than 300 items made from the peanut: milk, butter, shaving lotion, linoleum, breakfast foods.

Relate the crude materials used by Dr. Carver to some used in the classroom - old jars, blotters, pieces of metal. Emphasize the simplicity of Dr. Carver's laboratory and the inventiveness of his mind.

Observe an ant colony.

Children may become familiar with the name of Charles Henry Turner. His scientific discoveries about habits of crawfish, ant and honey bee are of interest to children and may be presented simply.

Dr. Charles Turner - His Study of the Ants

A man who has learned more about ants than anyone else is Dr. Charles Henry Turner. He studied animal life and especially the social life of the ant. Here is a short story about the ants Dr. Turner observed:

> Ants live in colonies or ant cities. They live in a community as we do. There is a queen ant who lays the eggs. There are nurse ants who take care of the baby ants. There are soldier ants who protect the "city". There are workers who do all of the work. In an ant community everyone has a job to do and cooperates with everyone else.

Crafts

Crayon pictures of John Henry and his hammer.

Paint pictures of the tunnel John Henry dug or the train which went through it.

Construct simple cabin such as the one Booker T. Washington was born in - windowless, floorless.

Dioramas of: an ant colony, the garden in Mrs. Bethune's college showing the various vegetables grown by the pupils of her school or of any of the other materials studied.

## BOOKS ON AFRICAN CULTURE AND NEGRO HISTORY

| | |
|---|---|
| Hughes, Langston | "First Book of Negroes" |
| " " | "First Book of Africa" |
| " " | "Pictorial History of the Negro in America" |
| Woodson, Carter | "The African Background" |
| " " | "Negro Makers of History" |
| Frazier, E. F. | "The History of the Negro People in the U.S." |
| Aptheker, H. | A Documentary History of the Negro People in the U.S." |
| Benet, S. V. | "John"s Brown B$^{O}$dy" Bontemps, A. W. |
| Bontemps, A. W. | "Story of the Negro" |
| " " | "Golden Slippers" |
| Shackelford, J. D. | "Child"s Story of the Negro" |
| Becker, J. L. | "The Negro in American Life" |
| Brown, S. A. et al. | "The Negro Caravan" |
| Rogers, J.A. | "Africa's Gift to America" |
| Leuzinger, Elsy | "Art of the Negro Peoples. Africa" |

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| Becker, J. L. | "The Negro in American Life" |
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| Rogers, J.A. | "Africa's Gift to America" |
| Leuzinger, Elsy | "Art of the Negro Peoples. Africa" |

Music

Several instruments were brought to the New World by the Negro - banjo, marimba, drums, xylophones. Beautiful music was composed.

"Certainly, Lord"
"Climbing up Jacob's Ladder"
"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"
"We Shall Overcome"

Playsongs are listed under Physical Activities.

Work songs:

Ballad of John Henry

Folk Songs: (Some of these are based on slave tunes or slave songs and have been modified from time to time).

Blue Tail Fly (Jimmie Crack Corn)
Kemo-Kimo
Buffalo Gals
The Grey Goose
Lullaby
Poor Boy
Shortnin' Bread

Audio-Visual Aids

Film Strip: "Life of George Washington Carver"
Tape: "John Henry and The Steam Drill" - from Tales From the Four Winds
Records: Y.P.F. "Let's All Join In"
F.C. 7752 "The Glory of Negro History"
F.C. 7406 "Follow the Sun", Charity Bailey

Illustrations for Bulletin Board

Dr. George Washington Carver
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Booker T. Washington
Dr. Charles Henry Turner
Benjamin Banneker
John Henry
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Phyllis Wheatley
Frederick Douglass
Carter G. Woodson

Reference Material for Teachers

Those listed in K-2 and the following:

"First Book of Negroes" - Langston Hughes
"John Henry and the Double Jointed Steel Drill" - Irwin Shapiro
"The Burl Ives Song Book" - Burl Ives
"Bronzeville Boys and Girls" - Gwendolyn Brooks

# GRADES 5-6

Several American Negroes for Study (See calendar, page 1)

**Language Arts:** Langston Hughes, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Phyllis Wheatley, Gwendolyn Brooks, Arna Bontemps, Shirley Graham, Willard Motley.

**Social Studies:** Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Crispus Attucks, Banjamin Banneker, John Henry, Ralph Bunche, Carter G. Woodson, Paul Cuffe, Robert Smalls, William Carney, Henry Johnson, Matthew A. Henson, Robert Smalls.

**Science:** George Washington Carver (Chemurgy), Charles Henry Turner (marine-biology), Percy Julian (botany), William Hinton (bio-chemistry), Charles Drew (hematology), and Jan E. Matzeliger(invention), Daniel Hale Williams,surgery,

**Arts and Crafts:** George Washington Carver, Henry O. Tanner (painting), E. Simms Campbell (cartoons), Augusta Savage, Romare Bearden (sculptors).

**Physical Activities:** Jesse Owens, Althea Gibson, Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, Bill Robinson, Pearl Primus, Carmen deLavallade

**Music:** W. C. Handy, R. Nathaniel Dett, Harry I. Burleigh, William Grant Still (composers); Count Basie, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington (instrumentalists); Marian Anderson, Charity Bailey, Josh White, Odetta, Harry Bellafonte, Lena Horne, Ella Fitzgerald (vocalists)

**Theatre:** Sidney Poitier, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Claudia McNeill, Paul Robeson, Ira Aldridge

**Implementing the approach:**

Pupils of grades 5 and 6 should know of individual lives and accomplishments of at least four or more persons from each field of endeavor. This can best be accomplished through research. The teacher may motivate pupils by asking any or all of the following questions:

1. Who was this person?
2. What was his background?
3. How did he receive his education?
4. For what is he famous?
5. What era of American History is represented by him?

The class will be able to discover the answers to these questions through committee work, individual reports, library assignments. Reports may be written or oral - committee or individual. Oral reports afford learning for the entire class and can be followed by discussion periods. Committee work affords the opportunity for group study of an area, each member reading books or sections of books about the contribution and life of one individual. Collating the work and orally presenting group findings assist in the development of cooperative habits and improved speech patterns.

Teachers may read summary stories from prededing sections as introductory material.

## Language Arts Activities

Committee reports on one field, ex: Science, Social Studies.
Individual reports.
Start picture file: daily papers, weekly Negro press, national magazines. (5x8 blank cards and a shoe box are suitable materials for beginning a file).
Original short stories.
Original poems.
Write to authors.
Book reviews.
At conclusion of unit, pupils may write composition describing personal reaction to study, or of own aspirations.
Choral speaking: selections from "Golden Slipper" are good.

**Grades 5-6 (Cont'd)**

Social Studies

Discussion of: pioneers in education: Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune
" " pioneers in abolition movement: Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth
" " pioneers in recording of Negro history: Carter G. Woodson, Arma Bontemps, Shirley Graham, W.E.B. DeBois
" " pioneers in the westward movement: James Beckwith, Jean DeSaible
" " Military participation inall wars U. S. engaged in, heroes of

Science

Understandings to be developed:
Products of the peanut
Products of the sweet potato
Uses of the soy bean
Establishment of the Red CrossBlood Bank
Ant life in an ant colony

Crafts

Paint the Underground Railroad in action
Paint pictures of individual studied
Clay models of famous person at work
Clay model of John Henry's tunnel
Diorama of ant city
" " Dr. Carver's laboratory
" " garden at Bethune-Cookman College
Paint delivery of gunboat, "Planter", to Union lines during Civil War.

Physical Activities

Dances: May be taught or demonstrated
Cake walk
Charleston
Tap dance - "Dixie" - Physical Activities Book, pg. 152
Bunny hop
Fox-trot

Music

R. Nathaniel Dett, an editor of spirituals, wrote about Negro music:

The American Negro gave the world a great gift of his music. His great-great-grandfather came from West Africa. Over there every town had secret societies in which musicians were trained. They played music and kept repeating and singing their history. To this music they clicked their fingernails, stamped their feet or clapped their hands.

The types of music the American Negro is most famous for are: spirituals, work songs, play songs, blues, jazz. The spirituals were sung in the hope of freedom from slavery. The work songs were sung to keep time with the swinging of arms during work periods. The play songswere mainly danced and sung by children in the fields. Blues and then jazz grew out of the African beat and hope for freedom and finally, happiness.

Spirituals: "Let usBreak Bread Together" - Voices of the World, pg. 179
"Git on Board" - pg. 11
"I've Got a Robe" - Music Across the Country, pg. 134

"Certainly, Lord"
"Go Down, Moses"
"Climb Up Jacob's Ladder"
"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"
Folk Songs: "Kemo-Kimo"
"Michael Row the Boat Ashore"
"Li'l Liza Jane"
"Buffalo Gals" (based on "Lulby Fan)
"Careless Love"

Songs of the Caribbean:
"Hold 'Em Joe"
" Caucaunne"
"Last Train to San Fernando"

Discuss: drum, banjo, marimba, xylophone, as instruments.

Audio-Visual Aids

Film strips: Life of George Washington Carver
Life of Booker T. Washington

Sound Films: George Washington Carver

Records:
FC 7752 - The Glory of Negro History, Langston Hughes
FC 7312 - First Jazz, Langston Hughes
FC 7250 - JamaicanSongs - Bennett
FC 7114 - Negro Poetry
FC 7406 - Follow the Sun, Charity Bailey
Josh White, Album of Folk Music
Odetta, Album of Folk Music
Leon Bibb, Album of Folk Music

Illustrations (Available from Associated Publishers,1538 9th St. N.W., Washington D.C.)

Crispus Attucks
Benjamin Banneker
Booker T. Washington
Paul Laurence Dunbar
Mary McLeod Bethune
Ralph Bunche
Carter G. Woodson
Frederick Douglass
Langston Hughes
Charity Bailey
John Henry
George Washington Carver
Phyllis Wheatley

Reference Books for Teachers

A Pictorial History of the Negro inAmerica - Langston Hughes
The First Book of Negroes - Langston Hughes
North Star Shining - Hildegarde Swift
Burl Ives Song Book - Burl Ives

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BIBLIOGRAPHY (In addition to those listed on next page)

American Ballads & Folk Songs, compiled by John A. Lomax, Massachusetts: Macmillan Co., 1949
American Negro Art - Cedrick Dover, New York Graphic Society, 1961
Burl Ives Song Book - Burl Ives, New York, Ballantine Books, 1953
Child's Story of the Negro - Jane D. Shackelford, Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1956
Negro Spirituals - Edited by R. Nathaniel Dett, London, Blandford Press, 1959
Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin #9 - New York: Board of Education 1958
Pictorial History of the Negro in America - Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956
Play Songs of the Deep South - Altona Trent-Johns, Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1944
Story of the Negro - Arna Bontemps, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953
Toward Better International Understanding (A Teachers' Manual, Curriculum Bulletin 1956-60 Series No. 4) New York: Board of Education, 1959

Suggested List of Pertinent Books for Classroom or Outside Reading, Research, Committee Activities, Individual or Group Study, and for Reading to Children by Adults

Grades 5-6

Pupils may find these books at any of the Public Libraries:

| TITLE | AUTHOR | READING LEVEL |
|---|---|---|
| First Book of Negroes | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of Jazz | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| Famous American Negroes | Langston Hughes | 7 |
| A Pictorial History of the Negro in America | Langston Hughes | 5-6 |
| First Book of Rhythms | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of Africa | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of West Indies | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| Booker T. Washington | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| George Washington Carver | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| There Once was a Slave (Frederick Douglass) | Shirley Graham | 4-6 |
| DeSable, Jean Baptiste Pointe (discoverer of Chicago) | Shirley Graham | 6-7 |
| Your Most Humble Servant (Benjamin Banneker, Mathematician) | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| Count of Monte Cristo | Alexander Dumas | 7 |
| The Three Musketeers | Alexander Dumas | 7 |
| Story of the Negro | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| Children of Haiti | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| We Have Tomorrow | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| George Washington Carver | T. A. White | 6 |
| Up From Slavery | Booker T. Washington | 6 |
| Story of George Washington Carver | F. C. Means | 5-6 |
| Cowtail, Switch and Other West African Stories | Harold Courlander | 5-6 |
| Child's Story of the Negro | Jane D. Shackelford | 3-6 |
| Mary McLeod Bethune | Catherine O. Pearee | 7 |
| Harriet Tubman | A. L. Petry | 7 |
| Freedom Train, The Story of Harriet Tubman | D. Sterling | 5-6 |
| It's Good To Be Alive | Roy Campanella | 7 |
| Ralph J. Bunche | Joseph A. Kugelmass | 6-7 |
| The Negro inSports | Edwin Henderson | 6 |
| Lives of GirlsWho Became Famous | Sarah K. Bolton | 6 |
| Lives of Poor Boys Who Became Famous | Sarah K. Bolton | 5-6 |
| Twenty Modern Americans | Alice C. Cooper | 6 |
| Famous American Poets | Laura Benet | |
| Our Negro Brother | Edith Mayer | 7 |
| Great American Negroes | Ben Albert Richardson | 5-6 |
| Marian Anderson, A Portrait | Kost Vehanen | 4-6 |
| Horn of Plenty - Louis Armstrong | Robert Coffin | |
| Paul Dunbar and His Song (Dunbar was a Poet) | Virginia Cunningham | 4-6 |
| Golden Slippers (Anthology of Negro Poetry) | Arna Bontemps | 5-8 |
| Bright April (Story of Negro Girl) | Marguerite DeAngeli | 4-6 |
| Call Me Charley (Negro boy in hostile community) | Jesse Jackson | 3-6 |
| Key Corner (Negro children in rural south) | Eva Knox Evans | 4-6 |
| Lad of Lima (Negro Saint) | Mary F. Windeatt | 5-7 |
| The Negro in American Life (brief text of Negro contributions) | John L. Becker | 5-7 |
| All Brave Sailors: The Story of the SS. Booker T. Washington (exciting high seas adventures) | John Beecher | 5-7 |
| The African Background | Carter G. Woodson | 6-7 |
| Negro Makers of History | Carter G. Woodson | 5-8 |
| Amos Fortune, Freeman | Elizabeth Yates | 5-8 |
| Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar | Paul Laurence Dunbar | 3-7 |
| Bronzeville Boys and Girls | Gwendolyn Brooks | 3 -6 |

remedial ed

Science Research Associates, Inc.
259 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill. 60611
WH 4-7552 or WH 4-7557 (after 5 p.m.)
Frank Johnson, Director of Information

Tel.: Gaylen Hohmann
Manager, Product Publicity
(Home: 664-6381)

# READING IN HIGH GEAR

## FACT SHEET

### 1. What is Reading in High Gear?

Reading in High Gear is a new program designed to teach culturally disadvantaged adolescents how to read. It is appropriate for use with dropouts and functionally illiterate adults in community-action programs being organized across the nation in conjunction with the War On Poverty and can also be used in a school setting with potential dropouts.

### 2. Who developed Reading in High Gear?

Reading in High Gear was developed by Dr. Myron Woolman, founder and director of the non-profit Institute of Educational Research, Inc. in Washington, D. C. A leading psychologist and learning theorist, Dr. Woolman has done extensive research in the application of programed instruction techniques to difficult learning problems in education, industry and for the Armed Forces.

### 3. Who is publishing it?

Science Research Associates, Inc., Chicago-based educational publishing firm.

### 4. How does the program work?

Reading in High Gear starts at the beginning of the learning-to-read process--with the introduction of the most common letter-sounds and the letter-shapes--and systematically introduces the student to each of the skills he will have to acquire if he is to be able to read effectively. Individual students entering the program may or may not have already acquired a degree of proficiency with one or more of these skills. They are, nevertheless, all required to begin at the beginning. This procedure will tend to fill in the voids that have been left by their previous learning experiences. After the student begins, he is encouraged to proceed on an individual basis, progressing at his own speed and relatively independent of others in the class.

(more)

FACT SHEET - 2

The program is based on the Progressive Choice Reading Method which utilizes several different techniques of programed instruction and elements of both the traditional (phonics) and newer (linguistic) methods of teaching reading.

Emphasis throughout Reading in High Gear is on hearing, speaking and understanding, as well as on the more common visual recognition skills.

Each student first learns to understand the meaning of the spoken word he will ultimately learn to read. He then learns to recognize the shapes and sounds of each of the elements in this word (e.g. letters, consonant compounds) and how these elements are used to form the word. Finally, the student learns to read the word in its printed form.

To accomplish this, Reading in High Gear approaches each new task on five related learning levels:

1. Audial meaning - The student learns to recognize the word(s) he will ultimately learn to read when he hears it spoken. He learns to say the word properly and to understand what it means.

2. Discrimination - The student is taught to recognize and print the shape of the particular letter being studied. The letter-shape being studied is always used in the word(s) introduced at the audial level. Later in the program when all letter-shapes have been learned, the same procedure is followed with whole words.

3. Identification - The student is taught to associate letter-shapes with their appropriate letter-sounds.

4. Compounding - The student learns to print and to sound the new letter-shape when it is compounded with letter-shapes he has previously learned.

5. Visual meaning - The student learns to read the word introduced at the audial meaning level and indicates by printed responses that he knows the meaning of the word.

Throughout the entire process, the student is actively participating and is not permitted to move on to the next step until he has demonstrated proficiency in the earlier one.

(more)

5. How does the program differ from other basic reading programs?

Reading in High Gear has been built specifically to meet the needs of students who, due to circumstance or lack of opportunity, have been unable to attain even a minimum level of reading proficiency in normal school programs. Even the stories, simple in construction, have been written to stimulate and interest the older student. Further, because culturally disadvantaged youth frequently develop anti-social attitudes, the story themes present positive ideas about life and suggest socially acceptable ways of operating effectively.

In addition, the comprehensive Instructor's Manuals that accompany the student materials make it possible for volunteer tutors and others without professional training to use the program effectively in community-action programs being set up across the nation as part of the War On Poverty.

6. Where has the program been used and how sucessful has it been?

Preliminary data from field test programs has been most encouraging. Because the program provides a high degree of motivation for the student by keeping him constantly involved in the learning process, students stick with it.

Studies in which Reading in High Gear is being used are currently underway in the Galena Park, Texas, public schools and in Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the United Planning Organization of Metropolitan Washington.

Earlier studies were conducted in New York City under the auspices of Mobilization for Youth; in Boston, Massachusetts under the auspices of Action for Boston Community Development, and in other communities in the Eastern United States.

In one area, the program has been used for approximately three months with 146 culturally disadvantaged junior high school students. At the beginning of the experiment, the average reading level of these students was at a fourth grade level. After an average time of 51 instructional hours per student, the average reading level jumped to a sixth grade level. A summary of results from this experiment are shown below:

| Gain in Years | Number of Students | Percent of Total Group |
|---|---|---|
| No gain | 8 | 5.5 |
| 0.0 - .49 | 19 | 13.1 |
| 0.5 - .99 | 37 | 25.3 |
| 1.0 - 1.49 | 32 | 21.9 |
| 1.5 - 1.99 | 26 | 17.8 |
| 2.0 - 2.49 | 14 | 9.6 |
| 2.5 - 2.99 | 7 | 4.8 |
| 3.0 - 3.49 | 3 | 2.0 |

(more)

## Cumulative Data on Experiment

81.4% showed gains of from 6 months to 3½ years

56.1% showed gains of more than 1 year

34.2% showed gains of more than 1½ years

16.4% showed gains of more than 2 years

6.8% showed gains of more than 2½ years

2.0% showed gains of more than 3 years

In all, 94.5% demonstrated some measurable gain after an average of 51 hours of study.

6. How long does it take for a student to complete the program?

Normal instructional time required for completing the program is from 150 to 300 hours of instruction.

7. What is Science Research Associates, Inc.?

Science Research Associates, Inc. has long been a pioneer in the development of modern curriculum and guidance materials for all grade levels. SRA's multilevel Reading Laboratory® series, introduced in 1957, is being used this year by more than 7,000,000 elementary and high school students across the country. Its modern mathematics, science, social studies and language arts materials are also widely used. In addition, the company is the largest commercial publisher of standardized tests in the United States, and is contract testing agency for the American College Testing Program, the National Merit Scholarship Corporation and the Betty Crocker "Search for the Homemaker of Tomorrow" scholarship program of the General Mills Corporation.

# # #

# Reading in High Gear

*by MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph.D.*
*Director, Institute of Educational Research*

S R A SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

READING IN HIGH GEAR
by Dr. Myron Woolman

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program for Culturally Disadvantaged Adolescents and Adults.

## I. Overview of the Program

READING IN HIGH GEAR has been developed specifically to provide instruction for culturally disadvantaged learners. It is essentially a language arts program for an older population of adolescents or adults. In a traditional school setting it might be labeled "remedial", since it would be used generally with students who have failed to learn to read through the usual instructional methods. In special programs for dropouts or functionally illiterate adults, it would probably be considered a "literacy" program. Because both academic and social rehabilitation are basic goals of the program, it may also be regarded as guidance material.

Based on the new Progressive Choice Reading Method, the program incorporates desirable principles of programed instruction, in that it keeps the student actively involved in the learning process and constantly aware of his progress.

Because it begins at the initial stages of the reading process, READING IN HIGH GEAR is suitable for use even with virtual non-readers. Students who complete the program should be able to function at approximately the eighth grade level in terms of word-attack skills. The materials provide for a very gradual progression through basic reading skills and permit the learner to move at his own rate with relative independence. Normal instructional time required for completing the program is from 150 to 300 hours.

In addition to the programing of basic reading and writing skills, the author has also used story themes designed to effect desirable changes in students' attitudes and healthier social orientation.

Because the program is designed to serve populations both in and out of the school situation, instructor's manuals provide step-by-step procedures, specifying what both the instructor and student should do at every point in the program. Thus the program can be taught effectively even by instructors who are not professionally trained.

Owing to the dissimilarity of the progressive choice technique to other methods of reading instruction, it is not practical to assign grade-level equivalents to the three cycles.

It should be noted that students using READING IN HIGH GEAR will generally have had spotty records of achievement in reading, with significant deficiencies at most achievement levels. Consequently, it is advisable that students enter the program only at the beginning and be allowed to progress as rapidly as possible. This procedure will tend to fill in the voids that have been left by their previous learning experiences.

## II. Content of the Program

The total program is divided into three major cycles and each cycle is subdivided into segments.

Cycle I is a carefully organized presentation of each letter of the alphabet except Q, printed in upper case only, with a single sound assigned to each letter. As students progress through the series of letters, they learn to compound new sounds with those learned previously. Compounds may take the form of actual words or nonsense syllables.

Four student workbooks and two instructor's manuals comprise the first cycle.

Cycle II introduces lower-case counterparts of upper-case letters learned in Cycle I, as well as phonetically consistent vowel and consonant compounds such as oa, ea, au, th, ch, wh and sh. The final e and its function of changing the internal vowel to a long sound is also presented, and students learn the names of the letters.

Two student workbooks and one instructor's manual comprise the second cycle.

Cycle III introduces the variant sounds of consonants, vowels and compounds. At this point students practice alphabetizing and using the dictionary. They also learn to write and read cursive writing.

Throughout the program, words are presented at the "audial level" and meaning is firmly established. The learner is then required to analyze the component elements or compounds, reproduce the sounds accurately, print the symbols and, finally, to handle words effectively at the "visual meaning level". As he becomes familiar with the sounds of elements and compounds, he learns to "generalize" and add new words to his vocabulary.

As learners complete Cycle I they may qualify as student instructors to assist other learners at lower levels. This status factor provides additional motivation, lightens the load of the instructor and contributes to the positive dynamics of the classroom.

## III. The Author

READING IN HIGH GEAR has been developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington, D. C. Dr. Woolman is an extremely competent, creative and practical psychologist whose interest in learning theory led him to the development of his Progressive Choice Learning Method on which this program is based. He has adapted the method to a number of different learning systems that have proved most effective.

## IV. Relevant field-test Experience

The Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program, on which READING IN HIGH GEAR is based, is currently being field-tested with approximately 150 culturally disadvantaged junior high school students. The six classes range in size from twenty to twenty-nine. Teachers, who did not have previous experience with the program, received a brief orientation program by Woolman's staff.

At the end of the fall semester, students had received approximately 50 hours of instruction. Teachers and administrators were very enthusiastic about the program, and their comments and observations were quite encouraging. Although no definitive data are available at this time, the following are highlights from information obtained at mid-year.

1. Teachers observed that their students were more actively involved and more productive in their reading classes than in reading classes using other materials.

2. Teachers reported that students' attitudes toward reading had improved considerably, and that they had no difficulty holding their attention for periods up to an hour.

3. Other subject-matter teachers of pupils using these materials have noticed an improvement in attitude among some of the students using the program.

4. The reported decline in truancy and absenteeism among students using the program tends to support the teachers' observations.

5. Teachers feel confident that subsequent testing will reveal dramatic gains in reading skills.

6. Teachers also feel that they had been able to implement the program effectively without extensive orientation and in-service training.

V. The following factors are among the advantages of the program for the particular population for whom it has been designed.

1. Relevance to Target Population: READING IN HIGH GEAR is not a "warmed over" product originally designed for a different population. It was developed specifically for the culturally deprived adolescent of the dropout vintage in school or out. Although not aimed directly toward the adult functional illiterate, READING IN HIGH GEAR comes closer to fulfilling the needs of that population than any product currently on the market.

2. Ease of Administration: Many of the special programs for older culturally disadvantaged learners will be staffed by untrained volunteers. For this reason, the Office of Education's special task force indicated in their specifications for materials intended for this group that they include highly detailed guides for instructors. The instructor's handbook accompanying READING IN HIGH GEAR gives step-by-step procedures for administering the program so that it can be taught by untrained instructors.

3. Motivation: Preliminary feedback from experimental programs indicates that reading material based on the Progressive Choice Method has high intrinsic motivation. This is attested to both by the extent to which culturally deprived students stick with it and also the very low dropout rate among students using the method.

4. Small Learning Increments: The materials have been carefully programed in a rigorous skill sequence so that small learning increments are presented to the student in readily digestible units.

5. Ideal Grade-Level Coverage: Although designed for the older culturally disadvantaged learner, READING IN HIGH GEAR makes no assumptions regarding previous reading achievement and therefore starts at the very beginning of the learning-to-read process. Furthermore, it extends upward to the eighth grade reading level, somewhat above the minimum for so-called functional literacy.

6. Diversified Response Requirements: Active learning frequently requires that the learner do something, i.e., that he makes a response. Consistently throughout the READING IN HIGH GEAR program the learner is actively engaged in the learning process through a wide variety of response requirements.

7. Knowledge of Results: An important source of motivation and reinforcement for learning stems from knowledge of the correctness or incorrectness of responses made during the learning act. READING IN HIGH GEAR provides for this type of feedback both through the instructor and through more advanced helping students. The individualized nature of the program requires the students to do considerable independent work, thus freeing the instructor to roam about the classroom and supply this knowledge of results. This also permits more instructor-pupil interaction than more traditional programed instruction.

8. Auditory Discrimination Ability Refined: Proficiency in auditory discrimination correlates very highly with success in beginning reading. Built into the READING IN HIGH GEAR program is the constant requirement to hear and reproduce correctly the spoken form of each word prior to learning to recognize it in print.

9. Visual Discrimination Ability Refined: Many students encounter immediate difficulty in learning to read by the whole-word approach because of the special skill in visual discrimination which that method requires. Woolman's program gives very special attention not only to the visual discrimination of whole word forms, but also to letters and the component elements of letters. This is accomplished through matching exercises, tracing, and unaided writing activities.

10. Motor Reinforcement of Perceptual Learning: Generally, printed word forms are better retained in memory if perceptual learning is accompanied by some motor act such as writing or tracing. Both are provided in READING IN HIGH GEAR.

11. Provision for Incidental Learning of Spelling: Because writing is required to reinforce word-perception ability, students using READING IN HIGH GEAR develop their spelling ability as a subsidiary concomitant to learning to read.

12. Development of Vocabulary Precision: The incidental development of greater precision in knowledge of word meanings is provided for in READING IN HIGH GEAR because the meaning(s) of all words are carefully developed at the auditory level before a student is required to learn its printed form. Also, special vocabulary exercises are included after reasonable word-recognition ability has been developed.

13. Emphasis on Reading Comprehension: Reading for meaning is emphasized throughout the READING IN HIGH GEAR program. Exercises in comprehending facts or in reading critically are frequently combined with vocabulary development by requiring the student to determine word meanings from their use in context.

14. Progress in Learning is Insured: In many reading programs it is too easy for a student to fail to progress and for his failure to go unnoticed until it reaches crisis proportions. In the READING IN HIGH GEAR program this is practically impossible, since learners progress only on the basis of demonstrated proficiency. This is accomplished through evaluation devices that are built into the materials.

15. Provision for Individual Differences: Within each segment of each cycle, suggestions are given to the instructor to be followed in those instances in which students fail to learn from the initial instruction. This provision for the special needs of less able students allows the instructor to provide for individual differences within a class. Also, because students work essentially independently, instruction is highly individualized and each student may work at his own speed.

16. Step-by-step Presentation of New Learning Elements: Too frequently a beginning reader is overwhelmed because too many new elements are presented to him to be learned simultaneously. In the READING IN HIGH GEAR program, however, a learner is required to master only one new learning element at a time. And, as was indicated previously, mastery is required before a student is permitted to progress to a new learning element. This prevents failure from becoming cumulative.

17. Upper-Case/Lower-Case Type Confusion Minimized: When new readers are required simultaneously to learn to recognize both upper- and lower-case type, there is likely to be confusion. Woolman solves this problem by introducing upper-case type first, since the student must also write them and upper case is easier to reproduce (though lower-case type is easier to recognize). When the student has mastered the recognition and reproduction of upper-case type, lower-case is presented.

18. Presentation of Irregular Words Delayed: One very significant cause of initial reading difficulties is the lack of consistency with which various English speech sounds are written. In regard to this problem, Woolman has delayed the presentation of ambiguous graphemes until reasonable mastery of regular sound-symbol relationships has been achieved. (This is also a feature of the new linguistics approach to teaching beginning reading.)

19. Letter Naming is Delayed: If students are required to learn both the sound values of letters and their names, they are likely in some cases to make confused responses. This, in turn, may result in the rather inefficient spelling approach to word recognition. For this reason, Woolman has delayed teaching letter names until their sound values have been learned. When letter names are finally introduced, they are taught functionally in connection with the learning of alphabetizing, dictionary skills, etc.

20. Maximum Discriminability Among Learning Units: One major source of confusion at the initial stages of learning to read is the requirement to discriminate between two learning elements that are very similar (e.g., "an" and "on"). In Woolman's Progressive Choice Learning Method each successive unit to be learned is as dissimilar as possible from the one preceding it.

21. Increased Social Status Awarded for Advanced Students: Students who have a history of failure in learning to read are likely to seek socially unacceptable means of achieving status - within the classroom or outside. In READING IN HIGH GEAR the author has made provisions for students who have advanced into Cycle II to function part time as student assistants. In this capacity they help less advanced students, providing certain of the feedback regarding the correctness or incorrectness of their responses. This technique allows the advancing student to achieve classroom status with his peers in this helping capacity. It also lessens the instructor's load in attempting to give individual attention to students. The assistance given by the helping students is specifically defined and definitely limited.

22. Attitude Changes Programed into the Materials: Very frequently, culturally disadvantaged underachievers develop anti-social attitudes. Recognizing this tendency, Woolman has attempted to engineer his story themes in a sequence moving from hostile aggression to a Robin Hood-like reaction to the "power structure" and ultimately to socially acceptable ways of operating effectively in life adjustment.

23. Built-In Teacher Training Program: As was mentioned previously, many instructors in special programs for dropouts and functionally illiterate adults have not had training in education. Because of this, programed training has been provided for the instructor in the manual in order to raise his level of understanding of the principles involved in teaching reading according to the Progressive Choice Method. This programed in-service training technique is especially valuable because it parallels the instructor's actual use of the method. Further, the specific, step-by-step instructions given for the administration of the program translate these educational principles into their practical application.

24. Special Classroom Facilities Not Required: Because many literacy or basic education programs are not administered by regular school systems, the usual physical facilities and teaching aids are not available. For this reason, READING IN HIGH GEAR has been designed so that it can be used in community centers, YMCA's, church basements, or other unconventional teaching settings.

## VI. Price Information

The following prices have been established for the developmental edition of READING IN HIGH GEAR. These prices should be regarded as tentative. Pricing of the final edition may be modified somewhat.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5-1316 | Student Books (Consumable) - Complete Set | | $ 8.50 |
| 5-1313 | Cycle #1 | $4.25 | |
| 5-1314 | Cycle #2 | $3.00 | |
| 5-1315 | Cycle #3 | $3.25 | |
| 5-1318 | Instructor's Manuals (non-consumable) - Complete Set | | $15.00 |
| 5-1317 | Cycle #1 | $8.00 | |
| 5-1309 | Cycle #2 | $4.00 | |
| 5-1312 | Cycle #3 | $4.00 | |
| 5-1325 | Review Set (includes 1 copy of each student book and each Instructor's Manual) | | $22.50 |

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N. Y. C.
N. Y. U.
SEVEN ARTS
SO. JAMAICA
STATEN ISLAND

DIRECTOR:
BAYARD RUSTIN
COORDINATORS:
NORMAN HILL, CORE
CALVIN BANKS, NAACP

May 14, 1964

Dear Parents:

Your child receives a poorer education than most white children in this city because he is black. He has fewer books, older schools and less prepared teachers, all of which add to the disadvantage he has because of prejudice against him.

On May 18, as part of the demonstration to demand good schooling for our children, many Negro parents with their children plan to "study-in" in a high quality white school. We ask you to join them.

This will give you a chance to see what is being kept from your child and show that we demand that all New York children receive a decent education before it is too late.

If you wish to join other parents and their children on May 18 in the "study-in" please call the March For Democratic Schools to sign up.

Transportation will be provided and the superintendent of schools has promised your child will be welcomed, placed in a class, and provided with lunch.

Yours for Freedom,

Frederick D. Jones
Co-Chairman

Norman Hill
Co-Chairman

Bayard Rustin
Director

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CHECKS TOWARD THE EXPENSES OF THIS PROJECT SHOULD BE DRAWN TO "MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS"

Monday
MAY 18th

# NAACP/CORE
# MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS

A DEMONSTRATION BY THE PEOPLE OF GOOD-WILL IN NEW YORK CITY
—NEGRO, PUERTO RICAN, WHITE—
TO DEMAND INTEGRATED AND QUALITY EDUCATION - NOW!

HEADQUARTERS: 312 WEST 125TH STREET/TELEPHONE: MONUMENT 6-9662

CO-CHAIRMEN:
FREDERICK D. JONES, NAACP
N.Y. STATE EDUCATION CHAIRMAN
NORMAN HILL, CORE
NATIONAL PROGRAM DIRECTOR

SPONSORS:
DR. E. T. REED, PRESIDENT
N.Y. STATE CONFERENCE NAACP
ATTORNEY WILLIAM THOMPSON,
N.Y.C. REGIONAL DIRECTOR

DIRECTOR:
BAYARD RUSTIN
COORDINATORS:
NORMAN HILL, CORE
CALVIN BANKS, NAACP

NAACP BRANCHES:
ASTORIA / L. I. CITY
BAYSIDE
BRONX
BROOKLYN
CORONA / E. ELMHURST
FAR ROCKAWAY / INWOOD
FLUSHING
GREENWICH VILLAGE / CHELSEA
NEW YORK CITY
JAMAICA
STATEN ISLAND
N. Y. C. DEPT. OF WELFARE
WILLIAMSBRIDGE

VELMA HILL, CORE
ALLAN HOFFMAN, CORE
N. Y. C. FIELD SECRETARIES

CORE CHAPTERS:
BRONX
BROOKLYN
C. C. N. Y.
COLUMBIA
DOWNTOWN
EAST RIVER
L. I. U.
N. Y. C.
N. Y. U.
SEVEN ARTS
SO. JAMAICA
STATEN ISLAND

Dear Friend:

Once more, I want to express to you my personal gratitude, and that of the entire civil-rights movement, for your leadership and participation in the historic March on Washington last August 28th. It was truly a great day for all of us, for freedom, and for America! Without your help, it would not have been possible.

Standing before the Lincoln Memorial, we all vowed that we would not rest until racial justice and equality had become a reality in our country.

I write to you today in the midst of another major crisis in this cause. We need your help, and we need it as a witness to the seriousness of the pledge that we made to each other in Washington to work for racial justice in America.

On Monday, May 18th, there will be a massive MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS in New York. The culmination of this demonstration will be a rally at City Hall at 4PM, to put before the Governor, the Mayor and the educational authorities in New York our demand for continuous, round-the-clock negotiations to achieve integrated, quality education for all of New York's school children.

We want to show the city and the country, on May 18th, that neither P. A. T. nor other, similar groups speak for the citizens of New York. We want as large a turn-out of Negro, Puerto Rican, and white citizens as possible. We want every

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CHECKS TOWARD THE EXPENSES OF THIS PROJECT SHOULD BE DRAWN TO "MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS"

man, woman, and child who believes in justice and equality to give us his help at City Hall on Monday, May 18th, at 4PM. James Farmer of CORE, A. Philip Randolph, and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP will speak. There will be other prominent speakers and entertainers, such as Ruby Dee, James Baldwin, and many others.

May I ask you to: Be there on May 18th, and meanwhile get on the telephone to every friend and acquaintance and every Washington marcher that you know, and urge them to join us at the MARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC SCHOOLS. Talk to your organizations, your churches, your unions, your clubs, and bring them, too.

I'll see you at 4PM next Monday at City Hall -- and I expect to see you in the biggest demonstration we have ever had in New York.

Cordially,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

P. S. Call me at the number given above if you need leaflets, posters, or other material for the MARCH.

Access to school files

To

Date Time

**WHILE YOU WERE OUT**

M Joel Fishman

of 59-7-3991

Area Code & Exchange math curriculum

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | TELEPHONED | | PLEASE CALL HIM |
| | CALLED TO SEE YOU | | WILL CALL AGAIN |
| | WANTS TO SEE YOU | | IMPORTANT |

Message in metropol area.

Ghetto area - math dept

H.S. 1 vocational school

Operator

FORM W.O. NO. 3 GOLDSMITH BROS. N. Y. 8, CO 7-7900

230 Thompson Street
New York, New York 10012
May 29, 1964

Miss Nanette Sachs
Education Department
C.O.R.E.

JUN 1 1964

will be coming in to look at our files

Dear Miss Sachs:

There has been much publicity and an endless number of articles in the professional journals regarding mathematics reform in the secondary schools. Mathematics educators have carried on lively discussions about the content of these new programs, but have complacently ignored, or rationalized, the fact that only a small minority of student have been affected by these reforms.

As one part of a doctoral dissertation on some historical aspects of mathematics education in the U.S., I have been investigating the mathematics curriculum of high school in the big metropolitan area. The existing general inequalities of education will no doubt be reflected in the mathematics curriculum.

I have found that up to 1954 the great majority of students in the nation's secondary schools had never gone beyond some rehashed course in arithmetic. If this is still true then the leaders of

mathematics education have ignored the most significant problems. It is my hope that this study will foster a greater interest in bringing quality mathematics education to all students.

I would appreciate your help in the following:

1. Contact with one or two high school mathematics departments in the Harlem or Bedford Stuyvesant areas for the purpose of administering the enclosed questionnaire.

2. Information regarding critical studies of education in the N.Y.C. area. Those factors which affect the general character of the educational system certainly affect mathematics education. The Public Education Association report: "Reorganizing Secondary Education," is an example of such a study. I am interested in studies of the vocational school, testing, etc - the many administrative devices which tend to deprive students of a quality education.

I know how the civil rights struggle absorbs all your time, but I hope you will consider this project worthy of your assistance. If possible, I would appreciate discussing some of these problems with you.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Fishman

JUN 8 1964

230 Thompson Street
New York 12, New York

Dear

Enclosed is a questionnaire which I hope will elicit the information needed to evaluate the present position of the mathematics curriculum in your school. Several other high schools in the New York City, Westchester, Long Island, Connecticut area are providing similar data. Of course the study will not identify any particular school. In addition to this empirical investigation, data will be sought from the U. S. and State Departments of Education and other important sources.

This is one part of a study which seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of the present mathematics reforms in respect to its correcting the inadequacies of past practices in mathematics education. The study is particularly concerned with the quality of mathematics education provided the non-college bound student; the percentage of students enrolled in such courses as general mathematics, commercial mathematics, etc., and the extent to which the content of these courses has changed.

The statistical information is important. The study is concerned with the trends in the percentages of students taking courses in mathematics. (A study made in 1954 indicated that in the previous three decades there was a decrease in the enrollment of students in academic mathematics courses and an increase in enrollments in the general mathematics courses. New York State at that time reported that 11.4 per cent of high school students had taken plane geometry and 9 per cent had taken intermediate algebra.)

It would be appreciated if you would send me the information regarding the description of your school immediately, and I hope that you will have time to fully answer the rest of the questionnaire by early June.

At your request, I will be glad to forward to you a summary of my findings.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Joseph Fishman

Enclosure

# MATHEMATICS CURRICULUM QUESTIONNAIRE

A. Describe the school. (Name; address; the number of students; the economic, cultural, racial background of the students; the primary academic and/or vocational aims of the school, etc.)

B. What changes in the mathematics curriculum have taken place in the last ten years?

1. For the college-bound student.
   a. In respect to the number of courses offered.
   b. In respect to the content of the courses. (Please forward the courses of study and titles of texts for each course.)
   c. In respect to the percentage of students taking the various courses. (If you do not have specific data for each of these years, please provide as close an estimate as possible.)
   d. In respect to any special programs for these students (track system, honor classes, clubs, program help classes, etc.)
   e. In respect to the general scope (content and years) of mathematics education.

Refer to enclosed form. I will calculate percentages.

2. For the non-college bound student.
   Apply the same criteria as the above (a-e).

3. To what extent do students change from non-academic to academic programs?

c. To what extent has the mathematics reform programs affected the curriculum?

1. The use of materials published by S.M.S.G., U.I.C.S.M., C.E.E.B., The Advanced Placement Program or any other reform programs.

2. The use of texts which are based on these programs.

3. The percentage of students in classes using these materials.

J. Fishman
230 Thompson St.
N.Y., New York 10012

# Enrollments in Mathematics Courses

| | | 1954 | 1956 | 1958 | 1960 | 1962 | 1964 | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total School Enrollment | 9th Grade | | | | | | | |
| | 10th Grade | | | | | | | |
| | 11th Grade | | | | | | | |
| | 12th Grade | | | | | | | |
| Enrollment in College Preparatory Math | | | | | | | | |
| Elementary Algebra* | | | | | | | | |
| Plane Geometry | | | | | | | | |
| Intermediate Algebra | | | | | | | | |
| Fusion | | | | | | | | |
| Trigonometry | | | | | | | | |
| Solid Geometry | | | | | | | | |
| Advanced Algebra | | | | | | | | |
| Coll. Math for Adv. Standing | | | | | | | | |
| All other Coll-Prep Math. | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Enrollment in Non-College Preparatory Math | | | | | | | | |
| 9th Grade General Math | | | | | | | | |
| Advanced General Math | | | | | | | | |
| All other Non-Coll Prep Math | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |

* How many of these students are in the 8th Grade?
Discuss the changes in attitudes Towards math education in your school.

General Comments:

Information Supplied by

# SOME SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS OF THE TEACHER PERSONNEL, PUPIL PERSONNEL AND VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS OF THE GRAND RAPIDS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A Report Of The

Education and Recreation Committee

To The

Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission

June, 1962

## PREFACE

The purpose of this Report is to acquaint the Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission with a number of significant aspects of the Pupil Personnel, Teacher Personnel and Vocational Programs of the Grand Rapids Public Schools.

The Education Committee held a series of carefully planned meetings with Mr. Raymond Boozer, Director of Teacher Personnel and with Mr. Donald Fink, Director of Pupil Personnel and Mr. Bernard Kennedy, Director of Vocational Education to assemble the material contained in this report.

We hope the report will serve to clarify many questions relative to these programs of the Board of Education and that it will enable us to recognize more fully some of the problems faced by school administrators.

SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING WITH MR. DONALD FINK,
PUPIL PERSONNEL DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1962

AGENDA

I. Who are our counsellors? How are they selected? What is their background and training? What is the pupil-counsellor ratio? Is the number of counsellors adequate?

II. What is the division of counselling time with respect to subject matter covered in interviews? (academic - behavior - personal problems, etc.) Is there adequate time for counselling?

III. Is it a function of the counsellor to advise students about scholarships, colleges, etc.? Negro students complain that counsellors do not have information about Negro colleges. Is this a valid complaint? There are also complaints that counsellors often do not recommend subjects related to the selected career of the student. In general, are counsellors able to correctly inform students on subjects related to their chosen career? Do counsellors ever advise a student to drop out of school?

IV. How is it determined which students should be advised to go to college, and who determines this? Is there race and/or class distinction? Is it determined by apparent ability to finance college study, or by some other criteria?

V. Do those who are responsible for counselling work with agencies, organizations, or civic groups (Urban League, labor unions, MESC, etc.) to determine latest information on occupational opportunities, status of merit employment, new counselling information, etc.? Is adequate attention given to new trends in labor needs, overcrowded professions, or other current considerations? What contacts do counselors or those responsible for counselling have with apprentice programs and apprentice groups? What information is given on apprenticeships?

VI. What are national standards in counselling? How do we compare with the national standards?

# PUPIL PERSONNEL PROGRAM

1) Mr. Fink distributed to all members of the Committee a list of all personnel serving as counsellors in the Grand Rapids public schools. (see attached list). He pointed out that the pupil counsellor ratio is 396 pupils to (1) counsellor in grades 10 through 12. Mr. Fink also stated that there are full time counsellors in all of our high schools, but in the Junior College all counsellors also have teaching responsibilities. According to Mr. Fink, the number of counsellors is inadequate, but this is due to a budgetary problem. He further stated that more counsellors alone will not solve all the problems. In the Junior High Schools the pupil-counsellor ratio is more than 500 pupils to (1) counsellor. This weakness is recognized by the Board of Education.

2) Mr. Fink stated that each pupil in all High Schools is limited to one-half hour per school year of counselling time.

3) Mr. Fink stated that all counsellors have had graduate training and are experts on school curricula and available subjects. Negro colleges are not recommended to Negro students because often, these schools are inferior to others and because of the easy availability of the colleges in Michigan. The source work, "College Entrance Counsellor", which is used by all counsellors, contains all colleges in the United States that are either "approved" or "accredited". Mr. Fink stated that counsellors never advise students to drop out of school. However, students often drop out of school without notifying the school officials. (Union High School has a higher drop-out rate than South High School).

4) The counsellors in the school system have all been cautioned to treat the students with potential college ability as if theywere going to college. Because of the increasingly high college entrance requirements, the colleges themselves are determining who goes to college rather than the student, counsellor, or other factors.

5) Mr. Fink and his counsellors do work with referral agencies. He mentioned the Family Service Agency and the Child Guidance Clinic. They also work very closely with MESC on employment trends. A great deal of material is sent to the schools by MESC but due to a time problem, much of this material is not read. Mr. Fink suggested that we contact Mr. Bernie Kennedy in order to get specific information relativeto the school apprenticeship program. He did not feel competent to discuss this program in detail. He did state, however, that this was an important school area of responsibility and that he recognized the problems in relation to Negroes inherent in this program.

6) Michigan does not require State certification for school counsellors. In Grand Rapids, 15 semester hours on the graduate level in counselling and guidance is required of all applicants for appointment as a school counsellor. Teacher training precedes counsellor training and all counsellors in Grand Rapids have taught school for at least three years. There are 27 counsellors including Junior College in Grand Rapids. We are attempting to build the best counselling program in this part of the country. Our educational counselling program is very adequate. Our vocational counselling program needs improvement and efforts are being made to do this. Personal counselling is not adequate, but some attention is given to it.

BOARD OF EDUCATION
COUNSELLORS FOR THE 1961-62 SCHOOL YEAR

| | | Years Teaching Exp. |
|---|---|---|
| Central | I-Mr. Wesley Perrin - Head Counsellor | 6½ |
| | I-Miss Lucille Meyering | 30½ |
| | Mr. Albert Ritsema | 5½ |
| Creston | Mr.Lowell McDougal - Hd.Counsellor | 34½ |
| | I-Mr. Donald Black | 8½ |
| | Mr. David Hager | 1½ |
| | Mr. Richard Janke | 1½ |
| Ottawa | I-Mr.Robert VanderMolen Hd.Counsellor | 10½ |
| | Mrs. Mildred Goudzwaard | 22½ |
| | I-Mr. John Hage - ½ time | 7½ |
| | I-Mr. John Lane | 5½ |
| South | I-Mr.Anthony LaPenna - Hd.Counsellor | 9 |
| | I-Mrs. Helen Tharp | 13½ |
| | Mr. Samuel Upton, Jr. | 16 |
| Union | Mr.Gordon Langereis (Actg.Hd. " ) | 5½ |
| | I-Mrs. Bernice Ambrose | 6½ |
| | Mr. Edmund Galant | 15½ |
| | I-Mr. James Lowe | ½ |
| Burton Jr. | Mrs. Dorothea Shields | 20 |
| Harrison Jr. | Miss Mary Dively | 32½ |
| Oakleigh Jr. | Mrs. Dolly Frost - 2/5 time | 1½ |
| Ridgeview Jr. | Mr. Milton Ehlert | 6½ |
| Riverside Jr. | Mrs. Josephine Sculley | 30½ |
| Jr. College | I-Robert Williams | 8½ |
| | I-Robert Tupper | ½ |
| | Merry Gregory | 2 |
| | Antoinette Joiner | 10½ |

Currently Attending Year-Long Institutes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Michigan State University | - Bruce Tweddale | 5 |
| Boston University | - John Rose | 10 |
| Ohio State University | - Milton Cudney | 6 |

SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING WITH MR. RAYMOND BOOZER,
TEACHER PERSONNEL DIRECTOR OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1961

AGENDA

I. What special problems do you have in recruiting teachers for the Grand Rapids school system? Which, if any, of these problems are related to the $4400 starting salary?

II. Do you have difficulty in finding teachers who are willing or who are qualified to take assignments in the so-called "problem schools"? Is this related to our starting salary or are other factors involved?

III. In what areas of the country and at what schools do you concentrate your recruiting efforts?

IV. What is the policy and what are the practices of your department in hiring graduates of Calvin and Aquinas Colleges?

V. We note that progress has been made in the assignment of non-white teachers to Junior and Senior High Schools where there is small or no non-white enrollment. However, 37 of the 38 non-white elementary teachers are assigned to schools with more than 70% non-white enrollment. Why does this pattern of assignment prevail? Does it affect your hiring policy?

## TEACHER PERSONNEL PROGRAM

1) Mr. Boozer reported that 1155 prospective teachers were interviewed for the 1961-62 academic year. Of this number, 150 were hired. 15 were non-white. Mr. Boozer stated that there was a critical need for qualified elementary school teachers. He also stated that the Grand Rapids public schools cannot use applicants who major in non-teachable subjects. He stated that the $4400 starting salary in Grand Rapids for new teachers is not a deterrent for attracting good applicants. Grand Rapids does not compete for teachers with large metropolitan communities like Detroit and Chicago. The Grand Rapids starting salary is adequate for the competition in western Michigan.

2) Mr. Boozer pointed out that the objective in the Grand Rapids public schools is not only to attract qualified new teachers, but also to retain them in the system for a long period of time. With this in mind, the Board of Education has put the emphasis on raising the maximum * salary for each classification rather than raising the minimum salary. For a B.A. degree, the maximum salary is $7,150 annually. For teachers who have a Masters degree, the maximum salary at the present time is $7,450 annually. New teachers are expensive the first year. They need the assistance of visiting teachers and often, in addition, they need consultation on their day to day classroom problems. No assignments are given at interview time to attract candidates even though elementary teachers are needed. Mr. Boozer stated very candidly that because of this policy, we often lose good elementary teachers to nearby areas. Problem schools according to Mr. Boozer, are extremely difficult to staff, but this is not due to race.

E.G.: The Coldbrook school incident which was widely publicized is harmful to recruiting efforts in Grand Rapids.

Because of transportation problems, teachers sometimes request an assignment in the general area of their residence. Recruiting is done between February 1 and May 1 of each year; assignments are made in late July or early August. There is a big personnel turnover in fields which attract women:

E.G.: Home Economics, Physical Education and English.

* The salary schedule for all degree classifications was amended upward by the Grand Rapids Board of Education on Monday, March 12, 1962.

Mr. Boozer stated that there is a dire need for strong teachers in our Junior High School program. We need people dedicated to this age level rather than people accepting Junior High assignments while waiting for a Senior High School vacancy. Assignments are made on the basis of interest and general qualifications of the applicant, while at the same time recognizing the needs of each school and each community.

3) Thirty-five (35) different colleges and universities in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio and Kentucky, are canvassed annually. Interviews of prospective candidates are held on the college campus for prospective teachers out of the state. Of the 150 teachers who were hired in the 1961-62 academic year, 39 states are represented.

4) The policy relative to graduates of Calvin and Aquinas Colleges is the same as that for other colleges and universities. No preference is shown by the Board of Education. In the 1961-62 academic year, 17 Calvin graduates and 13 Aquinas graduates were hired. Graduates of these two schools go to the Board of Education for interviews. Mr. Boozer does not go to the campus of these schools to seek applicants. This is due to the respect of the Board of Education for the teaching needs of parochial schools.

5) Last year there was a Negro teacher in every High School including Creston and Union High. Two Negro teachers resigned at the end of August for personal reasons. The major problem in recruitment of non-white teachers is the fact that Mr. Boozer and Dr. Pylman do not see enough qualified non-white teachers during the recruiting period. The better non-white applicants for teaching positions are people who come to the Board of Education on their own, seeking positions. In the 1961-62 academic year, 15 Negro teachers were hired.

"We place individual teachers where they have the potential for doing the most good for the boys and girls in our Grand Rapids schools. In doing this, we take into consideration a person's academic preparation, his personality, his professional training and his preference for an assignment. This preference would include the grade or subject area and socio-economic type community to which he is best prepared. Obviously, race per se has no bearing on assignment consideration. The assignment with the greatest potential for the boys and girls and for the individual himself is the prime consideration."

Mr. Boozer stated further:
"We presently have non-white teachers in buildings which draw from almost exclusively white neighborhoods."

In respect to the initial assignment of beginning teachers, Mr. Boozer stated:

> "We do attempt to give a choice as to grade level and geographical preference. In our appointment letters we do not specify a particular building or grade assignment except late in the recruiting season when we would hire a person to replace a late resignation."

Mr. Boozer emphasized the fact that a white or non-white teacher would not be assigned into a building in which he would not have the opportunity to achieve his greatest potential.

6) The administrators of the Board of Education are anxious to be cooperative with the HRC and they welcome periodic meetings and conferences with them relative to the schools. A discussion relative to the counselling program in the public schools was lengthy and very revealing. Mr. Boozer suggested that an early meeting with Mr. Donald Fink to discuss this concern was desirable. Mr. Boozer denied emphatically the allegation that a large number of southern white teachers are being recruited. He stated that only two teachers from the South (Kentucky) were hired in the 1961-62 academic year. Both of these teachers were non-white.

SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE MEETING WITH MR. BERNARD KENNEDY,
DIRECTOR OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1962

AGENDA

I. How many students are currently involved in vocational programs?

II. At what age or grade level can students enter the vocational program?

III. Are all students eligible? If not, how are they selected?

IV. What kinds of training are available?

V. What part do the employers play in the selection of students for placement?

VI. Are non-public schools involved in the program?

VII. Negro students often have problems in finding employment. Are any special efforts made on behalf of Negro students?

VIII. If a potential employer says "we will not take Negro students", what does the coordinator do?

IX. Are there any trends in training toward new occupations, skills and industries?

X. Are records kept which indicate how many students stay with the placement or field of work?

XI. Many people have indicated a need for re-establishing a vocational school in this community. Would you care to comment on this?

XII. Do you feel that the vocational training program comes under the jurisdiction of the F.E.P.C. law? Can a student-worker, refused employment because of race or creed, file an F.E.P. claim?

## VOCATIONAL PROGRAM

1) Mr. Kennedy differentiated between the Vocational Program and the Apprenticeship Program of the Board of Education. The Apprenticeship Program is only one of the many vocational programs sponsored by the Board of Education. He also explained that all shop classes are not vocational courses and cited the Board of Education's broad industrial arts program as an example.

   a. Industrial Arts Program
   There are 3,657 students enrolled. The program provides exploratory experiences in different areas and is not considered to be vocational as its purpose is not the development of salable work skills.

   b. Cooperative Training Program
   There are 260 students enrolled. Students attend school part time and work part time.

   c. Trade Opportunity and Trade Preparatory Programs
   There are 110 students enrolled.

   d. Junior College Technical Program
   There are 256 students enrolled.

   e. Apprenticeship Program
   There are 360 students enrolled. High school graduation as well as certain course requirements are mandatory for admission to this program.

   f. Evening Vocational Program
   There are 562 adults enrolled. The total number in the numerous vocational programs operated by the Board of Education is 1,548.

2) The trade preparatory program is for 11th and 12th graders and because of prerequisite courses few exceptions can be made. There are no grade restrictions on the trade opportunity program. The cooperative training program is designed for 12th graders but exceptions are made when circumstances seem to justify them. There are no grade or age restrictions on the other programs.

3) The trade opportunity program provides training for slow learners and for students who have had poor scholastic records. Students enrolling in the trade preparatory

courses must have shown aptitude and interest in the area and be recommended by their industrial arts instructor. Cooperative training students must be enrolled in the proper related courses and work on a supervised part time job.

4) Trade Opportunity Courses: Machine Shop, Shoe Repair
Trade Preparatory Courses: Electricity, Furniture Technology, Machine Shop, Printing
Cooperative Occupational Training: Distributive Education, Office Occupations, Trade and Industrial Occupations
J.C. Technical Programs: Electronic Technology, Mechanical Technology, Practical Nursing
Adult Program: Wide range of different courses

5) "Application for apprenticeship training may be made to an employer direct, to the local labor union in the trade selected for a career, to a local joint apprenticeship committee or to the local state employment service office."[1]

Applications are carefully screened and only the most qualified are accepted. Training is available in tool and die making, electricity, etc. Salary scale is from $2.50 to $3.20 per hour. This rate increases when the apprentice becomes a journeyman. Standards are established by the Local Bureau of Federal Apprenticeships. There are two (2) Negroes currently enrolled in the program serving their probationary period. Few Negroes have applied for admission to the program. In the co-op program employers request students for job openings. The faculty sends three or four applicants. The employers make the final selection.

6) Non-public school students are eligible for the day vocational program. However, very few are enrolled because of their own school schedules. In the adult evening vocational program everyone is eligible after payment of a nominal fee.

7) No special efforts are made on behalf of Negro students because preferential treatment would be unfair to white students.

8) The position of the program coordinator is to send several qualified applicants when jobs are available. The final decision is left to the employer.

[1] Apprentice Training - U.S. Department of Labor - 1959, p.8.

9) Mr. Kennedy and his staff work with the Employer's Association and Chamber of Commerce Committees to determine any new trends in training requirements. They are also working with the Michigan Employment Security Commission Office in determining ways of implementing training programs for the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

10. No accurate records have been kept, but an attempt will be made to maintain records in the future for students who do not go to college. This is done now for students who do go to college.

11. Research indicates that the trend in the United States is toward comprehensive high schools rather than separate schools for academic and vocational training. Most educators feel that it is unwise and unnecessary to separate high school students because their life's goals are not the same. In answer to a question concerning the closing of Davis Vocational and Technical High School, the following statistics were presented.

    1. Davis Tech enrollment was steadily declining
       1941-42 - - 924 students (Highest in last 8 years)
       1942-43 - - 872 students
       1943-44 - - 734 students (Lowest enrollment in city)
       a. Ottawa Hills High School had the next lowest enrollment with 1269 students (about 172% of Tech's enrollment)

    2. Total Davis Tech enrollment approximately 700 students
       Approx. 200 students in vocational & technical programs
       Approx. 500 students in academic programs
       b. Only 2/7 of student body were enrolled in vocational and technical courses.

    3. Very high operating cost per pupil at Davis Tech
       Average yearly cost per pupil at Tech - $148.39
       c. Central High School had the next highest yearly per capita cost of $ 95.00 (about 64% of Tech's cost)

    4. As students came to Tech from all sections of the city, they could be housed very easily in their area high schools.

    5. A good vocational program could be provided for more Grand Rapids students by inaugurating adequate and certified vocational courses in our other five high schools.

12) Mr. Kennedy was unable to respond to this question. Mr. William Layton, Regional Director of the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission was interrogated on this matter and he stated categorically that the vocational programs are covered by the Fair Employment Practice Law. (Act 251 - Public Acts of 1955).

## HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

## EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Mrs. Lee Wilson Hutchins, Chairman

Mrs. Wadsworth Bissell

Mr. Milo M. Brown

Dr. Lewis B. Clingman

Rev. Harold Dekker

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Mrs. Hollis Reynolds

Mr. Alfred E. Cowles, Director

REPORT OF

# Progress and Plans

ON RECOMMENDATIONS

OF CITIZENS ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON

# Equal Educational Opportunities

DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION

AUGUST 21, 1962

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# INTRODUCTION

The Detroit Board of Education, desirous of having Detroit schools provide educational opportunities equally for all pupils, regardless of race, color, or creed, has stated on several occasions over the past years that this policy should govern the organization, operation, and provision of facilities of the school system. More than two years ago it established a Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities to recommend ways in which the Detroit school system could achieve greater equality of educational opportunity for all.

The Committee in its examination expressed various concerns touching many parts of the complex school system which enrolls approximately 290,000 pupils. These concerns resulted in 187 recommendations which dealt with the instructional program, the organization of the schools, school personnel, school relationships, and the school plant.

The Board of Education, upon receipt of the report in March 1962, studied and discussed it, and within three months took the following action:

| | |
|---|---|
| Recommendations approved without change | 140 |
| Recommendations amended and approved | 22 |
| Recommendations deferred pending further study | 25 |
| Recommendations disapproved | 0 |
| Total | 187 |

The Superintendent has prepared for the Board of Education this report so that the 16,000 employees of the school system and the community may have a comprehensive, yet compact, view of the major concerns of the Committee and what is being done within the school system to move forward in carrying out the recommendations.

Rather than report at this time in detail on each of the 187 individual recommendations, we have tried to highlight seven areas which we believe are of high priority to the Committee. On these we have noted what is being done or is planned in 1962-63. The report thus considers the following major areas of Committee concern:

A. That educational offerings be available equally to all and equivalent in standards of quality.

B. That recruitment, hiring, assignment, and advancement must comply with fair employment practices, and in turn provide throughout the city a school staff, equivalent in quality and sensitive to the needs of each neighborhood.

C. That school organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided to all pupils and

shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.

D. That school building facilities, equipment, and supplies be augmented and be made available equally for all children.

E. That there should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.

F. That there is the need to establish and expand programs to compensate for the handicaps in learning due to physical, mental, economic, or cultural handicaps.

G. That research, experimentation, and evaluation be continued and be encouraged to improve all aspects of the school system operations.

The Board of Education, the Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, and the school system administration are all seeking to meet these needs. They recognize that some changes are necessary to accomplish these objectives. They recognize that educational changes take time. They also recognize the urgency in large cities today for immediate and continuous progress toward providing equal educational opportunities for all. This report indicates steps taken and planned to enable the Detroit school system to affect to a greater degree the welfare of the city in a constructive and positive manner.

The sections below indicate for each of the seven committee concerns and needs: (1) specific school programs and provisions to attain the objective; (2) reference to the Equal Educational Opportunities recommendations which deal with these concerns; and (3) notations as to whether the provisions are in operation, are to be expanded, or are to be started in 1962-63, or if additional funds are needed to institute or expand the program. Your questions and suggestions are invited.

## SECTION A

*Educational offerings should be available equally to all and equivalent in standards of quality.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 1<br>" 17<br>" 23<br>" 37 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes that similar school curricula should have similar standards in all schools. | | | | |
| | a. The basic curriculum is the same in all schools. All high schools offer courses meeting high school graduation requirements..... | x | | | |
| | b. Guides for teachers are issued system-wide for all major courses and curricula..... | x | x | | |
| | c. Basic textbooks are selected on a system-wide basis and furnished to all schools on similar per pupil distribution..... | x | | | |
| | d. At regular stages during the school program, system-wide standardized achievement tests are given and results analysed to aid teachers principals, and supervisors in maintaining similar standards..... | x | x | | |
| | e. Honors Program being extended to all high schools..... | x | x | | |
| | f. Three curriculum coordinators added to staff with this objective..... | x | | | x |
| | g. In-service training program intensified..... | x | x | | x |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 1<br>" 3A<br>" 3B<br>" 6<br>" 7<br>" 13<br>" 33<br>" 34<br>" 36<br>" 37<br>" 38<br>" 39<br>" 40<br>O&A 4A<br>" 4B<br>" 10<br>Pers 39<br>S&CR 13<br>" 14<br>" 15<br>" 16<br>" 26 | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that pupils in all parts of the city shall have equal opportunity to participate in curricula, and extra curricular activities. | | | | |
| | a. Basic curricula provided in all elementary and junior high schools. All high schools offer courses satisfying high school graduation requirements... | x | | | |
| | b. Pupil transfer policy permits any child to transfer to any school offering a course of instruction which he needs and which cannot be offered in his own school..... | x | x | | |
| | c. Transfer procedures enable pupils to transfer to any school which has available space when school capacity permits..... | x | x | | |
| | d. Summer school without fees, as soon as funds are available, approved as policy by Board of Education. Funds for free remedial classes increased..... | x | x | | x |
| | e. Provisions for granting free textbooks, supplies, free bus tickets, and lunches to indigent pupils incorporated in budget with procedures for administering set forth in Administrative Handbook..... | x | | | x |
| | f. Special class program for mentally retarded expanded from 515 classes in 1956-57 to 606 in 1961-62..... | x | x | | x |
| | g. Provision for extra copies of textbooks in grades 1-8 so that pupils may take them home as needed approved by Board of Education June 12, 1962..... | | | x | x |
| | h. Policy of free textbooks for pupils in grades 9-12 approved by Board of Education June 12, 1962..... | | | | x |

*Educational offerings should be available equally to all and equivalent in standards of quality.*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2. (continued) | | | | |
| | i. Paper-back textbooks and supplementary books made available for pupils whenever possible..... | x | x | | |
| | j. Three buses have been purchased by the Board of Education, and the P.T.A. Council and the Institute for Economic Education supplement school district funds to make it possible for more pupils from low income areas to take trips to different parts of the city.. | x | x | | x |
| | k. Number of high school pupils on half-day session decreased by approximately 10,000 since 1956..... | x | x | | x |
| C&G 3B<br>" 3D<br>O&A 3<br>" 20<br>" 20A<br>" 20C | 3. The Board of Education recognizes the need to conserve our human resources and to provide each student with the opportunity to enjoy effective economic citizenship without discrimination as to race or religion. | | | | |
| | a. Notification of Detroit school policy of non-participation in any discriminatory program given to U.S. Office of Education, U.S. Labor Department, and all employers and unions involved in co-op work, or work experience programs. (See Appendix)..... | x | x | | |
| | b. Superintendent is meeting with employer, union and governmental groups to inform them of Board policy on non-discrimination in the selection of apprentices. (See Appendix)..... | x | | | |
| | c. Board has officially acknowledged its responsibility to call upon Federal, state, and local agencies to investigate any charge of discrimination brought to the attention of the Board which involves the school program..... | x | | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | 3. (continued) | | | | |
| | | d. Each local joint apprentice council is being required to file a statement of non-discriminatory practice and guaranteeing compliance with Board policy. (See Appendix)..... | | | x | |
| | | e. Superintendent is a member of President's Committee on Youth Employment which is working on the apprenticeship program nationally, including non-discrimination safeguards..... | x | | | |
| C&G | 3A | 4. The Board of Education recognizes that preparation of pupils for work opportunities should be available to all. | | | | |
| " | 3B | | | | | |
| " | 3C | | | | | |
| " | 3D | | | | | |
| " | 4 | | | | | |
| " | 10 | a. A two-year staff study proposing system-wide improved program of preparing pupils for the world of work approved by Board of Education October 31, 1961, and implementing committee established by Superintendent on November 2, 1961..... | x | x | | |
| " | 11 | | | | | |
| " | 42 | | | | | |
| O&A | 12 | | | | | |
| " | 13 | | | | | |
| " | 14A | | | | | |
| " | 14B | | | | | |
| " | 14C | | | | | |
| " | 14D | | | | | |
| " | 20B | | | | | |
| Pers | 29 | | | | | |
| S&CR | 11 | b. Board of Education policy is that all programs, including work experience programs, shall be open equally to all, regardless of race, color, or creed..... | x | | | |
| | | c. Board of Education has approved standard of 300 pupils per counselor load: in senior high schools the ratio has been reduced from 411 to 352, and in junior high schools from 607 to 481 between 1958-9 to 1961-2..... | x | x | | x |
| | | d. Job upgrading program has been extended from 7 schools in 1956-7 to 11 schools in 1961-2..... | x | x | | x |

*Educational offerings should be available equally to all and equivalent in standards of quality.*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4. (continued) | | | | |
| | e. Program established in cooperation with state vocational rehabilitation division to develop program for mentally retarded to prepare for jobs.... | x | x | | |
| | f. 1962-3 budget provides for the establishment of three additional co-op programs (Chadsey, Northwestern, and Western)..... | x | x | | x |
| C&G 35A<br>" 35B<br>S&CR 18C | 5. The Board of Education recognizes that textbooks and other materials of instruction used shall reflect fairly the contributions to the world and U. S. development of all races, colors, and creeds. | | | | |
| | a. Policy voted by Board that in adoption of textbooks, preference be given to those which recognize the history, development, needs, and aspirations of the total world community, and which reflect the contributions of minority groups to American life..... | x | x | | |
| | b. Reading materials developed by the Detroit staff to reflect the experience and needs of urban children are being published by an independent national textbook company and will be available for use in the fall of 1962. | | | x | |
| | c. Representatives of the Detroit school staff have conferred with textbook publishing companies advising them of Board policy that materials of instruction used shall reflect fairly the contributions of all races, colors, and creeds..... | x | x | | |
| | d. The School-Community Relations Division is being involved in the selection and preparation of instructional materials which reflect the dynamics of our total society..... | x | x | | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O&A 17<br>" 18<br>S&CR 8 | 6. The Board of Education recognizes that efforts to reduce "school drop-outs" should begin at an early age. | | | | |
| | a. The School-Community Behavior Project concentrating on potential juvenile delinquents and drop-outs in the elementary schools has been expanded from 2 schools in 1954 to 19 schools in 1961-62..... | x | x | | |
| | b. Board adopted policy is for standard of 300 pupils per guidance counselor. Progress toward this objective has reduced pupils per counselor from 411 to 352 in senior high schools and from 607 to 481 in junior high schools between 1958-9 and 1961-2..... | x | x | | x |
| | c. Remedial classes in reading and in arithmetic expanded in regular day program on after-school basis from 76 (reading only) in 1957-8 to 444 (both reading and arithmetic) in 1961-2, and in summer school from 14 in 1960 to 36 in 1962..... | x | x | | x |

## SECTION B

*Recruitment, hiring, assignment, and advancement of personnel must comply with fair employment practices—and in turn provide throughout the city a school staff equivalent in quality and sensitive to the needs of each neighborhood.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pers 1<br>" 2<br>" 3<br>" 5<br>" 7<br>" 8<br>" 9<br>" 11<br>" 12<br>" 13<br>" 14<br>" 27<br>" 30<br>" 31<br>" 32<br>" 34<br>" 35<br>" 36 | 1. The Board of Education asserts that persons shall be employed, assigned, transferred and promoted, regardless of their race, color, or creed. | | | | |
| | a. Personnel policies and procedures covering appointment, assignment, transfer, and promotion are published. They apply to all personnel equally, regardless of race, creed, or color. Reaffirmed by the Board of Education March 13, 1962..... | x | | | |
| | b. A bi-racial advisory committee to the Superintendent conducts a continual evaluation of personnel policies and practices to insure that personnel practices are fair to all..... | x | | | |
| | c. A bi-racial Teacher Selection Review Committee reviews and recommends to the Superintendent on any applicant who believes that his application may not have been properly considered..... | x | | | |
| | d. A bi-racial Grievance Committee reviews any grievance on the part of employees and recommends to the Superintendent appropriate action..... | x | x | | |
| | e. Bi-racial recruiting teams are in operation and will be expanded..... | x | x | | x |
| | f. Notification of teacher institutions of Detroit's non-discriminatory policy for all of personnel practice is observed and will be periodically repeated. (See Appendix)..... | x | x | | |

*Recruitment, hiring, assignment, and advancement of personnel must comply with fair employment practices—and in turn provide throughout the city a school staff equivalent in quality and sensitive to the needs of each neighborhood.*

| EEO REC'S | | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pers 4 | | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that placement of student teachers shall be in conformance with practices applied to regular teacher placement. | | | | |
| | | a. The Superintendent decentralized student teacher placement to all areas of the city beginning in September, 1959, and increased the number of teacher training schools..... | x | x | | |
| | | b. A letter is being sent to all colleges and universities participating in the student teacher program notifying them of the policy of system-wide assignments. (See Appendix)..... | | | x | |
| C&G 22B 24 42 44 45 48 O&A 11A 11B 11C 15 Pers 10 15 16 17 | Pers 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 26 27 28 31 33 37 S&CR 10 18D | 3. The Board of Education recognizes that the experience, preparation, competence, and supply of teachers and other service personnel should be equal and adequate in all parts of the city and additional service shall be provided where special problems exist. | | | | |
| | | a. Same employment requirements are applied to all placed on the eligibility list. Placement in vacancies is by alternating new and experienced persons, and by providing the same base pupil-teacher ratio for each administrative district. Special service is added where special problems exist..... | x | x | | |
| | | b. Policy on teacher transfer was initiated and published in 1958 that beginning teachers may expect after 2 or 3 years to be transferred where experienced teachers are needed..... | x | x | | |

*Recruitment, hiring, assignment, and advancement of personnel must comply with fair employment practices—and in turn provide throughout the city a school staff equivalent in quality and sensitive to the needs of each neighborhood.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3. (continued) | | | | |
| | c. The Superintendent and teacher organizations have agreed and the Board has adopted the following: "Seniority (as defined in *Teachers' Bulletin No. 2*, page G-9) should not become an obstacle to the accomplishment of balanced staff assignments in the individual schools."..... | x | | | |
| | d. Pages P-9 and P-10 of *Board Action and Staff Commentaries* indicate progress in placement of emergency substitute teachers in regular positions and Prob. I and II teachers so that no district in the system contains a disproportionate number of either category..... | x | x | | |
| | e. E.S.R.P. service will be substantially equalized throughout the city in 1962-63. The objective is that by September 1963 E.S.R.P. services shall be practically eliminated..... | x | x | | |
| | f. The Personnel Division will assign more resource teachers to areas where substitute service is needed most..... | x | x | | x |
| | g. Secretarial assistance is allocated throughout the city on a formula based on pupil load, but also taking into account to some extent special items such as pupil mobility, lunch and bus pupils, etc..... | x | x | | x |
| | h. The supply of substitutes in all areas of the city was more adequate in 1961-62 than in 1960-61..... | x | x | | x |
| | i. The annual racial analysis of pupils, teachers and administrators approved by the Board of Education will permit evaluation of personnel policies and practices as related to race..... | x | | | |

*Recruitment, hiring, assignment, and advancement of personnel must comply with fair employment practices—and in turn provide throughout the city a school staff equivalent in quality and sensitive to the needs of each neighborhood.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 27B<br>" 31<br>" 32<br>" 43<br>O&A 1<br>" 2<br>Pers 38<br>" 40A<br>" 40B<br>" 40C<br>" 43<br>S&CR 2<br>" 21A<br>" 21B<br>" 23 | 4. The Board of Education recognizes that in the employment, assignment, evaluation, and in-service training of school employees, especially principals and teachers, their sensitivity to and behavior respecting inter-group relations be given special attention. | | | | |
| | a. Special workshops for principals, for teachers in Great City project schools, and for assistant principals, including consideration of inter-group problems, have been held during the summers of 1961 and 1962..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. During the past two years two workshops have been held for counselors and a counselors' handbook developed. The counselor's role in inter-group understanding has been included..... | x | x | | |
| | c. It is the practice to assign to teacher selection and promotion committees those individuals who have demonstrated sensitivity to inter-group needs, so as to assure that in selection and promotion this program will be realized..... | x | x | | |
| | d. Each district administrator, as educational leader of the district, is expected to conduct activities with teachers and principals that help to promote these goals..... | x | x | | |
| | e. Notification by the Superintendent to colleges and universities of the need for greater emphasis on inter-group understanding in the preparation of teachers. (See Appendix)..... | | | x | |
| | f. The statement appears in the *Teachers' Bulletin* and promotion committees have been notified that experience in varied socio-economic areas shall be a factor in promotion..... | x | x | | |

## SECTION C

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISION TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 3B<br>" 3D<br>O&A 8<br>" 20<br>" 21<br>Pers 1<br>" 2<br>" 3<br>" 7<br>S&CR 1<br>" 5<br>" 19 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes that administrators of the school system should make clear by statement and in their actions that the Detroit Public Schools stand for and will provide equal educational opportunities for all pupils, regardless of race, color, or creed. | | | | |
| | a. The Board of Education established a Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities in 1959 to study any and all facets of the school system and to recommend ways in which the schools could provide more equal educational opportunities for all pupils..... | x | | | |
| | b. Within three months after receiving the report of the Citizens Advisory Committee, the Board of Education had discussed in public sessions all 187 recommendations and acted upon them... | x | | | |
| | c. The Board of Education has reaffirmed its position that the Detroit public school system is committed to providing equal educational opportunities for all pupils regardless of the child's color, creed, or country of national origin. (See *Proceedings* May 14, 1957 and April 30, 1962.).... | x | | | |
| | d. The Superintendent, on June 25, 1962, issued a statement to all school employees calling to their attention the Report of the Committee, indicating that each employee would receive a copy of the Recommendations and Board action, would be expected to read them and to carry out the adopted recommendations..... | | | | x |

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O&A | 5 | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that building capacity, distance, safety for child, and inclusion of all ethnic groups residing in an area, shall be the basis of or the establishment or the revision of school attendance areas—and not to serve as a means of dividing pupils on racial or religious grounds. | | | | |
| " | 6 | | | | | |
| " | 9 | | | | | |
| S&CR | 18A | | | | | |
| " | 18B | | | | | |
| Plant | 7 | | | | | |
| | | a. School attendance district boundaries are based on the above principles, are reviewed annually and published..... | x | | | |
| | | b. Proposals for boundary changes involve School Housing Division, Administration of School Units Division, School-Community Relations Division and Superintendent, as well as District Administrator, with opportunity for further review with community groups.. | x | | | |
| | | c. School Housing and School Relationships and Special Services are delegated the responsibility for making a continuing study of population shifts; changes in ethnic, racial or religious composition; physical changes such as expressways and urban renewal; and for considering these factors in the revision of school boundaries..... | x | x | | |
| | | d. Effective September 1962 the Winterhalter and McKerrow schools are transferred from the Center Administrative District and assigned to the West Administrative District. The Condon, Columbian, Newberry and Sill schools are transferred from the Center Administrative District to the South Administrative District. This will reduce the number of children in the Center District by about 7,000 and 6 schools..... | | | x | |

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISION TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O&A 4A<br>" 4B | 3. The Board of Education recognizes that pupil transfer policies and procedures should be such that any pupil so desiring might attend school outside of his residential area, where school capacity permits. | | | | |
| | a. The open transfer policy outlined in September 1961 has been expanded for September 1962. Schools with available space are made public through the press. In 1962-63 the open school list includes 33 elementary, 2 junior high schools and 3 senior high schools. (See Appendix for full list.)..... | x | x | | |
| | b. The pupil transfer program permits any child to transfer to any school offering a course of instruction he needs but which course cannot be offered in his home school..... | x | | | |
| | c. Procedures for pupil transfer are set forth in the *Administrative Handbook*.. | x | | | |
| O&A 6<br>S&CR 18A | 4. The Board of Education recognizes that busing of pupils should be on the same bases in all parts of the city, with bused pupils being included in the school organization and operations in the same way as pupils who live in the area. | | | | |
| | a. Pupils transferred by busing to relieve overcrowding are in so far as possible, bused from a geographical area. They are bused to the nearest school having available space regardless of the racial or religious composition of either group, and all pupils in the school are organized as a single school unit. Procedures apply equally to all parts of the city..... | x | | | |

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISION TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 8<br>O&A 7<br>" 8<br>Pers 21 | 5. The Board of Education recognizes that the school system should increase opportunities of pupils for experiences which cross racial, religious, economic, nationality and social lines. | | | | |
| | a. School system has provided three busses in 1961-62 to be used full time for school trips of pupils to increase experiences outside of their neighborhood..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. Pupils from schools in all parts of the city participate in city wide children's symphony concerts, spelling bees, co-op dinners with employers, Youth Awards dinners, all-city music, athletic, foresnic, student council, science fair, safety-patrol, R.O.T.C., art, writing, student councils at junior and senior high school levels, future teacher clubs, and other activities. Administrative districts likewise have district-wide activities which include representatives from all schools in the district..... | x | x | | x |
| | c. Personnel policies provide that beginning teachers shall expect a change in their location after three years. Persons desiring promotion are encouraged to have experience in varied sections of the city. These bring to pupils a broader range of teachers during their school career..... | x | x | | |
| | d. "Open school" enrollment policy, and schools with programs open to pupils from all parts of the City (e.g. Cass Tech., Commerce, Wilbur Wright, Chadsey, et al.) increase pupil opportunities beyond their neighborhood.... | x | x | | |

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISION TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 16<br>" 17<br>" 18<br>" 19<br>" 20<br>" 27A<br>" 28<br>" 30<br>" 41<br>" 50B<br>Pers 34<br>S&CR 20 | 6. The Board of Education recognizes that administrative policies and procedures should be stated with sufficient detail and clarity to enable all to understand the respective responsibilities and relationships of school personnel; and be so administered as to coordinate total school program. | | | | |
| | a. School employees are provided with concise statements of major policies and procedures through such publications and activities as: ..... | x | x | | |
| | *Teachers' Bulletin*—to all teachers. | | | | |
| | *Administrative Handbook*—to all administrators. | | | | |
| | Publication of *Principals' Notes* (semi-monthly)—to all schools. | | | | |
| | Publication of *Detroit Schools*—which goes to every employee—(changed from monthly to semi-monthly issues). | | | | |
| | Publication of all school boundaries—to all schools. | | | | |
| | Superintendent reports to staff over Channel 56 after each Board Meeting. | | | | |
| | Meetings of Superintendent with staff as follows: | | | | |
| | Principals and other administrators, monthly. | | | | |
| | Assistant Superintendents, weekly. | | | | |
| | District Administrators, semi-monthly. | | | | |
| | Presidents of employee organizations, monthly. | | | | |
| | b. Copies of Equal Educational Opportunities Report, with the information provided by the staff for Board of Education consideration, and the action of the Board of Education on each recommendation have been printed and made available to each school employee..... | | | x | |

*School organization and administration should assert and demonstrate that equal opportunities shall be provided all pupils and shall aid all to gain experiences with others beyond their immediate neighborhood, social, racial, and economic background.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISION TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 6. (continued) | | | | |
| | c. Superintendent has issued to all school employees a policy statement which announces adherence to the Board of Education's policy of equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, color or creed, and the obligation of the school staff to seek fulfillment of this policy in school practice..... | | | x | |
| C&G 25 | 7. The Board of Education recognizes that the progress of all pupils should be aided by defined promotion procedures. | | | | |
| | a. Committee to study school promotion procedures established by Superintendent to start work in September, 1962.. | | | x | |

## SECTION D

*School building facilities, equipment and supplies should be augmented and be made available equally for all children.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plant 1<br>" 4<br>" 7<br>" 8 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes that adequate school facilities should be provided and maintained equally well in all parts of the city. | | | | |
| | a. Based upon an evaluation of all school buildings in 1958 over 70% of the site and construction program approved by the voters in 1959 has been expended in the East, Southeast, South, Southwest and Center Administrative Districts. The allocation of funds was determined as follows: | | | | |
| | Center[1] $17,019,500<br>East 22,284,500<br>North[2] 1,875,000<br>Northeast 8,453,000<br>Northwest 9,164,000<br>South 11,386,000<br>Southeast 11,248,000<br>Southwest 7,160,000<br>West 3,770,000<br>Total ..... $92,360,000 .... | x | | | |
| | b. Re-appraisal of building needs in all parts of the city to be reported to Board of Education in fall of 1962 for determining next step in providing adequate school plant in all parts of city..... | | | x | x |

(1) Includes special $2,000,000 appropriation.

(2) Includes special $1,000,000 for Mumford relief.

*School building facilities, equipment and supplies should be augmented and be made available equally for all children.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 12A<br>" 12B<br>" 15<br>Plant 1 | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that all school buildings should provide centers for instructional materials and be planned for and made available more extensively for community use after school hours in all areas of the city. | | | | |
| | a. Each new building has Project Advisory Committee including citizens of the area to be served, is planned for extensive community use, and wherever possible is related to park or recreational areas through cooperative planning with the Department of Parks and Recreation..... | x | x | | |
| | b. Three buildings in each of the nine administrative districts have been or are in process of being equipped with electric heating units so as to be available for after-school use without having to operate the school heating plant..... | x | x | | |
| | c. The 1962-63 school budget includes $45,000 for After-School Library Service..... | x | | x | x |
| | d. An instructional center is provided in plans for all new school buildings and where space is available in older buildings..... | x | x | | |

## SECTION E

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 26<br>S&CR 4<br>" 5<br>" 6<br>" 21A<br>" 21B<br>" 23 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes the need to involve teachers, principals and administrative staff in community affairs that are directly related to school, parent, pupil and community problems and concerns. | | | | |
| | a. The teachers and principals are expected to participate in their local parent-teacher organization..... | x | x | | |
| | b. In many instances teachers, principals, and members of our non-teaching staff are active in neighborhood associations, community councils, and civic associations. This practice is encouraged by administration..... | x | x | | |
| | c. Schools are authorized to dismiss pupils one day each semester for planned individual parent-teacher conferences..... | x | x | | |
| | d. Each district convenes from time to time a group of citizens in an advisory capacity to review the school program and school-community relations..... | x | x | | |
| | e. Hundreds of teachers, principals and citizens have worked together on Project Advisory Committees planning the new schools in the current construction program..... | x | x | | |
| | f. Most school employees are church members and participate actively in their church or synagogue, thus establishing significant contacts with other members of the community..... | x | | | |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1. (continued) | | | | |
| | g. The Superintendent has approved a recommendation of the City-Wide Coordinating Committee of the Human Relations Department for a detailed study of successful practices and guidelines concerned with: ..... | | | x | |
| | (1) Schools in changing neighborhoods | | | | |
| | (2) Preparation of school and community for changes in boundaries, reorganization, busing, etc. | | | | |
| | (3) Community resources in the school program | | | | |
| | (4) Orientation of new teachers | | | | |
| | (5) Guidelines to understanding children who are migrants, or whose parents are on welfare, or who have different cultural backgrounds. | | | | |
| C&G 31<br>" 32<br>" 43<br>Pers 40A<br>" 40B<br>" 40C | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that in-service community education programs be established for administrators and for each individual school staff emphasizing community understanding and improving pupils' intergroup experiences. | | | | |
| | a. Special workshops for principals and assistant principals, including consideration of intergroup problems, have been held in 1961 and 1962..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. Human relations clubs have been established in junior and senior high schools..... | x | x | | |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2. (continued) | | | | |
| | c. During 1961-62 district human relations committees, including teachers and principals, have been established in each administrative district..... | x | x | | |
| | d. Several districts have, in 1961-62, held human relations workshops including teachers and citizens of the community..... | x | x | | |
| | e. Schools at all levels participate in varied inter-school activities which bring together students from different parts of the city..... | x | x | | x |
| C&G 26<br>S&CR 19 | 3. The Board of Education recognizes that continual advising and reporting to parents and citizens of the state of the Detroit School system be an ongoing program to enable all to know of school system practices and procedures. | | | | |
| | a. Surveys on parent-teacher conferences in 1961 and 1962 indicate that this program has been intensified throughout the city and that planned parent-teacher conferences have become part of the educational activity of schools..... | x | x | | |
| | b. In the spring of 1962 seven administrative districts held educational forums involving citizens and parents of the district to discuss educational progress and needs. An integral part of this forum was the provision for citizens reactions and recommendations. This program is being expanded..... | x | x | | |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3. (continued) | | | | |
| | c. During the past three years communication to citizens has been intensified. Messages to all parents have been sent twice a year, and a mailing to 10,000 citizens has been inaugurated. These include: ..... | x | | | x |
| | "Welcome to the Detroit Public Schools" | | | | |
| | "American Education Week" * | | | | |
| | "Basic Areas of Education" * | | | | |
| | "Detroit's New Schools" * | | | | |
| | * Message to Citizens | | | | |
| | d. The Superintendent conducts a column in a local newspaper, answering questions pertaining to public education.. | x | | | |
| | e. A Four-Year Progress Report on recommendations made by the Citizens Advisory Committee of 1958 will be made in the fall of 1962..... | | | x | |
| S&CR 18<br>" 18A<br>" 18B<br>" 18C<br>" 18D<br>" 18E<br>" 18F<br>" 18G<br>" 18H<br>" 18I | 4. The Board of Education recognizes that the Division of School-Community Relations should be enabled to deal effectively with and to affect the entire school-community relations program. | | | | |
| | a. The Division of School Relations serves all other divisions and parts of the school system on school-community relations and problems. This is a new division and is unique in large city school organization. It now assists all divisions of the school system on problems relating to school boundaries, pupil transportation, curriculum, personnel and school relationships with other community groups. Its role is expanding..... | x | x | | x |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 4. (continued) | | | | |
| | b. Each of the nine administrative districts has a Human Relations Committee which includes teachers, administrators, non-teaching personnel, and the District Administrator..... | x | | | |
| | c. A city-wide coordinating Human Relations Committee includes a principal and teacher from every district..... | x | | | |
| | d. The position of Human Relations Education Coordinator has been upgraded in the 1962-63 budget to Assistant Director..... | | | x | |
| | e. Additional staff is being provided to the Division to increase the services to schools in their community relations program..... | | | x | x |
| C&G 47<br>S&CR 27 | 5. The Board of Education recognizes that there should be close and cooperative work with public and private agencies to bring every possible resource to bear on the problems of youth in an urban society. | | | | |
| | a. Conferences by Superintendent with Mayor Cavanagh, Police Commissioner Edwards, acting Health Commissioner Anderson, and Richard Huegli of the United Community Services to discuss procedures and coordinate action on mutual community problems, have been and will continue to be held. (See Appendix)..... | x | x | | |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5. (continued) | | | | |
| | b. Superintendent is a member of the Committee on Problems of Youth in an Urban Society under the chairmanship of Councilman Patrick..... | x | | | |
| | c. The Superintendent testified before Congressional committees urging legislation to establish an Urban Service Corps..... | x | | | |
| | d. The Board of Education has accepted the *World of Work Report* and directed implementation of this program..... | x | x | | |
| | e. District Administrators and principals have been directed and urged to work closely with police precinct captains, and with the heads of community agencies serving their areas..... | x | x | | |
| | f. Procedures are set forth in *Administrative Handbook* (1) for the school to provide for immediate needs of pupils and (2) for referrals of pupils and families to agencies for eligible services..... | x | | | |
| | g. Visiting teachers and attendance officers work closely with both public and private agencies in their daily work. This is also true of many other departments in our school system..... | x | x | | |

*There should be more effective communication and understanding between the community and the school system staff, and among the members of the school staff.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pers 43 | 6. The Board of Education recognizes that all teaching and non-teaching personnel continually should be encouraged to bring any problem to their principal or supervisor, or to the Superintendent, knowing that their confidence will be respected. | | | | |
| | a. The Superintendent meets monthly with principals, with a personnel advisory committee, and with presidents of employee organizations to encourage the raising of problems needing attention..... | x | x | | |
| | b. In 1961-62 the Superintendent established a bi-racial grievance committee to review individual complaints that have not been resolved at the local administrative level..... | x | x | | |
| | c. An employee consultation service has been established to serve and counsel staff apart from administrative channels..... | x | x | | |

## SECTION F

*The need to establish and expand programs to compensate for the handicaps in learning due to physical, mental, economic, or cultural handicaps.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O&A 10<br>Pers 26<br>" 27<br>" 28 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes that programs for pupils with special abilities and special disabilities should make it possible for each child to work to his best possibility. | | | | |
| | a. The program of special classes for the mentally handicapped has been expanded from 515 classes in 1956-57 to 606 in 1962-63 and a special project started in cooperation with the state vocational rehabilitation office for preparing mentally retarded for jobs..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. A third center for physically handicapped has been instituted, reducing crowding in the other two and reducing travel time of pupils..... | x | | | x |
| | c. The program for the hard of hearing has been decentralized so that pupils can have some work with normal pupils..... | x | | | |
| | d. After school special ability classes have been increased from 180 in 1957-58 to 346 in 1962-63..... | x | x | | x |
| | e. Remedial classes after school, during regular school days where rooms and teachers could be secured, and during the summer, have been increased from 76 in 1957-58 to 480 in 1961-62..... | x | x | | x |

*The need to establish and expand programs to compensate for the handicaps in learning due to physical, mental, economic, or cultural handicaps.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OF PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 6<br>" 7<br>" 8<br>" 9<br>" 12B<br>" 14<br>" 15<br>" 36<br>O&A 11C<br>" 12<br>S&CR 7<br>" 8<br>" 9<br>Pers 13<br>" 14<br>" 16<br>" 25 | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that school programs to compensate for some pupils' cultural deficits should be expanded and developed. | | | | |
| | a. Great Cities Program for disadvantaged youth has been started in three schools, and expanded to seven schools, enrolling in excess of 10,000 pupils. 1962-63 budget contains increased appropriation to enable continuation of Great Cities Project..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. As research and findings of Great Cities Project are developed they will be made available to other schools.... | x | x | | x |
| | c. Special materials which have been developed for improved teaching of reading of pupils in culturally disadvantaged schools are being published for use in other schools. They will be available for use in 1962-63..... | | | x | x |
| | d. Free summer school classes for culturally deprived children have been increased in 1962-63 budget..... | x | x | | x |
| | e. The program to provide textbooks and supplies to indigent children at low cost through school stores is being expanded..... | x | x | | x |
| | f. 1962-63 budget includes $45,000 for after-school library service in areas where home study resources are limited..... | | | x | x |
| | g. All schools are provided a small petty cash fund for emergency minor items ($10.00). Schools in the Great Cities Program are provided $350.00 per school to supplement basic allotments..... | | | x | x |

*The need to establish and expand programs to compensate for the handicaps in learning due to physical, mental, economic, or cultural handicaps.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 22B<br>" 24<br>O&A 17<br>" 18 | 3. The Board of Education recognizes that special attention should be given to the problem of "drop outs" with programs to identify potentials at an early age and to reduce incidence of drop outs. | | | | |
| | a. The School-Community Behavior Project, concentrating on potential drop outs, has been expanded from two schools in 1954 to 19 schools in 1961-62..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. Adoption of World of Work Report, with staff committee to advance its objectives is directed toward the reduction of "drop outs" and better preparation of all youth for employment whenever they enter the labor market..... | x | x | | x |
| | c. Expansion of remedial programs, reduction of pupil-teacher ratio, and increased emphasis on improvement of reading throughout the elementary and secondary schools are all parts of the school program to help more pupils succeed in their school work and continue longer to prepare themselves for more effective adult life..... | x | x | | x |

## SECTION G

*Research, experimentation, and evaluation should be continued and be encouraged to improve all aspects of the school system operations.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| C&G 5<br>" 21<br>" 22A<br>" 22C<br>" 23<br>" 27B<br>" 29<br>" 49<br>" 50D<br>O&A 22<br>Pers 42A<br>" 42B<br>S&CR 1<br>" 2<br>" 3<br>" 22<br>Plant 2<br>" 3 | 1. The Board of Education recognizes that there should be continual staff review of the goals of education and how the school may attain these objectives. | | | | |
| | a. A city-wide Curriculum Council reviews and coordinates total school curriculum..... | x | x | | |
| | b. In the development of curriculum guides, representative staff committees regularly evaluate the goals of education and their relationship to the part of the curriculum for which the guide is being developed..... | x | x | | |
| | c. The principal and staff of each school is expected to evaluate the program of the school in relationship to the goals of education accepted by the School system and stated in the curriculum guides or other documents of the school system..... | x | x | | |
| | d. District administrators, assistant superintendents, and directors of portions of the school program make monthly and annual reports of progress and problems to the superintendent. Portions of these reports or special study reports are made to the Board of Education. It is from such studies and reports that problems needing corrective action are often revealed, and appropriate measures initiated..... | x | x | | |

*Research, experimentation, and evaluation should be continued and be encouraged to improve all aspects of the school system operations.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| O&A 6<br>" 10<br>Plant 2 | 2. The Board of Education recognizes that a continual evaluation of each school building program is necessary to assure that it provides maximum relief possible to all sections of the city. | | | | |
| | a. An annual review is made of building needs by the superintendent based upon reports from District Administrators and the School Housing Division in order to formulate the capital outlay budget to provide for the most urgent school housing needs..... | x | | | |
| | b. By the fall of 1962 the School Housing Division will complete its survey on the unmet school building needs throughout the city as a basis for the superintendent's report of needs for the next building program..... | | | x | |
| | c. On June 26, 1962, the Board of Education called for the appointment of a representative citizens' committee to appraise the entire building program and make recommendations for the future..... | | | x | |
| Plant 3<br>" 4<br>" 9 | 3. The Board of Education recognizes that savings and surpluses realized in the current building program should be allocated to provide for relief of overcrowding due to changing neighborhoods, significant population increases or prior insufficient building estimates. | | | | |
| | a. The reallocation of $8 million from the savings on the current program was established on the basis of this principle..... | x | | | |

*Research, experimentation, and evaluation should be continued and be encouraged to improve all aspects of the school system operations.*

| EEO REC'S | BOARD OF EDUCATION POLICY, PROGRAM, OR PROVISIONS TO ATTAIN THE OBJECTIVE: | IN OPERATION | TO EXPAND | TO START IN 62-3 | ADDED FUNDS NEEDED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 3. (continued) | | | | |
| | b. The allocation of $2 million in the Center District, from the current budget endorsed by your Committee, bears out the Board's commitment to this program..... | x | | | |
| | c. Reallocation of funds to provide $1 million for Mumford relief has been fulfilled..... | x | | | |
| C&G 5<br>" 21<br>" 22A<br>" 22C<br>" 23<br>" 29<br>" 49<br>" 50D<br>O&A 22<br>Pers 6<br>" 32<br>" 42A<br>" 42B<br>S&CR 1<br>" 2<br>" 3<br>" 22<br>Plant 2<br>" 3 | 4. The Board of Education recognizes that research, experimentation, and evaluation should be continued and encouraged to improve all aspects of the school system operations. | | | | |
| | a. The 1962-3 school budget contains increased appropriation to enable continuation of Great Cities Project in seven schools; for continuation and extension of D.E.E.P.; for M.P.A.T.I. memberships; and for other Great Cities Projects..... | x | x | | x |
| | b. An annual racial analysis of pupils, teachers, administrators, and non-contract personnel was provided the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee in February, 1961, was repeated in 1962, and has been approved by the Board of Education for annual study... | x | | | |
| | c. A report to the Board of Education in July, 1961, listed 61 studies, experiments, and projects under way in the school system..... | x | x | | |

## APPENDIX

**Special Notation to Equal Educational Opportunity Committee Members:**

This is a brief outline of the Detroit School System program to respond to the dramatic challenges of these times as presented by your Committee. Most of the parts of this Program are now and have been under way for some little while. What the Detroit School System is doing in response to the Report of the EEO Committee has by necessity been presented in rather compact form. There are two specifics, however, emphasized as being indicative of the Board's attitude:

*First.*—The Board of Education is reporting back to you and seeking your counsel — not three years after the Report was submitted — but five months after the Report reached Board and Staff.

*Second.*—The following statement of the Superintendent on Non-Discrimation in the Schools is being distributed to all school personnel and is being publicized throughout the Community:

"DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

"Statement Concerning Non-Discrimination in Schools

"The Board of Education has completed a careful consideration of and taken action on the Report and Recommendations of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities in the Detroit Public Schools.

"The actions taken by the Board of Education reaffirm the belief and commitment of the Board that the citizens of Detroit want the opportunities of free public education to be made available equally to all children of the city. The actions further reiterate the adherence of the Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, and the staff of the Detroit Public School System to these principles, and to the desire to seek their fulfillment in practice:

"1. That all children shall be provided equal educational opportunities throughout the school system, regardless of their race, creed, color, or country of national origin.

"2. That all children shall have the opportunity to participate in any program offered as part of the curriculum of the Detroit Public Schools, regardless of their race, creed, color, or country of national origin.

"3. That all employees of the school system shall have equal opportunities for employment, assignment, and advancement without reference to race, creed, color, or country of national origin.

"Printed copies of the Report and Recommendations of this Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, together with the materials presented by the school staff for Board consideration and the action of the Board on each recommendation, are being made available to all school employees. It is expected that these materials will be read by school employees, and they are commended for reading by all Detroit citizens.

"Understanding of these materials and cooperative endeavor of school employees and citizens of the community to carry out the adopted recommendations is necessary in order that steady progress continues to be made toward realizing full equality of educational opportunity for all Detroit children.

"S. M. Brownell
*Superintendent of Schools*"

This Statement accurately reflects the Board of Education convictions and it states the position of the Detroit Public School System.

The Board, in presenting this report, seeks your reactions and ideas, for by frank and friendly exchange of ideas the School System will improve and our community remain strong.

SUBJECT: **Progress in Reading**

FROM : Superintendent of Schools

TO : All Principals

DATE : August 21, 1962

Educational research stresses the strong relationship that exists between the ability to read well and success in school.

Recognizing this fact, we propose that during the school year 1962-63 special emphasis be placed on the reading program. Each principal, as the educational leader of his school, is expected to develop with his staff a program to strengthen the reading work now being carried on in his school. This will involve:

a. An appraisal of reading progress in the school:

b. An analysis of any shortcomings:

c. Development of a plan that you propose to take within your school to improve reading:

d. Reporting of this plan to the Superintendent not later than December 1, 1962.

I will welcome suggestions from you as to steps and measures that central administration should take to further progress in your school in reading improvement. In June of 1963 we will ask for a progress report for the year.

Our recent experience with the parent-teacher conference has indicated that through the collective efforts of our staff we have made considerable progress in that area. We feel confident that this can and needs to be done in the field of reading as well. This request is not the result of dissatisfaction with the work of our staff but is based upon the concern that all of us have for a better educational program. I feel certain that our total educational staff with its professional zeal and know-how can effectively raise the educational level of all children in our community.

## Letter Concerning Position on Non-Discrimination

Dear _____:

The Detroit Public School System appreciates the value of its cooperative relationship in educational programs with many firms and agencies. It assumes that as one of the organizations or agencies with whom a cooperative relationship exists you are aware that Detroit Public Schools have a policy that all educational opportunities shall be available equally to qualified pupils, regardless of race, color, or creed.

To avoid any misunderstanding the Board of Education has approved the sending of a letter to all concerns with whom it operates on a cooperative basis calling attention to the Board of Education all inclusive policy of non-discrimination. This policy would require withdrawal of the Detroit Schools from any program in cooperation with any government agency, any employer, any union, or any other group in which there was discrimination because of race, color, or creed.

We are asking you to provide the enclosed statement as a record of our mutual understanding. We would appreciate it being completed and returned to the office of the Superintendent of Schools, 5057 Woodward Ave., Detroit 2, Michigan, at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for the opportunity to cooperate with you in an educational program which we hope is of mutual value to all concerned.

Sincerely,

## Certificate of Non-Discriminatory Practice

To:
Detroit Public Schools
Schools Center
5057 Woodward Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

We, the undersigned, as President, or Secretary of

_____, hereby certify that

the _____ does not discriminate

on the basis of race, color, creed, or country of national origin in the conduct of any program in which we may be in any way engaged in cooperation with the Detroit Public School System.

ORGANIZATION_____

By_____
President (or) Secretary
(cross out one)

DATE_____

SUBJECT: **Assignment of Student Teachers**

FROM : S. M. Brownell

DATE : August 16, 1962

Dear _____:

Since 1959 it has been the practice of the Detroit School System to assign student teachers to schools in all parts of the City. We have found this practice desirable both for our pupils and your student teachers.

Please notify your staff and student body of this policy. We shall be glad to cooperate with the personnel of your college to see that student teachers have experiences which give them rich preparation for later teaching. We wish to have schools throughout the city benefit from the contributions made by your student body.

Sincerely,

## Schools with Excess Capacity

September 5, 1962

**CENTER DISTRICT**

Maybee K-6A

**EAST DISTRICT** (none)

**NORTH DISTRICT**

Davison K-6A
Grayling K-6A
Marshall K-7B
Mason K-7A
Washington K-6A

**NORTHEAST DISTRICT**

Arthur K-8A
Carleton K-8A
Clark K-8B
Hanstein K-6A
Law K-7A
Osborn High 10B-12A
Pulaski K-6A
Robinson K-7A
Wilkins K-6A

**NORTHWEST DISTRICT**

Crary K-8A
Ford High 10B-12A
Newton K-8A
Pitcher K-6A

**SOUTH DISTRICT**

Balch K-6A
Couzens K-6A
Hancock K-6A
Irving K-6A
Trowbridge K-6A

**SOUTHEAST DISTRICT**

(Bishop K-6A
(Bishop 7B-9A
Chrysler K-8A
Duffield K-6A
(Garfield K-6A
(Garfield 7B-9A
George K-6A
Norvell K-6A
Russell K-8A

**SOUTHWEST DISTRICT**

Clippert K-8A
Harms K-6A
Riverside K-6A
Southwestern High 8A-12A

**WEST DISTRICT** (none)

Summary of
No. of Schools with Excess Capacity

September 1961 - 19
February 1962 - 28
September 1962 - 35

Issued 6-29-62

## Proposed Plan for Coordinating Relationships and Activities between the Board of Education, the United Community Services, and the City of Detroit

**WHY?**

Several citizens committees in Detroit have stressed the need for greater coordination among the various agencies or departments of the City of Detroit, the Board of Education, and the United Community Services. This need has also been apparent to staff members of the above three bodies for some time. The challenge facing a large city today, plus the pending state and national legislation, fortifies even more the need for closer planning and coordination.

**PROPOSAL:**

It is proposed that the Mayor, Superintendent of Schools and the Director of United Community Services each appoint a representative from their respective staffs (someone who reports and is responsible to the chief executive officer of each body) and that these three act as a clearing and coordinating group—in an advisory capacity only for those agencies reporting directly to the Mayor, the Superintendent of Schools, or related to the Director of United Community Services. This committee of three is an *expediting* and not *decision-making* body. When issues involving these three bodies cannot be resolved at department levels, they will be referred to the committee of three who will in turn make recommendations to their respective heads.

**PURPOSE:**

1. To eliminate duplication in activities;
2. To avoid conflicting operations;
3. To make certain that the various activities in the above three divisions are in keeping with the over-all objectives of the three groups;
4. To exchange research and relevant data; and
5. To facilitate each other's activities by adapting existing policy to the needs of other agencies.

**HOW WILL THIS COUNCIL OF THREE FUNCTION:**

1. The three will meet regularly and exchange data on those aspects carried on or planned by each of the agencies which may involve or affect the other two.
2. The three will compile a roster of personnel and activities involved currently in inter-related committees, studies, etc., and attempt to coordinate these as well as to recommend to the Mayor, the Superintendent of Schools, or the Director of United Community Services better utilization of our respective manpower.

3. As new committees or proposals for studies, etc., are established which may affect the other two groups, all will be apprised of these plans so that cooperative efforts could be completed rather than each group going off in its own direction, often duplicating the other's activities.

4. When matters arise where prevailing machinery and procedures seem to block the resolution of problems arising, this group will consider ways and means to facilitate progress.

SUBJECT: **Need for Inter-group Relations Education**

FROM : S. M. Brownell

DATE : August 16, 1962

Dear_____:

The Detroit Board of Education has recently received a report from the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, appointed by the Board over two years ago. This committee stresses the need for greater emphasis at the college and university level upon inter-group relations. Our citizens believe that the teacher training curricula should include courses which provide future teachers and school administrators with a better understanding and greater sensitivity to human and inter-group relations.

I have been authorized by the Board of Education to transmit this recommendation to you. Cognizance of this recommendation may help to justify your existing program in the field of inter-group relations or it may lead to greater emphasis in this area.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

APPROVED BY THE DETROIT BOARD OF EDUCATION
December 18, 1962

SUBJECT: The Treatment of Minorities

FROM : Superintendent S. M. Brownell

TO : Members of the Board of Education

DATE : December 18, 1962

To the Board of Education:

I recommend that the Board adopt the following as a statement of policy, and that copies be sent to all schools and departments, the Curriculum Council, committees for selection of books and other instructional materials, publishers of school books, and to producers of other instructional materials.

The Treatment of Minorities in Textbooks and Other Instructional Materials

The Detroit Board of Education is committed to a policy of having the schools contribute in maximum degree to understanding and good will among different racial, religious, and nationality groups.

Criticisms have come to this Board to the effect that some textbooks in use today do not present a balanced and satisfactory picture of all groups in American life. This condition prevents all children from acquiring an adequate understanding of America's growth and development. Progress has been noted in this regard in recent years, but the progress is small and much yet remains to be done. Investigation by staff members of the Board of Education tends to support the need for textbooks and other instructional materials that portray American life in a more adequate manner.

The Detroit Board of Education is directing its textbook selection committees and committees for the review of audio-visual aids to make sure that all textbooks, supplementary books, library books, and audio-visual aids are consistent with the human relations policy of the schools and that these materials do contribute significantly to understanding and good will among different racial, religious, and nationality groups. The content, the illustrations, and the general tone of all instructional materials to be used in the Detroit schools should be such as to constitute fair treatment for all groups in our society.

The Detroit Board of Education calls upon publishers of books used in schools and the makers of audio-visual and other instructional materials to recognize this concern as they revise or develop books and materials. The Board reaffirms its position that materials purchased for use in the Detroit schools shall be consistent with its stated objectives and policies with regard to fair and adequate treatment of all groups in the American culture.

SMB:ns

# THE HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM

# of the

# DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

September, 1963

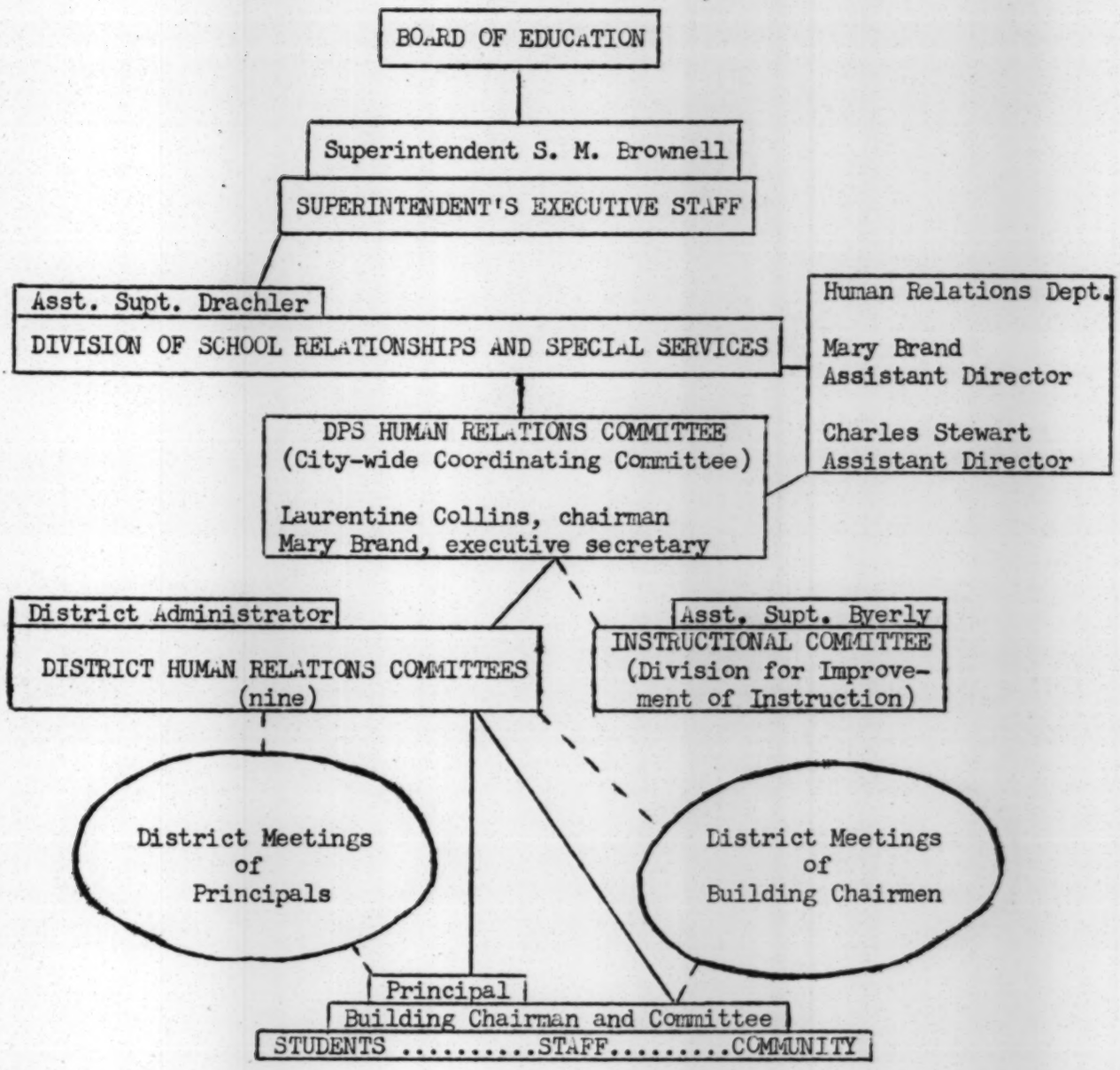
Following is an outline of the structure and organization of the Detroit Public Schools Human Relations Program as it began operating September, 1961. This material supersedes that published on pages 14-19 of THE HUMAN TOUCH.

Changes are a result of several recommendations made by the Citizens' Advisory Committee on School Needs and others made by participants in the Human Relations Workshop held in the summer of 1960. These recommendations were studied and discussed by the Coordinating Committee, the Superintendent's Executive Staff and other responsible persons before action was taken.

It is hoped that the new structure will facilitate the work of the human relations program and will intensify our efforts to provide education in democratic living for our boys and girls.

STRUCTURE - HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM

Detroit Public Schools
1963-64



# ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION

Each of the groups and individuals listed on the previous page has a specific role to play in the Human Relations Program of the Detroit Public Schools. These roles are, of course, related and interdependent, since it is through the cooperative efforts of many persons that a program of this nature is able to function effectively.

## BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Board of Education provides a framework of policy under which the human relations program operates, as well as the necessary personnel and facilities. Members of the Detroit Board of Education have demonstrated their concern for the program through their official actions and through their activities as individuals.

Officially, the Board has made a number of significant policy statements and has approved or accepted several administrative reports and publications which reflect the goals of the program. Examples of such action may be found in the official Board Proceedings, the CAC Report, the Administrative Handbook, The Human Touch and other publications.

Individual members of the Board have often participated in the activities of the program.

## SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

The Superintendent, as the executive officer of the Board of Education, gives support and leadership to the human relations program. He appoints the chairman and several members of the Coordinating Committee, attends many functions sponsored by this committee and lends the support of the schools to programs of other community agencies which have similar objectives and interests.

## SUPERINTENDENT'S EXECUTIVE STAFF

Under the leadership of Superintendent Brownell, the Executive Staff reviews progress in human relations education as in all other areas of the school program. Reports of activities and recommendations regarding policy are usually channelled through this group to the Board of Education and to the various schools and departments.

## DIVISION OF SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS AND SPECIAL SERVICES

The Division of School Relationships and Special Services has been given the responsibility for the general supervision of the human relations program. The chairman and executive secretary of the Coordinating Committee are members of this division and thus can work closely with related departments to develop a pervasive human relations emphasis in our schools.

## COORDINATING COMMITTEE

The Detroit Public Schools Coordinating Committee on Human Relations functions as the coordinating agency for all of the officially designated human relations committees within the school system. It meets monthly to review progress, assess problems, share information and supervise the planning of city-wide activities such as the annual October Workshop and the March Institute.

Membership on the Coordinating Committee consists of nine principals and nine teachers representing the nine administrative districts, one representative from the Division of Improvement of Instruction, one district administrator and five members-at-large appointed by the Superintendent to represent various other departments. The chairman is appointed by the Superintendent from the Division of School Relationships and Special Services and the staff person assigned to this division for work with the human relations program serves as executive secretary of the committee.

The Coordinating Committee is a member agency of the Coordinating Council on Human Relations which is sponsored by the City of Detroit Commission on Community Relations. This creates a close relationship between the schools and other social agencies concerned with intergroup relations.

## INSTRUCTIONAL COMMITTEE

The Instructional Committee is composed of representatives from several of the departments of the Division for Improvement of Instruction and serves as a human relations committee within that division. This committee is primarily concerned with the curriculum and instructional materials. Members help in the selection of appropriate and representative books, preview newly produced audio-visual materials, prepare bibliographies and work with teachers and principals to develop good human relations through the various subject matter fields.

## DISTRICT ADMINISTRATORS

The district administrator, as the chief administrator of the district, has the responsibility for the functioning of the human relations program within his district. He provides leadership and guidance to the schools of the district and to the human relations committee in solving problems and in planning a program of human relations education for both teachers and students. He usually serves as an ex-officio member of the human relations committee.

## DISTRICT HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEES

Each of the nine administrative districts has a human relations committee to plan and coordinate the human relations program within that district. The structure and operating procedures of these nine committees vary from district to district, since each was organized to meet the individual needs of the area it serves. Each district committee, however, is represented on the Coordinating Committee by both a teacher and a principal.

The district committee plans at least one district-wide human relations activity each year. It also schedules and plans regular meetings of building chairmen and serves as a two-way channel of communication between the city-wide Coordinating Committee and the schools of the district.

## THE SCHOOL PRINCIPAL

The principal is responsible for the organization and function of the individual school human relations program.

In his role of professional leadership, the principal stimulates interest in human relations education, encourages attendance at activities sponsored by the program, examines the curriculum and teaching methods for human relations implications, gives democratic guidance to the school human relations committee and helps to create a school climate where both teachers and students can function most effectively.

In his role of community leadership, the school principal interprets the goals of the human relations program to the community, encourages parent-group participation in the program, assesses community sensitivities and works toward the democratic solution of school and community problems.

### District Meetings of Principals

In each district, principals regularly attend administrative meetings which are scheduled by the district administrator. At these meetings, the principal representative to the Coordinating Committee will often report on the activities of the human relations program and will channel information through the principals to the schools in the district.

## THE BUILDING CHAIRMAN AND THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

Most principals prefer to delegate some of their responsibility for the human relations program to the building chairman and the school human relations committee.

The Detroit Plan calls for a human relations teacher/chairman in each school building. The chairman may be elected, appointed by the principal or selected on a volunteer basis, but it is important that he be a person with leadership ability who is known and accepted by the school staff and who has a sincere interest in the human relations program.

The building chairman works with the principal and the school human relations committee to identify and solve human relations problems, to develop a human relations emphasis in the curriculum and to provide experiences for the staff and student body which will increase understanding. He is the official school representative at district and city-wide human relations meetings and serves as a valuable communications channel by reporting back to the total staff.

District Meetings of Building Chairmen

The human relations committee of each district plans for regular meetings of building chairmen. In some districts, these are held monthly; in others, every other month or several times a year.

At these meetings, the building chairman receives orientation to the needs of the human relations program and to current problems and progress. He becomes acquainted with literature, materials and techniques which will help him function in his leadership role. These meetings also serve as an important channel of communication in the human relations program.

It is important that the building chairman either attend or be represented at every meeting and that information received be shared with the staff.

STUDENTS, STAFF AND COMMUNITY

Within each individual school community, as well as in the city as a whole, there are many agencies, both governmental and social, concerned with the development of a more democratic society. These groups offer valuable assistance to the human relations program through the provision of speakers, literature, audio-visual aids and consultant services.

Support for the objectives of our program is also often found in individuals within the community - the local businessman or labor leader, the professional person, the religious leader, a member of the parent group. These persons can be very helpful in the solution of school and community problems.

Many teachers who have no official ties with the formal human relations program do an excellent job of promoting good human relations in their classrooms and in their contacts with other teachers and the community. The non-teaching staff also plays an important role in the development of a school climate in which good human relations is a key factor. The total school staff functions as a team in this area as in all others.

Most high schools, many junior high schools and some elementaries have organized student human relations clubs. Other schools have student councils or similar groups which also function to promote good human relations. Young people, on the whole, are highly receptive to the ideals of the human relations program and are often very helpful in finding the solution to a local school or community problem.

The entire program of human relations education in the Detroit Public Schools is geared to the improvement of educational opportunities for the boys and girls of our city. The program is effective only when its values, goals and activities extend into the daily classroom experience of our students.

# the urban school

## summer evening classes for high school students

*An opportunity for young people to:*
*Improve Study Skills in English, Science, Mathematics, Social Problems*
*Meet and Work With Good Teachers*
*Get to Know and Work with Students of Different Races and Backgrounds*

*June 30 — August 13, 1964*
*Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday*
*Evenings, 6:00 - 8:30 P.M.*

*The Urban School*
*151 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.*

# "what is the urban school?"

The Urban School was formed to give high school students from the "inner city" of Boston and the "outer city" of Boston suburbs a chance to meet and learn together in a stimulating, educational and intellectual climate. It will use a pleasant, well equipped school building (The Commonwealth School), for this meaningful activity.

Through imaginative classes, taught by excellent teachers who love their profession, it will enrich the lives of its students, increase their educational skills, and sharpen their awareness of the realities of American life.

The Negro student from Roxbury or the South End needs to feel that he can receive what society offers and that he can contribute the best which is in him. This means an education which can give him **skills** to run a power lathe, operate a computer, write a good business letter or be a doctor. This means **ideas** about himself and about society. This means the **spirit** to fight for what he knows is right.

The white student from other parts of Boston and its suburbs needs to supplement his education with a realistic knowledge of urban life. This means learning more about: the process of social change, the problems of minorities, and a better understanding of other young people from different backgrounds.

These skills and values are not fully taught and understood by our public and private schools. The Urban School feels that it can play a useful role in education and in living by providing them to eager young people who seek to learn more and grow into productive maturity.

# what will young people learn at the urban school?

At The Urban School Summer Evening Program boys and girls of high school age will work with teachers who can reach out in imaginative ways to reveal new dimensions to their subjects.

Not only will teachers use the classrooms to ignite new and deeper interest in learning, but the Arts Festival on the Common and the symphony concerts on the Esplanade. And they will use the concrete world of poverty and discrimination — only half a mile away — because education is what one sees with one's own eyes as well as what one reads in books.

**Classes**

1. **English** — The main emphasis will be on reading and writing — to increase efficiency and deepen comprehension. Remedial work on a tutorial basis will also be offered.

2. **Social Problems** — Issues of urban life, social change and the role of the Negro in American history will be stressed. Most of the writing in English classes will use this as a base. Speakers prominent in city life will be invited weekly to talk on politics, housing, economic development and other relevant issues.

3. **Mathematics and Science** — The imaginative handling of mathematical and scientific problems will be stressed. Tutoring in the basic skills of mathematics will be offered.

# who is eligible to study at the urban school?

Boys and girls of high school age, residing in the Greater Boston area, are eligible to enroll for the Summer Evening Program at The Urban School. We ask only for a reasonable intelligence, a desire to learn and a willingness to get along with other people.

The student who wants to get the depth of understanding and skill which he doesn't get in his regular school, or who is hampered in getting better grades because of reading or writing problems, or wants to sharpen his knowledge before entering college or post-high school technical school, will find that The Urban School can help him achieve these goals.

Classes will be held from June 30 to August 13, 1964.

Class evenings will be Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, from 6:00 P.M. to 8:30 P.M.

**Remember: You can hold a job during the daytime and still take advantage of The Urban School program by attending classes for three evenings during the week.**

The fee is $5.00 for the entire program. This includes two dollars for registration and three dollars for snacks.

**Application Procedures:** To apply for The Urban School Summer Evening Program, just fill out the application form on the next page, detach it from this folder and mail it to us. Postage is prepaid. We will then contact you for an interview with school officials.

# application for enrollment the urban school

*151 Commonwealth Avenue*
*Boston, Massachusetts*

Name_____

Address_____

Date of Birth_____

Phone_____

School_____

Address_____

Grade_____

Subject_____

Interest_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

## the urban school

*Following receipt of this application, you will be contacted for an interview.*

Postage Will be Paid by Addressee

**BUSINESS REPLY MAIL**
FIRST CLASS PERMIT NO. **38815** BOSTON, MASS.

No Postage Stamp Necessary if Mailed in the United States

**the urban school**
*151 Commonwealth Avenue*
*Boston, Massachusetts*

# who sponsors the urban school?

A group of civic-minded teachers and community leaders have banded together to organize The Urban School to create this opportunity for a stimulating educational experience. They are recruiting first-rate teachers from high schools and colleges throughout the Greater Boston area.

*Executive Director*
William Barclay
Head of the Science Department,
Commonwealth School.

*President of the Advisory Board*
Melvin H. King, Director
Youth Opportunity Center
South End Youth Training
& Employment Center

*Advisory Board*
Rev. James Breeden, Canon
St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral

Rev. Michael Haynes, Youth Worker
Norfolk House Center

Mary Hogan, Chairman of Mathematics
Department, Waltham Public Schools

Francis R. McClellan, Instructor in Education,
Simmons College

Charles Merrill,
Headmaster of Commonwealth School

George Parker, Teacher
Westwood High School

Paul Parks, Engineer,
Associated Architects & Engineers

Sumner Rosen, Professor,
Simmons College

Richard Senier, Public Information
Department, Action for Boston Community
Development

Louis Stein, Director of Public Relations,
Beth Israel Hospital

Mary H. Taylor, Director
Mt. Bowdoin YM-YWCA

From James
Willis, Chairman,
Twin Cities Chapter
of CORE,
Times Annex
Building
Minneapolis
Minnesota

FEB 21 1964

file NORM

TWIN CITIES CHAPTER

of

CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY

February 19, 1964

For the purpose of these discussions and negotiations the Minneapolis Board of Education and its Administration is not asked to find nor admit discrimination, however the materials which are presented disclose a very serious situation which should be resolved at this meeting.

It is this organizations belief that over a period of years a pattern evolved which allowed 'something to go wrong' in the evaluations of Negro applicants. As indicated in a previous statement: The first stage in ascertaining the validity of the accusations against the Minneapolis School Board was for CORE to evaluate the material assembled by the Executive Secretary of the Minneapolis FEPC. The data presented here is evidence that was in existence at the time Mrs. Annie McNair, Mrs. Artis Hopkins and Mrs. Marjorie Owens made their complaints in April 1963. These facts were brought out at various times during the four lengthy public hearings. While it is impossible to supply you with all the information collected from the personnel files by the FEPC, members of the Board are urged to immediately secure the files referred to and read all material in context.

It is requested that:

- Mrs. Annie McNair receive a contract for the 1964-65 school year,
- Mrs. Artis Hopkins be assigned approximately 45 substitute teaching days, during February, March, April

and May of 1964 and receive a contract for the 1964-65 school year,

- Mrs. Marjorie Owens receive a long call substitute assignment for the remainder of the school year, and be provided helping teachers, and be given a contract for 1964-65.
- Mutually satisfactory procedures shall be arrived at for the evaluations and ratings of these teachers during their probationary period.

These requests are made in an effort to terminate a mutually undesirable situation.

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS OF MRS. MCNAIR AND SELECTED COMPARISON

OF WHITE TEACHERS WHO RECEIVED CONTRACTS TO TEACH BASIC BUSINESS

Mrs. Annie McNair, Age 28

Scholastic Attainment: A B.S. in Business Education and a minor in Elementary Education, 1956. A Master's Degree in Secondary Education in 1958.

Minnesota Certification: Certified to teach Business subjects in grades 7-12.

Grade average: 2.77

Practice Teaching Ratings: Average to above average.

Past Teaching Experience: 1 year of High School - General Business.

Ratings from Past Teaching Experience:

Personal qualifications - above average
Instructional ability - In this area received two superior ratings in 1) Planning of classroom activities and 2) Organization of classroom activities.
Professional attitudes and competence - above average.

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee:
Received an A rating by both interviewers who commented as follows:

Dr. Roessel: (1) "A real lady, poised and fine appearance. Very pleasant voice and mannerisms with slight but pleasant accent. Quoted psychological principles and they were well applied. Accepted in this area. Is substitute teaching. This enriches one experience. Seems to be a highly intelligent person. Spoke of going on for a doctorate in her area.

Mrs. McNair was quite nervous during the interview but made in general a very favorable impression. She seemed highly motivated in a desirable way.

I WOULD ENJOY HAVING HER ON MY STAFF."

Dr. M. Nelson (2) "Poised even though tense and nervous. Well groomed. 'A real lady.' Intriguing dialect. Excellent voice and diction. She h a s learned her psychology well asn showed good understanding of the problem of individual differences.

Plans to work toward a doctorate. Has a real purpose in life.

Mrs. McNair is a serious minded dedicated person. She wants to teach. I feel she would be an asset to our schools."

Both interviewers recommended that the "applicant be placed on the eligibility list for a position in the Minneapolis Schools. I would be glad to have this candidate placed in my building or department in case a suitable vacancy should exist." And gave her an overall rating of A. Mrs. McNair applied for a teaching position on December 16, 1961.

December 18- filled out substitute form.

January 23, 1962 - Interview with Personel Directop who rated her satisfactory.

March 5 - was placed on the substitute list.

April 17 - Interviewed by the Committee.

April 24 - Recieved eligibility letter which states she will be on the list of qualified candidates for three years. She has never been notified that her name has been removed.

April to June - Filled many short call assignments. Although there are no evaluations of these assignments, her performance must have been satisfactory since she was asked to take a difficult long call assignment for the fall.

August 29 - Assigned long call to Edison High to teach five classes of Basic Business.

December 3 - Interviewed by Assistant Director of Personnel who gave her a B rating and commented: "Would like regular teaching next year. Impressive, poised person - seems able to assess her qualifications without bias. I hope there will be work for her, either substitute or regular."

January, February and March, 1963 - Mrs. McNair continued to ask for a contract. On April 3 she filed a complaint with the FEPC. On April 5 she received her first evaluation from Minneapolis public schools. The principal stated, "Should not be used as a substitute in Minneapolis schools. Doubt whether she is strong enough for Minneapolis schools."

Comparison A, Age 45

Scholastic Attainment: Eveleth Junior College two years, 1935. Attended University of Minn. 1962-63, No evidence of degree.

Minnesota Certification: None.

Grade Average: 2.44

Practice Teaching Ratings: Above average.

Past Teaching Experience: None

Professional Attitudes and Competence - Not rated.

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Received B+ rating by one and a B by the other.

Comparison A submitted her application on March 25, 1963. Noted on applications she expected to get degree in August 1963. On June 25, 1963 she received a contract for $4900.

Comparison B Age 47

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Business from St. Theresa College, Winona, Minnesota 1940.

Grade Average: 2.77

COMPARISON B (cont.)

Practice Teaching Rating: Average.

Past Teaching Experience: None. Worked one month as Census taker in 1960. 1960-62 worked part time at Donaldson's mail order desk.

This person was hired as a substitute with no teaching experience.

and a gap of 22 years from graduation to teaching employment.

Ratings by Interviewing Committee:
Recieved a B rating by one and a C rating from the other.

Comparison B submitted her application in April 1962. On April 19 she was sent a letter saying her name was not being placed on the eligibility list. On April 25 she came in to see the Personnel Director and he accepted her for substitute teaching. On June 7, 1963, recieved a contract for $5100.

COMPARISON C

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Business from the University of Minnesota in 1962. No minor.

Grade Average: 2.63 (two failures, five withdrawals and two incompletes.)

Practice Teaching Ratings: Excellent.

Past Teaching Experience: None.

Ratings by past employers: None.

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Received one B+ two B's and two B-.

Applied for teaching position in March, 1963. August 7, 1963 was sent a contract for $4900.

COMPARISON D

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Business from Macalester in 1961.

Grade Average: 3.08

Practice Teaching Ratings: None.

Past Teaching Experience: None.

Ratings by past employers: None.

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Recieved two A's, one B and one C.

Comments by the interviewers:

"Good prospect after she has had some training.... No teaching minor but willing to teach in Junior High."

Applied for teaching position in April while a student at Macalester. June 21, 1961, sent contract for $4500. July 21, 1961 certified to teach Business subjects. August 4, 1961, recieved B.S. from Macalester. Jan. 1962 - resigned. May 10, 1962 - wrote letter asking to come back in fall. June 15, 1962, sent contract for $4700. September 13, 1962 - Resigned.

QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

1. Do the qualifications of the above comparisons represent "the best qualified person available to fill the position?"

2. Since Mrs. McNair was on the eligibility list, why wasn't she given a contract in filling the position at Edison?"

3. Why was this difficult assignment left on a long call basis rather than a regular position?

The Director of Personel has stated that "she did teach a subject where more students with learning difficulties are normally assigned."

On January 9, 1963 the principal visited Mrs. McNair's

Basic Business class which he taught. He then stated, "I do not know whether I have accomplished anything or not. Let's face it, you cannot motivate some of them. I feel the class was more responsive to your teaching than to mine."

4. The principal stated that he "did not plan to continue with five classes of Basic Business assigned to one teacher next year." and that "she (Mrs. McNair) might have been a better teacher in another situation."

Why wasn't her teaching of April, May and June of 1962 evaluated against this unusual assignment where Mrs. McNair had to contenc with adverse factors, such as:

a) class and pupil overload
b) pupils with disciplinary problems assigned to her when other teachers would not cope with them. (These pupils were later expelled)
c) inadequate physical facilities - crowded classroom, not enough text books, etc.

5. Why was there no written evaluation of her work by her work by her principal until after she filed with the FEPC?

6. Have other candidates been removed from the three-year eligibility list when highly recommended by individuals such as Drs. Nelson and Roessel?

7. Will the Board assemble a complete list of the qualifications of each individual (by code identification) hired under contract in Business Education from August 1961 through August 1963? Taking Mrs. McNair into consideration, this will permit the Board to determine whether the most qualified candidates have been given contracts.

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS OF MRS. HOPKINS AND SELECTED COMPARISONS OF TEACHERS WHO ARE WHITE WHO RECIEVED CONTRACTS TO TEACH PHYSICAL EDUCATION

Mrs. Hopkins first appealed to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity, Washington D.C. Her husband is in the United States Air Force. Her appeal to the President's Committee was for the removal of a derogatory reference which was submitted by an unauthorized person. The secretary to a Superintendent, whose name Mrs. Hopkins gave as a referent, intercepted the reference request from the Minneapolis personnel office and wrote a vindictive bigoted leter. Mrs. Hopkins felt that once this reference was removed she would be considered for a regular teaching position.

On February 27, 1963, the President's Committee, in referring the matter to the Minneapolis FEPC, said that it was "a question of rectifying a false and degrading reference," and that, in the Committee's opinion, the local agency could resolve the matter without formal or extensive proceedings.

When the FEPC Executive Director conferred with the Personnel Director who agreed that (1) the reference was derogatory and negative; (2) that the

referent was not in a position to file such a reference; and (3) that her reference should be removed from Mrs. Hopkins' file. These conferences extended overa period of three or four months and finally, in the presence of the FEPC Executive Director, the letter was removed by the Personnel Director.

From the time (August 22, 1962) that Mrs. Hopkins applied for a teaching position in the Minneapolis schools until April 1963, she was interviewed by six persons in the school administration and it is clearly evident that their evaluations were influenced by the unauthorized reference given by a clerical person. All authorized references by her principals and superintendents in eight years of successful teaching rated her <u>above average</u>.

<u>Although the letter was removed, the evaluations referring to it still remain in Mrs. Hopkins' file.</u>

> October 1, 1962--interviewed by M. Olsen who rated her unacceptable and stated, "On the basis of her references, I told her we could not offer her a position."

At the time that Miss Olsen made the above decision there were only two references on file--one from a superintendent who rated her <u>above average</u> and stated he would rehire Mrs. Hopkins, and the biased reference from an unauthorized person. Is it possible that Miss Olsen could have assigned more significance to the clerk's reference than to the superintendent's?

October 15, 1962 - a reference by the principal in the school from which the derogatory reference came rated Mrs. Hopkins above average in two areas and average in the third area.

October 31 - interviewed by Miss Kidd who rated her unacceptable and stated "I talked to her about...events that led to unsatisfactory recommendations. I would recommend very limited service until she has proven herself."

Again the clerk's letter seems to carry more weight than that of principal or superintendent.

April 10 and 11, 1963 - Mrs. Hopkins was interviewed by four more of the administrative personnel, including the Director of Personnel, who as he indicated on the record 'lectured' her.

Previous to the time of this interview with the Personnel Director, Mrs. Hopkins had not alleged discrimination (she wanted the letter removed from her file) but after the following session, which the Personnel Director recorded as follows, she filed a formal complaint with the FEPC.

Mrs. Hopkins has felt that we were discriminating about employing her. This is evidenced by the fact that she appealed to the Fair Employment Practice Commission.

I asked her to tell me what she would find different in a good physical education program and I let her choose whether she wanted to discuss a Jr. High or Sr. High program. Her answer, "Equipment." (Q.)"What do you mean equipment?" (A.)"Showers, they must have showers." I waited - (Q.)"Is showers the only equipment they need?" (A.)"Showers isn't equipment -- basketballs, volleyballs and game equipment -- that's all." I waited. "They need a good

curriculum." (q) What would that be? (a.) I guess I mean they need a good teacher.

When I told her that this is the reason that we were not employing her, I told her I realized I was being blunt but I felt that I needed to be since she apparently felt that we were discriminating against her. "In the whole conversation, you have not related a single idea that would differentiate between a strong or a weak program." After this lecture I gave her an opportunity to clarify her answers -and she could not.

The Personnel Director stated to the FEPC on November 25, 1963, that Mrs. Hopkins was "interviewed by six individuals and everyone rated her unacceptable on the basis of preparation and qualifications." On the other hand, in his general statement at the same meeting, he said, "whether a person has a 2.01 or 2.77 or any other grade average is of little significance. However, for secondary school applicants we look at the extent of training in the field they are prepared to teach ... cultural subjects studied ... and diversity of interest."

In the same statement, the Personnel Director negates the value used against Mrs. Hopkins: "There is no way to measure the value of these. A person needs to know the evaluator in order to put any significance to the report. Generally speaking, evaluators are inclined to give strong evaluations ... Many large firms no longer call for written references because of their unreliability. Chicago schools do not ask for them at all. We use them. They give us clues for further follow up ... "

Does this use of subjective evaluations open the door to discrimination?

PREPARATION AND QUALIFICATIONS OF MRS. HOPKINS AND OTHERS (CONTINUED)

Mrs. Artis Hopkins: Age 33

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Physical Education and a Minor in Elementary Education

Graduate Study in:
Student Personnel Work
Health Education
Research Methods in Physical Education
Supervision in Health & Phy Ed
Implementation of Elementary Teaching
Health Education Workshop (1957)
Testing in Phy Ed (1959)
Health Education Workshop (1959)
Testing in Physical Education (1958)
Advanced Elementary Curriculum Construction
Human Development

Minnesota Certification: Certified to teach Physical Education and Health, grades 1-12; limited certification to teach elementary.

Grade Average: 3.02

Previous Teaching: 8 years

Ratings from Past Teaching Experience:

Personal qualifications - Above average
Instructional ability - Above average
Professional attitudes and conpetence - Above average
"Would rehire."

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Recieved a rating of "D" (unacceptable) by four interviewers.

Interview comments state:

"Mrs. Hopkins has no special health minor. No water saftey instruction. Is not a qualified First Aid instructor." And yet there are three white

teachers with lesser qualifications who were hired under contract in the same field and who did not health minors. Their minors were in history, speech, and biology, and they were not certified to teach health, as Mrs. Hopkins is.

Comments regarding one of these white teachers who received a contract and who had had no experience teaching health and who had had no Water Safety instructions: "Has no practice teaching health. Plans to get Water Safety instruction this summer. Do give consideration."

Mrs, Hopkins applied for a regular teaching position August 22, 1962. On October 11, 1962 she received a rejection letter. On November 2, 1962 she was placed on the substitute list. During the period of December10, 1962 to April 3, 1963, while substituting, she received seven evaluations from principals. Two principals asked she be given preference on all substitute calls; five asked that she be assigned to their building again. All seven felt they had not observed her sufficiently to recommend her for employment. All comments were very favorable. After "proving herself" she again for a contract and received none. She then filed a complaint with the FEPC.

COMPARISON A: Age 22

| | |
|---|---|
| Scholastic Attainment: | B.S. in Physical Education, Minor Speech and Drama. NO HEALTH MINOR |
| Grade Average: | Unable to average, no transcript in folder |
| Practice Teaching Rating: | Average and below average |
| Past Teaching Experience: | None |

Ratings by Past Employers (in teaching) None

Memo from Director of Physical Education Program: "See no evidence of Health or Safety Education Teaching or experience. Question Water Safety requirement. Has excellent references,* except in her Junior High School student teaching experience--the only teaching she did on her own."

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Received an "A" rating by all three interviewers. One interviewer commented: "Has had practice teaching health. Plans to get Water Safety Instructions this summer. Do give consideration."

Comparison A applied for regular teaching position on January 19, 1962. March 17, 1962 was interviewed. March 22, 1962 was sent a contract for $4700. (despite no health minor, no water safety instruction, poor practice teaching rating and no Minnesota Certificate.)

*non-teaching

Comparison B: Age 26

Scholastic attainment: B.S. in Physical Education, Minor History

Grade Average: 2.45

Practice Teaching Rating: Superior

Past Teaching Experience: Had taught in Minneapolis Schools 2 years before maternity leave.

Comparison B was assigned long call to Minnehaha and Greely schools in January 1962, six months before Mrs. Hopkins applied. Office Memo: "This gal"s child is only 5 months old. In view of the P.E. shortage shall we place her on the substitute list?"

On May 14, Bernice Voight, principal at Minnehaha wrote this evaluation of her work:

> "She needs to spend much more time in preplanning, organization and preparation of her work for her classes. She relies on the knowledge of the classroom teacher rather than studying her own course of study. She lacks the zip and forcefulness necessary to make a good phy ed teacher in the elementary school. I am sorry but I felt this was just a "job" to her, and she puts forth little effort to meke a good program for children. Her Monday lessons do not contain activities that a teacher could continue to develop the rest of the week. She has a nice personality. The faculty accepted her as a person, but were disappointed in her accomplishments with children."

Miss Voight did not recommend her for a contract and would accept her as a substitute only if no others were available.

She below:

(check one) As a substitute

_____ 1. Be given preference on all substitute calls.
_____ 2. Be assigned to my building again when a substitute is needed.
_x_ 3. Not be assigned to my building unless no other substitute is available.
_____ 4. Should not be used as a substitute in the Minneapolis Schools.

(check one) If this teacher applies for regular position

_____ 1. I would recommend he/she be employed as such.
_____ 2. I do not feel I have observed sufficiently to judge.
__X__ 3. I doubt whether he/she is strong enough for Minneapolis.

Compare this evaluation with Mrs. Hopkins" evaluations which were all favorable, both in comments and ratings (see pp. 13-14).

An office memo in May states that her evaluation from Greeley was returned at the principal's request. Mrs. Anderson, principal at Greeley, then submitted the following evaluation:

> "...Equipment has been rather carelessly taken care of and Mrs. B has shown little initiative in improvement and understanding of the program at the elementary level. She spent no time in excess of the prescribed school day.... More time spent in planning and preparation and organizing equipment would be helpful." However Mrs. Anderson checked as follows:
>
> (check one) As a substitute
>
> _____ 1. Be given preference on all substitute calls.
> __X__ 2. Be assigned to my building again when a substitute is needed.
> _____ 3. Not be assigned to my building unless no other substitute is available.
> _____ 4. Should not be used as a substitute in Minneapolis Schools.
>
> (check one) If this teacher applies for regular position
>
> __X__ 1. I would recommend he/she be employed as such.
> _____ 2. I do not feel I have observed sufficiently to judge.
> _____ 3. I doubt whether he/she is strong enough for Minneapolis.

On May 25, 1962 this teacher recieved a contract for $5100.

Was comparison B a good candidate? The Personnel Director has said, " We do not have positions for all <u>good</u> candidates who apply." ( FEPC Hearing, November 25, 1963)

QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS:

1. Why was the unauthorized letter by a vindictive clerical person in a southern community recognized and placed in Mrs. Hopkins' file at all?

2. Why did the Assistant Personnel Director record that it was on the basis of this letter that Mrs. Hopkins was being denied a contract?

3. Why was no significance attached to the seven (7) favorable evaluations by Minneapolis principals?

4. Why were other teachers with less preparation, less experience and poorer evaluations given contracts?

5. After the letter was removed, why wasn't there an objective evaluation instead of the Personnel Director's interrogation of Mrs. Hopkins' qualifications and teaching practice, (see pp. 11-12) especially since there was a dearth of Physical Education teachers according to Dr. Starr?

SUMMARY OF QUALIFICATIONS OF MRS. MARJORIE OWENS AND COMPARISONS.

Mrs. Marjorie Owens: Age 54

Scholastic Attainments: B.S. in Elementary Education 1954

Minnesota Certification: August 1961 received Minnesota certificate to teach in any Elementary School or Junior High School in the State of Minnesota.
Major Elementary Education, minor English

Grade Average: 2.61
Teaching Experience: 31 years continuous teaching

Ratings from Past Teaching Experience: (three references received all concurred in ratings.)

Personal qualifications: Average
Instructional Ability: Above average
Professional attitudes and competence: above average
All three referents said they would rehire

Ratings by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Received one C- rating, three D ratings.

Mrs. Owens applied for a regular teaching position on August 18, 1961. On September 22, she was placed on the substitute list. December 19, 1961 to June 19, 1962 she was assigned a mentally retarded class at Grant School. On April 12, 1962, the principal at Grant stated, "Has delightful relationship with these highly stimulated pupils ... She does not seem to understand the philosophy of a sound Social Studies Program."
September 5, 1962 to December 26, 1962 was assigned the third grade at Willard School. Principal asked that she be assigned to her building again and stated, "Mrs. Owens has the children do much creative work with paper. She has a warm personality

to which children respond well. This has resulted in several very nervous children becoming more relaxed and more friendly toward others. There is a permissive comfortable atmosphere in the room always...she has a kindly gracious manner and is very cooperative...seems to be well liked and highly respected by the staff. She appreciates suggestions and tries to carry them out...it could be that her background of training (in the South) is so different from that of the North that it is hard for her to really understand with limited guidance."

In February and March of 1963 Mrs. Owens received two more evaluations. Both principals asked that she be assigned to their buildings again, and stated: "Positive attitudes toward children... Enjoys children and has a fine way with them. She works well with underprivileged children. Adapted to a difficult room during her stay here."

On March 30 she asked for a contract and was interviewed by a committee of three, all of whom gave her a D rating.

Committee's Comments: "Southern drawl would be difficult for children... Slow speech - some differences in language (Southern)...I'm sure she would have problems with children because of her ineffective approach to them. Did not indicate any depth or understanding of subject matter,

teaching methods or children." It is difficult to understand how the interviewer arrived at the above conclusion when she had before her the principals' evaluations which commented positively on her understanding of children.

On April 17, Mrs. Owens was rejected for a contract. On May 9 she filed a complaint with the FEPC. July 30, assigned long call to third grade at Grant School to begin teaching September 3. On September 19 was replaced by comparison A.

Comparison A: Age 26
Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Elementary Education, 1958
Minnesota Certification: Minnesota Certificate expired 1961
Grade Average: 2.43
Past Teaching Experience: 3½ years
Ratings from Past Teaching Experience: None requested by Personnel Office
Ratings By MInneapolis Interviewing Committee: Interviewed by only one person; received a C+ rating
Comments by Interviewer:

> Could be more explicit. Uses slangy expressions. Somewhat traditional. She SEEMS ACCEPTING OF CHIL-RENand tries to provide work to meet the various levels of ability. SHE WILL NEED HELP IN ESTABLISHING DEFINITE PURPOSES IN SOCIAL STUDIES.

Comparison A applied for a regular teaching position on August 28, 1963, was interviewed on September 5, received a contract for $5500 On September 11, and replaced Mrs. Owens on September 16, 1963, exacrly two weeks after she applied.

Attention is directed to what seems to be a double standard here. Mrs. Owens' replacement "<u>seems</u> to <u>accept</u> children" and will "need help in establishing a social studues program," and "tries to provide work to meet various levels of ability." Mrs. Owens was not dealt with so kindly in exactly these three areas. Evaluators said she didn't "understand the philosophy of a sound social studies program" and should"try to provide work to meet the various levels of ability," and "no allowances made on help given." "Seems to accept children is a rather dubious recommendation for Mrs. Owens" replacement at Grant.

Comparison B Age 27

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Elementary Education

Grade Average : 2.1

Practice Teaching: Average

Past Teaching Experience: 1 month, 4th and 5th grades. Principal shated he would not rehire and further stated, "It became evident even before school opened that he was having difficulty planning for the class. Despite all the help he received he was unable to plan and carry out an educational program. His inability to know what to do in the classroom upset him so much that after only seven days he was on the verge of a nervous breakdown and asked to be released."

Ratings from Past Teaching Experience:

Personal qualities: Below average
Instructional Ability: Average
Professional Attitudes and Competence: No rating

Ratings from Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: Received a C rating by the one interviewer who saw him.

Comparison B applied on November 29, 1962 and taught as a substitute for two months, during which time he received two evaluations from principals, neither of whom recommended him for a contract but said they had not observed him sufficiently. On February 28, 1963 he received a contract for $ 4800.

Comparison C: Age 27

Scholastic Attainment: B.S. in Elementary Education 1962.

Grade Average: 2.14

Practice Teacher Ratings: Below average by two principals where "At no time during his work with me did he give indications of being prepared to handle the position of a total class over a prolonged period of time.... Not prepared to assume the position of a classroom teacher." St. Paul school principal would not recommend him for teaching: "Seems to have the wrong attitude toward teaching. Does not want to put enough effort into adequate preparation and planning."

Ratings from Past Teaching Experience: None

Rating by Minneapolis Interviewing Committee: C rating by the only interviewer who saw him. Comment: " Principal at Greeley is interested in having him teach at Greeley."

Comparison C applied for a regular teaching position on November 16, 1962. On December 2, he recieved a contract for $4700. On February 15, 1963 an un-signed evaluation from Greeley recommending him for 1962-63 contract stated: "Has shown promise and is anxious to improve." March 27, 1963 contract renewed for 1963-64. April 11, 1963 Minnesota Certificate granted.

<u>This teacher was given two contracts before obtaining a Minnesota certificate</u>.

The Personnel Director wrote in the statement of November 25, 1963, "He will never knowingly settle for a mediocre of just barely average teacher."

1. Do comparisons A, B and C represent the "best available teachers?"

   (All have C ratings and critical interview notes. B and C have negative references and below average ratings.)

2. What is the justification for giving comparisons B an C contracts at the same time Mrs. Owens was denied a contract?

Since Mrs. Owens was replaced on her long call assignment (September 1963) after only two weeks of teaching, let's take a

look at some of the teachers who were allowed to continue in their long call assignment:

Long Call Teacher A: Age 24 (elementary)

Scholastic Attainment: No Degree

Grade Average: No Transcript

Practice Teaching Rating: Below Average

Past Teaching Experience: None

A applied on November 16, 1962 and was interviewed by M. Olson who gave him C rating and commented: "Mr. A. will need more than the usual amount of help given to new teachers. I feel he will need to spend some time learning the curriculum for the 5th. grade." On Dec. 12, 1962 he was assigned long call to Hiawatha and on March 22, 1963 the principal commented:"Tries hard to learn" and recommended him for contract. At than time Mr. A was teaching on a Limited Certificate which states:" The holder of this certificate accepts with the knowledge than when qualified teachers are available he or she will have no right to hold a position in Minnesota Schools." (These certificates are issued for one year and Mr. A's expired at the end of his long call assignment at Hiawatha, June 21, 1963) A letter dated July 3, 1963, from Mr. A to Miss Olson said, "I did not register in time to complete my degree this summer. Will I still be able to teach at Hiawatha this year?" Miss Olson replied in a July 18 letter:"Yes, you will be able to teach at Hiawatha this fall.Request another limited certificate." There was no certificate in the file as late as Sept. 18, 1963. Mr. A is presently teaching at Hiawatha, no certificate and no degree.

Long call teacher B - Age 58 (elementary)

| | |
|---|---|
| Scholastic Attainment: | Two years College (1925) |
| Grade Average: | No transcript on file |
| Past Teaching Experience: | Stated she had 2 years experience |
| Ratings from Past Teaching Experience: | None on file |

Began teaching April 25, 1958, as short call substitute. The first few evaluations were fairly good and allowances were made for age, lack of experience, and the 33 years since her 2 years of college,however the good evaluations did not continue.

Thirteen evaluations from principals show:

Five were unable to observe and were non-committal
Two - satisfactory
Five - very poor - "Do not assign to my building again."

In 1959 she was assigned long call and continued for 1960, 1961 and 1962.

On March 29, 1963 the principal at Lind School where teacher B taught 1st grade wrote a long narrative evaluation concluding with, "Many of the children she has had this year could have done as well at home. Her working relationship with the other three first grade teachers can no longer be termed a relationship. I would not like to have her in the building again. She has caused teachers and administrative staff many frustrations."

There is nothing in the file to indicate concern on the part of the personnel office and on June 13, 1963 she was sent a substitute form which she signed for long call, and apparently recieved a long call assignment for 1963-64.

Long call teacher C - Age 56 (elementary)

This teacher received a B.S. in Elementary Education about 1920 (which gives some doubt as to age as given above)

She had very poor references from past positions.

In 1954 she was employed by Minneapolis Schools as a substitute and received poor evaluations from Minneapolis principals who indicated: "Do not assign to my building again."

This teacher was given a long call assignment for 1963 - 64 to teach grades 3 and 4 at Blaine.

Long Call teacher D--age 59 (elementary.)

Long Call substitute teacher D has a two-year diploma from Minot State Teachers College. She did substitute teaching in St. Louis, and was rated "satisfactory" (but as the Director of Presonnel says, "referents tend to overrate".)

There is one Minneapolis interview blank in the file which is not dated and does not carry the name of the interviewer but merely this comment: "Mrs. D has had many years of experience in Southeastern areas. Likes to teach reading." With this strong(?) interview she was assigned long call to the first grade at Grant on September 4, 1962.

On March 28, 1963, the principal at Grant wrote this evaluation: "Maintains rigid control over students. Classroom feeling of boredom, fatigue, and disinterest. She teaches because she needs an income. She doesn't reflect on the needs of children." Do not assign to my building again-not strong enough for Minneapolis.

On April 25, 1963, the Personnel Office sent her a substitute teaching form for 1963-64 which she signed and returned.

Long Call teacher E--age 60 (elementary). This teacher taught in rural schools from 1920 to 1956. In 1944 she received a two year diploma from Eau Claire Teachers College. In April and May, 1962, the principals at Hawthorne and Bremer schools wrote on their evaluations: "Mrs. E maintains discipline in a manner which causes children to dislke her," and "she has very poor relationships with students...I do not believe she hears well because she is always accusing the wrong person." More than twenty times principals have asked that she not be assigned to their buildings again, and have recommended that she not be used as a substitute, and yet this teacher is still

filling long and short calls.

Long Call Teacher F (elementary)

Teacher F has a 2 year diploma. From September 1961 to June 1962 she taught long call at Washington and evaluating her teaching for the year the principal commented: "I have talked with her time and again about the importance of keeping the children in the classroom or knowing were they are at all times... The pupils seem to have no respect for her... Mrs. F seems to be insecure on her job."

For the 1962-63 year she was assigned long call at Grant. This teacher file contains poor evaluations over a period of time yet she recieved long call assignments. It does not take an expert in education to see a double standard here. The foregoing examples (there are many more) have lesser qualifications, and definitely lower teaching ability than either Mrs. Owens or Mrs. Hopkins and yet Mrs. Owens was replaced and Mrs. Hopkins denied employment. Twenty-five teachers presently employed whose files potray the kind of teacher described in these six examples can be found in the Personnel Department.

A survey of long call substitutes in the elementary schools shows approximately 93 teachers filling these positions and of that number 35 have degrees and 58 do not. Surely Mrs. Owens and Mrs. Hopkins are better than at least two of these non-degree teachers.

If the Board of Education is interested in a breakdown by grade on the above, totals can be furnished, including the names of retired teachers who are

serving as substitutes.

Examples of substitute teachers in secondary schools:

Substitute teacher G - age 27 (Junior High) Graduated from University of Minnesota in 1958 as a C minus student. He did no teaching until 1962. He has a Minnesota certificate to teach sociology, history and political science. Reference William Swain, assistant professor of sociology, University of Minnesota makes this statement: "He is not the type I would prefer to have teach my own children."

On February 27, 1962, he was interviewed by the Director of Personnel. His comments appear in toto:"Well-dressed, polite, polished. I asked him about teaching." Following this interview, he was assigned to Sheridan Junior High. In his evualation, the principal at Sheridan states:"Had little knowledge of subjec matter and teaching techniques. Minimum amount of time spent in preparation. Had to speak to him about getting to school on time." The principal stated:"Do not return to my building."

From other principals: Should have added training before he would be acce acceptable to me. Do not return to my building." "He is not strongly masculine." "Lacks ability to control students-lack of organization of subject matter. We would do well not to encourage this applicant further. Do not assign to my building. Question if he should be used as a substitute. Not strong enough for Mpls." (This last evaluation came from the principal at Edison)

In respect to these six evaluations from junior and senior high principals the assistant Director of Personnel very tolerantly notes on an office memo:Mr. G will grow with experience. At the present time ranks as an average substitute teacher." (Then Mrs. McNair and Mrs. Hopkins are very much above average) "Since he has been on short calls it would be unrealistic to rate him in comparison with regular teachers."

If substitute teachers are not rated in comparison to regular teachers, how can they decide if and when they should have a contract. Note the casual way in which the Edison principal's evaluation is treated in

this instance and how his one non-committal evaluation of Mrs. McNair was regarded and even his telephone comments about Mrs. McNair were recorded. Mrs. G was asked to substitute for 1963-64.

Substitute Teacher H - Age 60

This teacher recieved an A.B. degree in 1928 and has been teaching Business courses in the Minneapolis schools since 1959. In her files are 29 lengthy evaluations from principals. These evaluations site so many immpossible situations that would take too long to describe here - everything from criticizing the regular teachers to brawls during which students broke typewriters. Many of the twenty-nine evaluators ask that she not return to their buildings. Letters and memos indicate difficulties between her husband and the school personnel office. Mrs. H is still teaching.

Substitute I - Age 55

B.S. from University of Minnesota in 1929 with a major in Physical Education and Sociology.Has a limited certificate. No previous teaching experience. No transcript. In 1954 she was interviewed by one person in the Minneapolis personnel office who rated her average and she was then employed as a substitute teacher. From that time until 1962 she recieved fair evaluations,. However, they would not recommend her for contract. On September 14, 1962 she recieved this evaluation from the principal at Ramsey Junior High where she was teaching Physical Education. "No initiative. More interested in full hours and in lunch time than in doing a good job. Do not assign to my building again. Do not believe she is strong enough for Minneapolis. May 1963 - another evaluation from the same principal again asking that she not be assigned to his building. Nothing in the file to indicate concern or remedial action by the personnel office. Miss I is still teaching.

Substitue J, age 60. BS in Social Studies in 1925, no references, no past teaching experienece, no transcript in file. On September 19, 1955, applied, and was interviewed by R. Dahlen who evaluated her in this manner: "Up and coming woman-see no reason why we should not use her as a sub."

During 1955 and 1956 Mrs. J received six evaluations which were mildly critical but made allowances for her inexperience. In 1957, principals from Phillips and Ramsey Junior Highs and West High made these evaluations: "Poor, don't return," and "Poor. Class deteriorated from day to day, even though we assisted her from the office and other teachers stood by to help. Do not assign," and, "Not capable or well prepared. Knew little about teaching. Adapted poorly. Do not assign."

Four evaluators, one from Ramsey, one from West, and two from Lincoln asked that she not return to those schools with the following comments: "Talks too much. The older kids see through her. She talks too much among the faculty. In 9th Grade Civics has to call for help. Do not assign," and "Not very successful in controlling behavior. Acceptance by faculty doubtful. Very talkative, seems compulsive. Do not assign," and "Talkative beyond reason and sociability. Voice not pleasant; irritating tendency to dominate informal situation. Do not assign," and one that simply said, "Do not assign."

From 1958 to the present, seven more principals asked that she not return to their schools with such comments as,"Has difficulty relating to students-inflexibility," and "I do not believe much constructive work work was accomplished in Mrs. J's classes. She has lax discipline and appears to be content with a 'holding operation'."

In January, 1962, the Director

of Personnel had a conference with Mrs. J and his entire record of the counseling session is as follows: "Because I had received complaints about Mrs. J in evaluations, I called her in to discuss some of these with her. I told her she was antagonizing fellow workers in her contacts with them. She seemed appreciative." Contrast this with the indulgence to and tolerance for poor poor teaching methods and disciplinary practices with the severely critical analysis to which the teaching programs of Mrs. Hopkins, Mrs. Owens and Mrs. McNair were subjected.

The pattern of discrimination in hiring policies is strikingly revealed when the qualifications of the following Negroes employed on a short-call basis are examined. These applicants have not only been denied contracts; they have also been denied long-call substitute assignments and have been limited to short-call.

Substitute K

Scholastic Attainment: B. S. in Education in 1948.
Two majors: Industrial Arts, Biological Sciences
Minor: Physical Education

Teaching Experience: 10 years in a Midwestern city of 20,000 population. During this time, he was a principal, assistant principal, a high school and elementary teacher and an education coordinator for the elementary schools of the city.

References from past teaching: Twelve outstanding references, such as

From a superintendent: "Mr. K is without a doubt the finest man that I have ever known. He has the respect of the people (sic) of this city," and

From a superintendent of schools: "His contract will be renewed for as long as he wants to stay here," and

From the elementary consultant: This "school system was fortunate

indeed to have a faculty member such as Mr. K. The good success which our school attained was due in part to the fine work done by Mr. K. We feel sure that any school system which employes Mr. K would be fortunate. We will be sorry to lose him."

Mr. K received a special citation from the president of his college, which is a Midwest state college. All references rated this candidate above average and superior.

Prior to applying for a position in Minneapolis, he received a Minnesota certificate to teach industrial arts and biological sciences in grades 7-12. This certificate is still current.

In September 1956, he submitted his application and in December he was interviewed by an interviewing committee who gave him a rating of two C"s and a D with these reasons: "Background should be broader."

"Qualified for woodwork only."

"Only two fields he could teach-woodwork and drawing."

Note that he holds a Minnesota certificate for the field of Industrial Arts and Biological Sciences. The Committee's reason for not recommending Mr. K for a contract was that he lacked training.

In September, 1957, Mr. K applied for substitute teaching and was interviewwd by the Director of Personnel:"Working with a construction company. Very fine records-good. He is only interested in long call. He will call us if interes interested in short call." Mr. K actually wanted a regular job which the Personnel Director knew and he also knew a man of this caliber would not want the uncertainity of short call substituting. However, Mr. K felt that he could prove himself by taking some short calls and on October 18, he received this evaluation from the principal at South High where Mr. K was assigned to teach commercial subjects: "Established excellent rapport. Easy control. Very fine attitude toward work. Accepted by faculty. He has taken classes for which he was not qualified but did an excellent job. Ask that Mr. K be given preference on all aubstitute calls because of his superior ability."

From the principal at Sanford where he taught Physical Education:Very good. Assign here again."

Following these evaluations, he was again rejected for a contract on January 28, 1958.

On February 7, 1958, the principal at Grant where Mr. K taught 5th grade made this evaluation: "Outstanding

In fact, no substitute has ever come to my attention who did as good a job in such a short time. A brief case was full of excellent material, especially in science slides, microscope, etc. Excellent relationships to school. Careful to carry out responsibility for pupils in halls, etc., as set by building policy. Has made himself a part of the staff. Ask that Mr. K be given preference on all substitute calls."

Following this demonstration of ability in assignments out of his field, the Personnel Office returned Mr. K's transcript to him, which seems indicative of no employment. Although Mr. K is employed, he still wishes to teach and applies each year for a position. But apparently this fine teacher is lost to the Minneapolis school system.

Substitue L, age 26. Graduated in 1960 from a Midwestern University with a BS in Education and a minor in science.. Worked his way through school and along with another job held the position (as an undergraduate) of a lab instructor in the Graduate School of Anatomy. Practice teaching ratings were above average and superior. Received Minneapolis certificate to teach Science, grades 7-12. Mr. L applied for a regular position on Nov. 6, 1962, and was interviewed by the Assistant Director of Personnel who rated him satisfactory and commented: "Sound thinker. Impressed me as having considerable capability. I explained that since he was qualified for Junior High School he would have a tough time being hired as a regular teacher."(?)

On feb. 15, 1963, he was assigned one day's teaching at Nokomis, science and math. Principal asked that he be assigned to his school again. March 19, an evaluation from the principal at Edison where Mr. L taught biology: "Better than average. He was here previously in Machine Shop," (no evaluation on

this assignment) "in which he was not prepared. No serious problem occured but I could not pass judgement on this service since he was out of his field. Assign to my building again."

April 2, 1963 - evaluation from Folwell where he taught Science: "Effective command of the classroom situation... displayed interest and enthusiasm for teaching. Assign to my building again."

There were three more assignments where he taught Science and Mathamatics and the principals asked for him again.

On May 27 he was given a three week assignment teaching Algebra and Math at Marshall. At the end of the period the principal sent this evaluation to the personnal office: "Mr. L did an excellent job. He was conscientious, hard working and well prepared. He had to work especially hard because Algebra was not his major field. But he came through. The students liked him and he worked hard at all times. He seemed to fit in well with our faculty group. He went about his work in a quiet well organized manner. He did well in a difficult situation. On the basis of his work here I recommend him for a regular position."

On June 1, 1963 an interviewing committee gave him two D ratings and one B. One interviewer who gave him D ratings commented: "Not at all articulate - seems fearful to express an idea. Confused. Interesting person to talk to - has wide range of interests. Lacks force of personality to organize and effectively direct a good class program. Did not know what level he wished to apply for. Lacks force of personality to control student groups. Indicated uneasiness with discipline. I suggest he be retained as a sub until we can observe him in the teaching position."

Mr. L had eleven evaluations from Minneapolis principals prior to his interview. None indicated inability to control and several commented on good control.

The other interviewer who gave him a D commented: "Cautious. Definite speech impediment. Very near to getting an M.A. degree. Should be continued as a sub and interviewed at a future date." The consultant who gave him a B rating made this comment: "Mr. L is a fine, mature gentleman who has a good philosophy of education. He used good techniques in his teaching. He appears well prepared in biology and chemistry. He needs experience with an understanding principal." Mr. L was then interviewed by the Director and Assistant Director of Personnel (making six interviews the same day) who quizzed him on technical aspects of science and gave him C and D ratings with this conclusion: "Not well trained for biology or general science. Didn't know monocots or dicots."

Mr. L. is getting a few short call assignments, yet he is clearly far superior to those substitute teachers whose qualifications we have examined and, indeed, far more qualified than many teachers granted contracts. Despite the fact that he was continually assigned out of his field, he received eleven favorable evaluations, including one recommending that he be given a contract. The long period of trial as a substitute which he has been forced to endure is in striking contrast to the speed with which many others have received contracts - none of whom were subjected to six interrogations in a single day.

The above materials represent a portion of the relevant factual basis for the position of CORE. We submit this for your review and action. We request a further meeting before February 23, 1964, when we will have a special membership meeting.

TWIN CITY CHAPTER OF CORE 2/19/64

Schools

~~from~~ Chapters

file

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 - 6270
April 25, 1962

TO: CORE Chapters
FROM: Norman Hill, Assistant to the Director, Program Department

National CORE urges all chapters on Thursday, May 17 in their respective cities to organize demonstrations (marches and/or poster walk) on Republican and Democratic Party headquarters or an appropriate Federal building in your locale.

The focus of these demonstrations is the May 17 anniversary date of the Supreme Court decision in 1954 declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Now 8 years later only 7% of the Negro children covered by the decision attend desegregated schools. Over 2,800,000 Negro students are still segregated. The States of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina have completely defied the Supreme Court edict. The bills sponsored by Senator Clark and Congressman Celler calling upon all communities which maintain segregated schools to submit a desegregation plan by 1963, are stalled with little congressional support and no pressure from President Kennedy, despite the 1960 Democratic Party platform pledge

> "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should submit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963," and the Republican plank stating that, "we believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay."

1. Protest lack of progress on school desegregation
2. Urge support and passage of the Clark-Celler bill
3. Emphasize that your effort is part of nationwide demonstrations on Thursday, May 17

Dem. St Party those members of the nat'l Cong'l D. party from NY.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich

## Cross-Country Demonstrations Protest Inaction By Both Parties On Schools

New York, New York, May 17: May 17, 1962, the eighth anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, was observed by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) groups across the country with protest demonstrations at both Republican and Democratic headquarters.

Picket signs and leaflets pointed out that only 7% of Negro children covered by the decision now attend desegregated schools and that over 2,800,000 Negro students are still segregated. They protested the fact that legislation calling upon all communities with segregated schools to submit a desegregation plan by 1963, has been stalled with little congressional support and no pressure from the President.

In Washington, James Farmer, national director of CORE headed picket lines at national headquarters of both major parties and served on delegations which went inside to present CORE's protest to Republican and Democratic officials. Sizeable CORE demonstrations were conducted at headquarters of the two parties in New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, with smaller protest actions in other cities.

The leaflets emphasized the discrepancy between the inaction of both parties on this issue and the 1960 platform pledges. In that year the Democratic Party pledged "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should sumbit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963." The Republican Party platform asserted: "We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay."

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Statement of Norman Hill, Assistant
to the Program Director, CORE -
the Congress of Racial Equality
before the Committee on Education and
Labor of the U. S. House of
Representatives, June 15, 1962,
Washington, D. C.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

My name is Norman Hill and I am the Assistant to the Program Director of the Congress of Racial Equality whose office is located in New York City, at 38 Park Row. I wish to thank the Committee for this opportunity to appear and to present testimony on the urgent need for the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

The Supreme Court in 1954 in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka declared that enforced racial segregation in public education is a denial of equal protection under the 14th amendment.

Yet today, eight years after this historic decision, 2,800,000 Negro children in the South still attend segregated schools. In the states of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina, no effort has been made to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1960-61 only 7% of all Negroes in public schools in the 17 southern states attended school with white pupils. The public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia have been closed since September of 1959 in defiance of a court order. Tuition grants involving state and local funds have been used to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. In Louisiana measures have been taken by the executive and legislative

branches of the government to maintain segregation despite a Federal court order. Accompanying the defiance on a state level were civic disorder and a boycott of the public schools serving as the foci of the controversy. A further indication of the breakdown of law and order were the harassment and economic reprisals directed against the few whites who attempted to comply with the Federal order.

Such evidence clearly manifests the urgent and immediate need for further steps on a federal level -- namely the enactment of a public school desegregation bill. The relevant and pressing question is: how to extinguish public school segregation. Open defiance continues. Progress is excruciatingly slow. Millions of minority group children are suffering under an inferior physical and psychological educational environment, are experiencing an incalculable harm which may never be undone.

Granting the existing widespread school segregation is in the South, it is in reality a national problem, a cancer of the North as well as the South. On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," thus clearly encompassing segregation de facto as well as de jure. Examples of segregation in northern and western school systems occur by official action in the form of gerrymandering, zoning, selection of sites for schools and staffing and by culpable inaction, particularly in view of widespread residential segregation.

In reiterating support for a public school desegregation bill, I would cite Title II providing for grants to school boards and local

governments to facilitate desegregation and Title III authorizing technical assistance by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare for desegregation problems. These provisions are the means by which desegregation can occur and at the same time maintain and improve the quality of education. Concurrently the passage of a bill providing for the desegregation of public schools and requiring every school board which has failed to achieve desegregation in its schools to adopt and file a desegregation plan of first step compliance with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare is a recognition of the necessity and urgency of school desegregation, a realization of the importance of avoiding the compounding of existing inequalities in facilities, staffing and quality of education resulting from segregation.

Millions of minority group children, North and South, await fulfillment of the 1960 Democratic Party platform pledge, "that every school district affected by the Supreme Court's decision should submit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963," and the Republican plank stating that, "We believe that each of the pending court actions should proceed as the Supreme Court has directed and that in no district should there be any such delay." The time is now!

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File: School Seg.

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
1962 Convention

# OPERATION TRANSFER

On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States declared racial segregation in public education a denial of equal protection under the 14th amendment. Yet today, eight years after the historic decision, 2,800,000 Negro children in the South still attend segregated schools. In 1960-61 only 7% of all Negroes in public schools in the 17 southern states attended desegregated schools. Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina have completely defied the Supreme Court edict.

Granting the existing widespread school segregation in the South, it is in reality a national problem, a cancer of the North as well as the South. The Supreme Court has said that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," thus clearly encompassing segregation de facto as well as de jure. In Chicago, Englewood, New Jersey and Berkeley, California San Francisco, Syracuse CORE groups have pinpointed and are fighting de facto segregation.

Progress in school desegregation has slowed down considerably. To give the problem a new and greater sense of urgency, we propose that "Operation Transfer" be initiated by as many CORE Chapters as is feasible this fall in the following manner:

1) Be thoroughly informed

   a) Extent, nature and means of segregation

      1. De facto or de jure
      2. Percentages of white and non-white schools within the community

3. Location of schools and zoning system applied
4. Pupil placement and transfer procedures
5. Teacher and administrator quality and assignment by comparison of schools within the system

   a) Percentage of teachers on substitute or temporary assignment
   b) Turnover of administrators and teachers in "difficult" schools
   c) Percentages of non-white teachers and administrators and where assigned
6. Physical plant facilities - Condition and age of building

b) Know key legal decisions

1. Brown vs. Topeka Bd. of Education (Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools)
2. New York City decision supporting Supreme Court ruling that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal"
3. New Rochelle, New York decision declaring the arbitrary fixing of school zones to maintain segregation illegal
4. Recent decision of southern Federal district court ruling against pupil placement law reinforcing segregation.

2) Seek support and cooperation of all groups interested in integration and educational reform, obtaining public statements if possible.

3) Begin organizing parents well ahead of day of registration and the opening of school.

   a) Public meetings or rallies may be appropriate for initiating "Operation Transfer."

   b) The best and most effective organizing will be done by face-to-face contact. Talk with parents in their homes. Hold small neighborhood meeting to build parents' morale and increase their understanding.

   c) If at all possible, involve parents who are willing to use nonviolent action techniques and committed to school integration in CORE group.

4) Be sure those parents who are committed to an attempt to transfer children know the procedure and have all the necessary information --birth certificates, etc.

5) Determine area in which school transfers would be most feasible -- from a Negro or predominantly Negro segregated school to nearest white or predominantly white school.

6) Be prepared to follow up school transfer attempt, possible in stand-in form, by other direct action techniques.

   a) Confrontation of school board officials at Board of Education meetings and hearings -- possible stand-in or sit-in.

   b) Consider sit-ins in school in which transfer is attempted

   c) Mass demonstrations and picketing where appropriate -- school, Board of Education, City Hall

   d) Stay-out with proper organization and preparation

      1. Community support
      2. Schooling arrangements for pupils staying out -- facilities and teachers

Prepared by Norman Hill, Assistant to the Program Director
for the Convention Workshop on School Desegregation.

Schools

CORE - CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 - 6270

TO: CORE Chapter Chairmen
FROM: 1962 Miami National CORE Convention

# OPERATION TRANSFER

To dramatically highlight the problem of school desegregation and give it a new and greater sense of urgency, we recommend the following to CORE Chapters:

I. Investigation and determination of the existing situation in public education in your community where feasible.

II. Seek support and cooperation of all groups interested in integration and educational reform, obtaining public statements if possible.

III. Confront school authorities with facts of segregated education -- school composition, facilities, and staff -- but not for so long a period as to delay necessary involvement and interest in effective direct action.

IV. Begin organizing parents well ahead of day of registration and the opening of school.

A) Public meetings or rallies may be appropriate for initiating "Operation Transfer."
B) The best and most effective organizing will be done by face-to-face contact. Talk with parents in their homes. Hold small neighborhood meeting to build parents' morale and increase their understanding.
C) If at all possible, involve parents who are willing to use nonviolent action techniques and committed to school integration in CORE group.

V. Be sure those parents who are committed to an attempt to transfer children know the procedure and have all the necessary information - birth certificates, etc.

VI. Determine area in which school transfers would be most feasible -- from a Negro or predominantly Negro segregated school to nearest white or predominantly white school.

VII. Be prepared to follow up school transfer attempt, possible in stand-in form, by other direct action techniques.

A) Confrontation of school board officials at Board of Education meetings and hearings -- possible stand-in or sit-in.
B) Consider sit-ins in school by children and parents in which transfer is attempted.
C) Mass demonstrations and picketing where appropriate -- school, Board of Education, City Hall
D) Stay-out (taking pupils out of school) with proper organization and preparation
    1. Community support
    2. Schooling arrangements for pupils staying out -- facilities and teachers

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270
February, 1963

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON CORE'S SCHOOL BOND CAMPAIGN

Public school integration in the South is proceeding at a snail's pace. The December, 1962 meeting of the National Action Council authorized the staff to initiate a national project aimed at challenging the legality and financial support of segregated education.

Money to build and expand schools is generally raised by selling school bonds. The federal government helps subsidize these bonds by not collecting income tax on interest from them. CORE contends that this money cannot constitutionally be used for segregated schools and we feel that the federal government should not subsidize segregation in this manner.

One aspect of our program is to challenge the federal tax exemption of those bonds which are used to support segregation. Another approach will be to challenge the right of the school districts to raise and expend money for segregated schools.

Still,a third angle (and one which will involve most of the nonviolent direct action) will be that of asking the financial institutions not to underwrite and handle these segregated bonds. A word of explanation at this point is required.

After a school district has decided to raise funds by issuing bonds they call for sealed bids from investment houses interested in handling and selling them. The financial house which will charge the least is normally awarded the issue. This house in turn sells the bonds to individuals, insurance companies and other firms. We are asking that the investment houses not bid on the issues and are appealing to the public in general and to other firms not to buy the bonds if they are to be used to further segregation.

Most of the school bond issues are underwritten by large financial institutions which are located primarily in the North. Thus, it is northern institutions and northern money which provide the majority of the funds to perpetuate segregation. If school integration is to become a fact in the South, we will need concerted action on the part of northern CORE chapters as well as those in the South. Segregation is truly a national problem and this becomes increasingly clear as we see the role which northern capital plays in financing illegal segregation in the South.

Schools

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
West Coast Regional Conference
Education Panel
Berkeley, California
March 23, 1963

OUTLINE FOR ACTION PROJECT ON DE FACTO SEGREGATED SCHOOLS:

1. Get a racial census of your schools. Your school department or other agency may have this information. If not, do an informal census yourself. One way is to have two people watch children at dismissal time, one counting whites, the other, minority group children. You don't have to count them all---a sample of 50 to 100 should give you a fair idea of the approximate proportions.

2. Determine which schools are de facto segregated. Remember, a predominately white school is just as segregated as one with an undue proportion of Negroes or Orientals. No hard and fast number can be used to determine a de facto segregated school, but consider these factors:
   (a) proportion of minority school children to white school children in the total community (see U. S. census figures).
   (b) It is better to have a very flexible range of the acceptable proportions.
   (c) Studies show that when a school contains over 35% or so Negro children, white parents tend to panic, and begin leaving thus raising this percentage very quickly.

3. Familiarize yourself with the legal principles applicable in your area. Try to work with a lawyer if possible. In any event, read the leading cases on the subject (see bibliography), and remember the law is not yet definitive or finalized on the subject. In California, be sure to study the applicable regulations of the State Board of Education. Intentional districting of children into schools made up predominately of the same racial group is clearly illegal, but often not easy to prove. Even without any intent by a school board to promote segregation by districting, you can still do something.

4. School boards are interested in educational values of any new policies adopted. Learn the educational advantages of integrated schools (see bibliography).

5. Be familar with problems of textbook contents, teacher placement, compensatory education, intergroup relations and similar problems which are racially connected (see bibliography).

6. Learn about the members of your school board. If any are sympathetic, talk to them informally. They will be valuable in helping you plan your formal approach to the entire board.

7. Talk to your school superintendent about how schools are districted and other pertinent problems.

8. Where possible, get maps showing the boundaries of all the schools in your community. If these are not available for distribution, you can often copy those the school board has, or photograph them. Also, get U. S. census tract maps for your area which shows population distribution by age and race. Comparisons of these maps will give much information on the racial composition of the schools.

9. With or without the help of an ally on the school board, learn the procedures and practices of the board in your community. It is a very good idea to have representatives of your group attend all board meetings, even though nothing of particular significance to your program is on the agenda. The board and the community will learn that you are concerned with what goes on in the schools.

10. Contact all other groups, including churches, in your community who are likely to share your general point of view. It is probably not a good idea to work together as one group, because many seperate voices are more impressive. It is good, however, to coordinate your efforts, e. g. all groups to make presentations to the board at the same meeting.

11. Plan your presentation to be made to the board very carefully. It should be written and enough copies made for all board members, press and interested citizens.

12. Both before and after your presentation, try to place you position clearly before the public. This can be done by newspaper articles, radio and television interviews, speakers sent to churches, PTA, civic and fraternal groups. Do not overlook neighborhood associations and chambers of commerce. Although they are not usually allies, it helps for them to see you are human and reasonable.

13. Read the sample presentations made in San Francisco and Berkeley by CORE and other groups for ideas. But put as much local information in your presentation as possible.

14. Try to enlist the support of community leaders, including your Mayor and elected officials.

15. Negotiation may be a length process, but it is important to maintain as much good will as possible. However, if you reach the point where further attempts at persuasion appear futile, traditional CORE protest action is appropriate--picketing, sit-ins, boycotts.

Education panel planners
Beverly Axelrod, Atty. San Francisco CORE
Tony Salotto, Berkeley CORE Ed. Committee

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 December 4

TO: NEW YORK AREA SCHOOL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

FROM: NORMAN HILL/ Program Director

RE: MEETING

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 8

AT THE NATIONAL OFFICE 7:00 PM

TO EVALUATE SCHOOL QUESTION AND DISCUSS DIRECT ACTION AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT.

file

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-6270

MEMO TO: CORE CHAPTERS
FROM: Norman Hill, Assistant to the Director
Program Department

RE: Recommended Program for School Desegregation

The urgency and pace of efforts to obtain school desegregation has now achieved greater intensity. Sit-ins have occurred in Chicago,,Illinois and Englewood, New Jersey. The spirit and substance of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 is now being tested in the North where school segregation exists in many areas in fact, but not by law. The court ruling on the New Rochelle case held that the "neighborhood school" concept is not valid where it is used to perpetuate segregation.

Enclosed is a program guide for school desegregation. We recommend that a discussion be initiated in your CORE chapter and other appropriate community groups to determine its applicability to your local situation. If your CORE chapter is involved in action in this area or begins such a program, please keep the Program Department informed.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
COrtland 7 - 6270

MEMO TO: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX CORE CHAPTERS

FROM: Norman Hill, Assistant to the Director, Program Department

DATE:

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Enclosed is a program guide for school desegregation. We recommend that a discussion be initiated in your CORE chapter and other appropriate community groups to determine its applicability to your local situation. If your CORE chapter is involved, ~~or begins~~ in action in this area or begins such a program, please keep the Program Dept. informed.

Sent to all field secretaries

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-6270

## RECOMMENDED PROGRAM FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

I Conduct Investigation and Research, inquiring through other interested organizations and agencies wherever possible to build community contact and collect necessary information in these major areas:

a) Percentages of white and non-white Schools Within System. (New York uses 85% as the determinant of segregation in a particular school.)

b) Locations of Schools and Zoning System Applied (Gerrymandering. The arbitary fixing of school zones to maintain segregation was declared illegal in New Rochelle.)

c) Pupil Placement and Transfer Procedures - Administrative policy may use other standards other than race, (I.Q., academic standing, travel distance to school) to reinforce segregation. Predominantly or all Negro classes may be transfered ~~as a class~~ and set aside as a class in a predominantly or all-white school.

d) Teacher and Administrator Quality and Assignment - Comparisons of schools within system. (Percentages of teachers on substitute or temporary assignment, turnover of administrators and teachers in "difficult" schools, percentages on non-white teachers and administrators.)

e) Curriculum - Examination of instructional materials for cultural bias and inadequate or distored presentation of minorities.

f) Guidance and Treating - What is the percentage of "drop-outs"? Are students being assisted toward higher academic standards.

g) The Physical Plant Facilities - Inferiority of a particular school (general condition and age of buildings) in contrast with the rest of the system.

II To utilize this information in a positive educational program by the examination of existing programs. Some programs will be particularly applicable to recently desegregated schools.

a) Ability Grouping, either by schools, programs within individual schools, classes within schools, or groups within classes.

b) Supervised Home Study - At times the academic gap between Negro and white students will be too great and immediate corrective steps must be taken (home tutoring programs have been essential to desegregation in parts of Texas and Maryland.)

Other policies would be applicable also to northern and western school systems.

c) Open Enrollment - The free choice of schools. In the few cities where this has been attempted varying limitations were placed on the freedom of choice. (In Baltimore overcrowded schools were limited to students from the immediate neighborhoods, in New York particular

-OVER-

"receiver" schools were designated for transfers from segregated schools.) Where open enrollment has been tried it has definitely hastened desegregation.

Recent Supreme Ct. decision

d) Pupil Placement and Selective Transfer - These procedures have again varied, but as in open enrollment the specific method is secondary to the result. Does the policy definitely end segregation? Pupil placement and selective transfer have been used both to aid and prevent desegregation. (Both Detroit and New York have used buses to transfer students from overcrowded schools. Detroit authorities transferred students from downtown Negro schools to suburban Negro schools, New York transferred children in a policy of integration.)

e) Rezoning and Location of New Buildings - These policies have also been varied, new buildings may be located in white, Negro or fringe areas. Zoning can create or eliminate segregation.

f) The Integration of Educational Staff - This is an area often overlooked, integration of the entire school system does not necessarily follow desegregation and must be specifically demanded.

g) Guidance and Academic Excellence - There are several programs that are worthwhile examing, they can only be listed here: The Phelps-Stokes Project, the St. Louis Banneker Group Program, New York Higher Horizons and Demonstration Guidance Project, Dillard University Program.

h) Redistribution of Pupils by Grade - Attendance at a particular school is determined by grade level not area of residence, ie, all children in grades 1-3 might attend same school. Examples are Princeton and Morristown, New Jersey.

III A Definite Local Program should be formulated, following examination of the school system and the available programs. Once this has been done, a community mobilization effort must be initiated, seeking the support and cooperation of all groups interested in educational reform. One of the immediate objectives should be the formation of a parent-action group willing to use direct, non-violent methods, and committed to the goal of true integration.

IV Direct, Non-Violent, Action Techniques such as sit-ins, stay-outs, mass demonstrations and picketing can be used where appropriate, emphasis must be placed on building community support and exerting pressure on the school authorities. Obviously power to make these decisions are in the hands of the school authorities, but it is the community both local and national that will decide the issue of segregation.

SCHOOL

## RECOMMENDED PROGRAM FOR DESEGREGATION

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e) Curriculum - Examination of instructional materials for cultural bias and inadequate or distorted presentation of minorities.

f) Guidance and Testing - What is the percentage of "drop-outs"? Are students being assisted toward higher academic standards.

g) The Physical Plant Facilities - Inferiority of a particular school (general condition and age of buildings) in contrast with the rest of the system.

2) To utilize this information in a positive educational program by the examination of existing programs. Some programs will be particularly applicable to recently desegregated schools.

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b) Supervised Home Study - At times the academic gap between Negro and white students will be too great and immediate corrective steps must be taken (home tutoring programs have been essential to desegregation in parts of Texas and Maryland.) Other policies would be applicable also to northern and western school systems.

c) Open Enrollment - The free choice of schools. In the few cities where this has been attempted varying limitations were placed on the freedom of choice. (In Baltimore overcrowded schools were limited to students from the immediate neighborhoods, in New York particular "receiver" schools were designated for transfers from segregated schools.) Where open enrollment has been tried it has definitely hastened desegregation.

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B) Guidance and Academic Excellence - There are several programs that are worthwhile examining, they can only be listed here: The Phelps-Stokes Project, the St. Louis Rensselaer Group Program, New York Higher Horizons and Demonstration Guidance Project, Dillard University Program.

b) Redistribution of ~~Negro~~ ~~some~~ school pupils by grade

3) A Definite Local Program should be formulated, following examination of the school system and the available programs. Once this has been done, a community mobilization effort must be initiated, seeking the support and cooperation of all groups interested in educational reform. One of the immediate objectives should be the formation of a parent-action group willing to use direct, non-violent methods, and committed to the goal of true integration.

4) Direct, Non-Violent, Action Techniques such as sit-ins, sit-outs, stay-outs, mass demonstrations and picketing can be used where appropriate, emphasis must be placed on building community support and exerting pressure on the school authorities. Obviously power to make these decisions are in the hands of the school authorities, but it is the community both local and national that will decide the issue of ~~de~~ segregation.

→ Attendance at a particular school is determined by grade level ~~not~~ area of residence - ~~all~~ i.e. all children ~~from all over~~ in the city in grades 1-3 might attend same school. Examples can be cited in Princeton and Morristown, New Jersey

E- NSFAE

# MINUTES

## MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE
## NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C.
February 8, 1964

The ninth meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference was called to order at 2:25 p.m., in the Allan Room of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C., by Chairman Pat Clary. Those who were in attendance introduced themselves. Members of the Steering Committee attending and the organizations they represented are as follows: John Jacobsohn, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations; Bill Miller, Campus Americans for Democratic Action; Patrick Clary, College Young Democratic Clubs of America; Randy Burkett, National Student Christian Federation; Paul Goodberg, Student Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee; Dean L. Conrad, Student Religious Liberals; Joel Sharkey, United States National Student Association; Dean Gottehrer, United States Student Press Association; Joseph Fallon, United States Youth Council; and Erin Clary, Secretary of the Conference. Others in attendance included Mr. Richard M. Carrigan (National Education Association), Peter Kimmel (representing the Student Association of The American University), J. Albert House (National President, Young Democratic Clubs of America), Ken Lester (National Chairman, College Young Democratic Clubs of America), Duncan McConnell (representing the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council), Fred Ricci, Michael D. Shagan, Allan S. Feirman, and Larry Eiker.

National Co-Chairman Clary, on behalf of National Co-Chairman Tim Ryles and Executive Director James Hunt, expressed regret that they were unable to attend the meeting and gave their best wishes to the Steering Committee

Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the minutes of the previous meeting were approved as reported. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the agenda for the meeting was approved with the following order of business: remarks by Philip DesMarais, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; financial report by National Co-Chairman Clary; discussion on Conference legislative activities since April 1963 General Conference Meetings; report by Dean L. Conrad, Chairman of special interim Committee on Sponsoring Organizations; consideration of the revised proposed Outline of Administrative Organization for the 1964 General Conference Meetings of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference; elections to fill vacancies in Offices and Executive Committee; report on National Student Conference on Religion and Race; report on United States Youth Council First Annual National Youth Conference on Human Rights; consideration of Resolution on the Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference; other business; and adjournment.

The Chairman annouced that apparently Mr. DesMarais had been delayed, and, if he should arrive during the meeting, with the consent of the body he would address the Steering Committee at that time.

The Chairman then presented a financial report to the Steering Committe Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the financial report, as reported and as annexed hereto, and the expenditures therein contained, were approved.

Chairman Clary then proceeded to report on the three meetings of the Executive Committee held since its creation at the last meeting of the Steering Committee. A motion was made and seconded that the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings, as reported, be approved. After discussion on the legislative activities of the Conference and the relationship between the organs of the Conference (the General Conference, the Steering Committee, the Executive Committee, and the Officers) as they related to previous actions of the Executive Committee, and upon additional motion duly made, seconded, and carried by a two-thirds vote, the pending question (motion calling for approval of the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings) was laid on the table.

Dean L. Conrad, Chairman of the special interim Committee on Sponsoring Organizations, reported that the Conference currently had twenty Sponsoring Organizations: American Podiatry Students Association, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, Campus Americans for Democratic Action, College Young Democratic Clubs of America, Congress of Racial Equality, Methodist Student Movement, National American Indian Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Youth and College Division, National Federation of Catholic College Students, National Student Christian Federation, National Student Young Women's Christian Association, North American Student Cooperative League, Student Civil Liberties Coordinatin, Committee, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Student Religious Liberals, Students for a Democratic Society, United States National Student Association, United States Student Press Association, United States Youth Council, and Young Christian Students, National Staff. (Later during the meeting. as hereinafter noted, it was announced that Law Students Civil Rights Research Council was thereby affiliating as a Sponsoring Organization.)) Committee Chairman Conrad further reported that B'nai B'rith Young Adults, National Newman Club Federation, and Student National Education Association had withdrawn as Sponsoring Organizations since the last Steering Committee meeting, and he proceeded to read letters from the last two organizations named. He also announced that Students Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee had recently affiliated as a Sponsoring Organization. He further reported that letters had been sent to all national fraternities and sororities as well as to other organizations inviting them to become Sponsoring Organizations of the Conference; some response was received, although none of them was represented at the present Steering Committee meeting. National Co-Chairman Clary regretfully announced that because of commitments with respect to th

forthcoming national political campaign Mr. Conrad was retiring as Committee Chairman and as the representative to the Steering Committee of the Student Religious Liberals, and Chairman Clary thanked Mr. Conrad for his outstanding work on behalf of the Conference during the months since its formation.

The Steering Committee then proceeded to consideration of the revised proposed Outline of Administrative Organization for the 1964 General Conference Meetings of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference, for the adoption of which a motion was made and seconded. After discussion, a motion was made and seconded to suspend the rules to consider the proposed Resolution on the Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference, whereupon the motion was withdrawn with the consent of the body. Thereafter, upon motion duly made, seconded, and carried by a two-thirds vote, the rules were suspended for a discussion, until 4:45 p.m., on the relationships between the organs of the Conference. During the discussion it was generally agreed that the Steering Committee should be a year-round body carrying on an educational legislative program on behalf of the Conference's policy on Federal aid to education. It was further agreed that the Executive Committee should carry on only what activities are specifically delegated by the Steering Committee. Considerable discussion ensued on the role to be played at General Conference Meetings, with differing opinion expressed as to whether the General Conference Meetings should include policy-making (plenary) sessions. Considerable discussion also ensued, with varying opinions expressed regarding who the participants should be at such General Conference meetings. It was agreed that the Committee on Rules and Order of Business (which hereafter was created) should consider and make recommendations to the Steering Committee concerning these and other issues relating to the role of the Conference and of its component parts. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the discussion was continued until 5:00 p.m.

During the above-mentioned discussion, Duncan McConnell, Field Representative of the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council, announced that his organization was thereby affiliating with the Conference as a Sponsoring Organization.

Chairman Clary the called a five-minute recess. After the meeting was called back to order, the Chairman announced that the pending question was the motion to adopt the said Outline of Administrative Organization. A motion was made and seconded to postpone until the next meeting, but, after discussion, was defeated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the pending question was divided (according to the Roman numerals). After discussion and upon motion duly made, seconded, and carried, consideration of part I, as annexed hereto, was postponed to the next meeting. Upon motions, and amendments thereto, duly made, seconded, and carried, parts II, III, IV, V, and VI were adopted as annexed hereto. Thereafter, the suggestions was made that the Committee on Congressional Liaison and the Committee on Public Relations continue to function beyond the General Conference Meetings in 1964.

Chairman Clary then called a five-minute recess. After the meeting was called back to order, the following resignations by Officers were announced: Patrick C. Clary, as National Co-Chairman; Erin M. Clary, as Secretary; and James B. Hunt, Jr., as Executive Director. One vacancy on the Executive Committee, the position previously held by Tim Manring, was also announced.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for the position of National Co-Chairman as Chairman of the Steering Committee, and John A. Jacobsohn was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, John A. Jacobsohn was elected National Co-Chairman by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for the position of Secretary, and Ken Lester was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Ken Lester was elected Secretary by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for the position of Executive Director, and Joseph A. Fallon was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Joseph A. Fallon was elected Executive Director by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for the vacant position on the Executive Committee, and Joel Sharkey was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Joel Sharkey was elected to fill the vacant position on the Executive Committee.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for Chairman of the Committee on Sponsoring Organizations, and Howard Wachtel was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Howard Wachtel was elected by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for Chairman of the Committee on Finance. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and carried, it was decided that the position of Chairman of the Committee on Finance would be left vacant to give the newly elected National Co-Chairman, John Jacobsohn, an opportunity to work in the area of finance.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, and Dean Gottehrer and Duncan McConnell were nominated, the latter of whom declined the nomination. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Dean Gottehrer was elected by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and Joel Sharkey was nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, Joel Sharkey was elected by acclamation.

Chairman Clary then declared nominations open for membership on the Committee on Rules and Order of Business. Michael Shagan, Duncan McConnell, Joel Sharkey, Patrick Clary, and Bill Miller were nominated. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried the foregoing five persons were elected members of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business by acclamatio

John A. Jacobsohn then reported on the National Student Conference on Religion and Race, on the steering committee of which he was a representative of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations. Joseph A. Fallon, Administrative Affairs Vice President of the United States Youth Council, then reported on the Council's First Annual National Youth Conference on Human Rights.

Chairman Clary then handed the gavel to Chairman-elect Jacobsohn and introduced the proposed Resolution on the Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference. After discussion and upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the said Resolution was adopted, as annexed hereto. After discussion and upon further motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, selection of the Chairman of the Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference was postponed until the next meeting of the Steering Committee.

Chairman-elect Jacobsohn then returned the gavel to Chairman Clary. Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the next meeting of the Steering Committee was set for Sunday, February 23, 1964, at 2:00 p.m., at a place to be set by National Co-Chairman-elect Jacobsohn.

Joel Sharkey then called for a unanimous vote of thanks and commendation to Retiring National Co-Chairman Patrick Clary, who in turn extended thanks and commendation to his wife Erin, the Retiring Secretary.

Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

ERIN M. CLARY, Retiring Secretary

KEN LESTER, Secretary-elect

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Financial Report

Statement of Income and Expenses
For Period Covering Autust 1963 through January 1964

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Income: | | |
| Remainder from registrations of April 1963 General Conference Meetings | $30.00 | |
| Contribution of Student Religious Liberals to expenses for April 1963 General Conference Meetings | 25.00 | |
| Contribution of Student Religious Liberals for operating costs* | 5.00 | |
| Contribution of Rev. Earl Brill on behalf of National Student Christian Federation for operating costs* | 5.00 | |
| Total Income | | $65.00 |
| Expenses: | | |
| Payment to Roberts & McInnis for mimeograph paper for April 1963 General Conference Meetings | $ 4.85 | |
| Payment to Shoreham Hotel Corp. for charges for April 1963 General Conference Meetings | 49.80 | |
| Payments to Mayfair Thermographers (White Plains, N.Y.) for 500 letterheads and delivery charges | 8.29 | |
| Payment to Roberts & McInnis for long distance telephone call on telephone no. 202-628-0032 to Mayfair Thermographers (White Plains, N.Y.) | 1.10 | |
| Payments to Postmaster, Washington, D. C., for rent of Post Office Box 28005, Central Station, Washington, D. C. 20005, for period covering October 1, 1963, through March 31, 1964 | 6.00 | |
| Payment to Gist and Chairs, Inc. for electronic stencil of letterhead | 2.06 | |
| Payment to International Industries (Culver City, California) for rubber stamp and pad | 1.85 | |
| Total Expenses | | 73.95 |
| Net Loss | | $ 8.95 |

Unpaid Liabilities**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Payment by personal check to National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference by National Co-Chairman Clary for advance for Conference's operating expenses | $5.50 | |
| Payment by personal check to Roberts & McInnis by National Co- Chairman Clary for mimeograph paper | 4.85 | |
| Total Unpaid Liabilities | | $10.35 |

* These two amounts represent the only payment received in response to the Executive Committee's request of August 9, 1963 for a contribution toward the Conference's operating expenses of at least $5.00 from each Sponsoring Organization, of which request all Sponsoring Organizations were notified by means of the October 16, 1963 Memorandum- Report of the Officers. However, the College Young Democratic Clubs of America, through the office of its Executive Secretary, has made numerous non-monetary contributions of mimeograph paper, envelopes, duplicating, and postage, which are not included in this Financial Report.

** These liabilities do not include approximately $20.00 personally paid by National Co-Chairman Clary during the above-stated period only for postage and photocopying, since no claim for reimbursement therefor is being made.

# CUTLINE OF ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR THE 1964 GENERAL CONFERENCE MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE

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## I. PURPOSE AND PRINCIPLES:

The purpose and principles of the 1964 General Conference Meetings of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference contain the following essential elements to which the Steering Committee will adhere in making the appropriate plans and arrangements:

- The Conference continues to maintain its nature and activity on a strictly nonpartisan basis.
- The Meetings will provide an educational experience for the participants, increasing their understanding of the problems in American education and their relationship to Federal legislative action.
- The student delegates will individually visit their Senators and Representatives in Congress for the purpose of expressing their views as constituents on Federal legislation relating to education.
- The Conference will attempt to attract a maximum number of participants representing the broad base of the student population in the United States as a means of assuring accurate representative student opinion.

## II. SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS:

A. Definition of Sponsoring Organization. A Sponsoring Organization contributes personnel and financial assistance, assists in planning and determining Conference activity, and/or makes other contributions to the Conference. However, status as a Sponsoring Organization does not imply approval of or support for the total policy of the Conference on Federal aid to education.

B. Method of Co-Sponsorship. Any national student organization, or other national organization with a major student membership, may affiliate with the Conference as a Sponsoring Organization by communication with a National Co-Chairman or other officer of the Conference and by selection of a representative to the Steering Committee. Any Sponsoring Organization may withdraw its co-sponsorship by similar communication.

## III. ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE:

A. Steering Committee. The Steering Committee (composed of one voting representative from each Sponsoring Organization) shall be the supreme general supervisory body for planning the 1964 General Conference Meetings.

B. Executive Committee. The Executive Committee (composed of the two National Co-Chairmen, the Secretary, the Executive Director, and three other members elected by and from the Steering Committee), when mandated by the Steering Committee, shall conduct the business of the Conference between meetings of the Steering Committee for planning the 1964 General Conference Meetings.

C. Officers:

1. National Co-Chairmen. The National Co-Chairmen (the Chairman of the Steering Committee and Executive Committee and the Presiding Officer of General Conference Meetings) shall be the chief executive officers for planning the 1964 General Conference Meetings.

2. Secretary. The Secretary shall maintain the records of the plans for the 1964 General Conference Meetings.

3. Executive Director. The Executive Director shall be the staff coordinator of all planning procedures for the 1964 General Conference Meetings and shall be the administrative officers to whom all Committees of the Conference shall be responsible.

D. Committees. Areas of particular responsibility will be assigned to Committees. Committee Chairmen will be selected by the Steering Committee, and the other Committee members will be selected by the individual Committee Chairman, with the exception that the members of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business shall be selected by the Steering Committee. (Any Committee Chairman, who is not a member of the Steering Committee prior to his selection, will thereby become an ex officio nonvoting member of the Steering Committee.

1. Basic Committees. The Basic Committees, whose operations will begin immediately upon the adoption hereof, include:

   a. Committee on Sponsoring Organizations;
   b. Committee on Finance;
   c. Committee on Rules and Order of Business;
   d. Committee on Resolutions.

2. Functional Committees. The Functional Committees, whose planning will begin immediately after the adoption hereof but whose full-scale operations will begin at a later date, after the selection of a date for the 1964 General Conference Meetings, include:

   a. Committee on Program Arrangements;
   b. Committee on Workshops;
   c. Committee on Registration;
   d. Committee on Housing;
   e. Committee on Congressional Liaison;
   f. Committee on Public Relations.

IV. STATEMENT OF PREDICTED NECESSARY COSTS:

| | |
|---|---|
| Duplicating expenses | $400.00 |
| Printed stationery (letterheads and envelopes) | 150.00 |
| Printed Programs | 100.00 |
| Postage expenses | 500.00 |
| Physical accommodations | 100.00 |
| Transportation expenses | 150.00 |
| Staff Salaries (Executive Director and stenographer) | 600.00 |
| Total | $2,000.00 |

V. DIVISION OF COMMITTEE RESPONSIBILITIES:

A. Basic Committees:

1. Responsibilities of the Committee on Sponsoring Organizations:

a. Communicate with present Sponsoring Organizations to insure maximum participation in 1964 Meetings;

b. Attempt to enlist new additional Sponsoring Organizations.

2. Responsibilities of the Committee on Finance:

a. Survey and estimate costs and collect income to cover expenses of 1964 Meetings from the following sources:

(1) Sponsoring Organizations;
(2) Student delegate fees for 1964 Meetings;
(3) Other organizations and institutions.

b. Maintain financial records of all income and expenditures.

3. Responsibilities of the Committee on Rules and Order of Busines

a. Investigate and make initial proposals to the Steering Committee on date, place, etc. of 1964 Meetings;

b. Prepare and submit to Steering Committee proposed Resolution on Rules and Order of Business for 1964 Meeting

c. Prepare and submit alternatives to the Steering Committee on the nature and relationship of the various organs of the Conference.

4. Responsibilities of the Committee on Resolutions:

a. Conduct research and obtain resource materials on Federal aid to education and prepare positions papers;

b. Prepare drafts of resolutions containing alternative positions and statements of previous policies of the Conference on Federal aid to education for use by the Committee on Workshops.

B. Functional Committees:

1. Responsibilities of the Committee on Program Arrangements:

a. Obtain speakers for General Conference Meetings;

b. Make physical arrangements for headquarters hotel including:
(1) Large room for General Conference Meetings;
(2) Rooms for Workshops;
(3) Any other necessary facilities;

c. Prepare materials for mailings to potential delegates:
(1) Assist Sponsoring Organizations in preparing and sending their preliminary mailings to their members;
(2) Prepare necessary materials for General Mailing to potential delegates (to be made, if possible, by Sponsoring Organizations) contents of General Mailing to include:
(a) Letter on Conference stationery inviting students and particularly suggesting that delegates write to their Senators and Representative in advance for appointments;
(b) Tentative schedule for Conference;
(c) Resource materials;
(d) Information on Washington, D. C., etc.;
(e) Pre-Registration Blank(s);
(f) News release, prepared by Committee on Public Relations;

d. Finalize Conference Program:
(1) Determine final decisions on events and their schedule;
(2) Arrange for printing of Conference Program.

2. Responsibilities of the Committee on Workshops:

a. Obtain Workshop leaders:
   (1) Student chairmen (one for each Workshop)
   (2) Resource personnel (one for each Workshop);

b. Collect and organize data (proposed resolutions, or policy statements) from Committee on Resolutions for use in Workshops;

c. Organize Workshops and make Workshop assignments at Registration.

3. Responsibilities of the Committee on Registration:

a. Carry out Pre-Registration:
   (1) Prepare Pre-Registration Forms;
   (2) Receive and process Pre-Registration Forms returned by out-of-town delegates who pre-register by mail:
      (a) Report requests for housing to Committee on Housing.
      (b) Report all pre-registrants to Committee on Congressional Liaison;

b. Prepare Kits to be distributed to delegates at Registration, contents of Kits to include:
   (1) Name badge;
   (2) Conference Program;
   (3) Resource materials;
   (4) Workshop(s) assignment;
   (5) Housing assignment, if any;
   (6) Map of Washington, D. C., etc.;

c. Register delegates:
   (1) Arrange for registration table in lobby of headquarters hotel (through Committee on Program Arrangements);
   (2) Register delegates, distributing Kits and collecting registration fee;

d. Prepare follow-up questionnaire to be sent to delegates after General Conference Meetings.

5. Responsibilities of the Committee on Congressional Liaison:

a. Arrange for automobiles or buses to transport delegates from headquarters hotel to Capitol Hill;

b. Prepare map and enter on it all pre-registrants by Congressional Districts, as reported by the Committee on Registration, and enter on map all delegates at Registration;

c. Assist in making appointments with Congressmen and Senators:
   (1) Maintain records of appointments made by delegates;
   (2) Request carbon copies of letters from delegates to Congressmen and Senators requesting appointments;
   (3) Arrange for letters to Congressmen and Senators from Conference announcing visits by student constituents;

d. Compile and report results of delegates' appointments and visits with Congressmen and Senators.

6. Responsibilities of the Committee on Public Relations:

a. Publicize Conference nationally:
   (1) Place news stories on wire services;
   (2) Send news releases to contacts in all 50 states;

b. Publicize Conference on college campuses in Washington, D. C. area:
   (1) Fliers to be distributed;
   (2) Posters to be made;
   (3) Announcements for student and other radio stations;
   (4) News releases for student newspapers and metropolitan newspapers;

c. Arrange for photographs to be taken of delegates at Conference and follow-up publicity.

VI. RECORDS OF FIRST GENERAL CONFERENCE MEETINGS:

Permanent files have been organized, reorganized, and maintained for the Conference. The following represents a list of the three divisions within the file system and the subtitles of the individual file jackets. The records of the 1963 General Conference Meetings will be invaluable for use in planning the 1964 General Conference Meetings.

A. Current Records:

1. Minutes of General Conference Meetings
2. Minutes of Steering Committee Meetings
3. Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings
4. General Correspondence
5. Legislative Correspondence
6. Records of Legislative Activity
7. Mailings to Steering Committee, etc.
8. Current Address Lists
9. Current Governing Rules, etc.
10. Financial Records
11. Records of Account in The Riggs National Bank
12. Checkbook for The Riggs National Bank
13. General Promotion Materials
14. Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference
15. Miscellaneous

B. Plans for 1964 General Conference Meetings:

16. Documents: Outline of Administrative Organization
17. General Correspondence
18. Mailings
19. Committee on Sponsoring Organizations
20. Committee on Finance
21. Committee on Rules and Order of Business
22. Committee on Resolutions
23. Committee on Program Arrangements
24. Committee on Workshops
25. Committee on Registration
26. Committee on Housing
27. Committee on Congressional Liaison
28. Committee on Public Relations
29. Work Papers
30. Miscellaneous

C. 1963 General Conference Meetings Records:

31. Steering Committee and General Conference Meetings Minutes
32. Mailings to Steering Committee
33. Mass Mailings
34. General Correspondence
35. Correspondence with Organizations
36. Correspondence with Potential Delegates
37. Pre-Conference Correspondence with Congressmen & Senators
38. Post-Conference Correspondence with Congressmen & Senators
39. Correspondence on Letters to College Presidents

40. Committee on Program Arrangements
41. Committee on Workshops
42. Committee on Registration
43. Committee on Housing
44. Committee on Congressional Meetings
45. Committee on Public Relations
46. Press Releases
47. Photographs
48. Work Papers
49. Mailing Lists of Sponsoring Organizations' Members
50. Mailings by Sponsoring Organizations
51. Reference Materials
52. Pre-Registrations
53. Registrations
54. Questionnaires from Delegates

D. Miscellaneous:

55. Extra Copies of Minutes of General Conference Meetings
56. Extra Copies of Minutes of Steering Committee Meetings
57. Extra Copies of Minutes of Executive Committee Meetings
58. Extra Copies of Mailings to Steering Committee, etc.
59. Extra Copies of Mass Mailings
60. Extra Copies of Resolution on Rules and Order of Business
61. Blank Pre-Registrations
62. Blank Registration Forms
63. Blank Registration Receipts
64. Extra Copies of Rules of Steering Committee
65. Blank Questionnaires
66. Extra Copies of Lists, etc.
67. Extra Copies of Resolution on Federal Aid to Education
68. Extra Copies of "Guidelines for Action Program" Sheet
69. Extra Copies of Promotion Material
70. Programs
71. Stencils
72. Miscellaneous

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Copies of August 13, 1963 Congressional Record
Copies of August 30, 1963 Congressional Record
Copies of September 19, 1963 Congressional Record
Copies of Volume II of Hearings before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate (May 14-17, 1963)

STEERING COMMITTEE
NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE

RESOLUTION ON THE
COMMITTEE ON THE NATIONAL STUDENT LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

WHEREAS, effective cooperation in the area of Federal aid to education among national student organizations has been evidence by and through this National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference; and

WHEREAS, the Steering Committee of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference recognizes the need for organized national student activity on other critical legislative issues of national concern; and

WHEREAS, the Officers of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference have proposed the formation of a committee to consider the merits of the expansion of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference into, or the creation of, a National Student Legislative Conference; be it therefore

RESOLVED, that the Steering Committee of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference hereby establishes the "Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference," the purpose of which shall be to study and evaluate the proposal for the National Student Legislative Conference and thereafter report its findings to this Steering Committee; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the said Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference shall be composed of the chief executive officer or his representative of each of the Sponsoring Organizations and the present and past Officers of the National Student Federal Aid To Education Conference, and that the chairman of the said Committee on the National Student Legislative Conference shall be elected by this Steering Committee.

ADOPTED this 8th day of February, A. D. 1964.

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE
Post Office Box 28005
Central Station
Washington, D. C. 20005

February, 1964

# EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

## OFFICERS

### Co-Chairmen

(Chairman of Steering Committee and of Executive Committee):

John A. Jacobsohn
3405 Tulane Drive
Apartment 23
West Hyattsville, Maryland 20783

(Presiding Officer over General Conference Meetings):

Tim Ryles
Post Office Box 44
Morris Hall
Athens, Georgia 30601

### Secretary

Ken Lester
1730 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

### Executive Director

Joseph A. Fallon
2445 P Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

## EXECUTIVE COMMITTEEMEN

Jed Johnson, Jr.
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Joel Sharkey
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 10104

Howard Wachtel
1820 Clydesdale, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION CONFERENCE
Post Office Box 28005
Central Station
Washington, D. C. 20005

February, 1964

## STEERING COMMITTEE

| Sponsoring Organization | Representative |
|---|---|
| American Podiatry Students Association | Jerome F. Jacobs<br>611 West Surf<br>Apartment 3<br>Chicago, Illinois 60657 |
| B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations | John A. Jacobsohn (National<br>3405 Tulane Drive Co-Chairman)<br>Apartment 23<br>West Hyattsville, Maryland 20783 |
| Campus Americans for Democratic Action | Howard Wachtel<br>1820 Clydesdale, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20009 |
| College Young Democratic Clubs of America | Patrick C. Clary (Past National<br>4512 31st Street South Co-Chairman)<br>Apartment 104<br>Arlington, Virginia 22206 |
| Congress of Racial Equality | Stokely Carmichael<br>Post Office Box 58<br>Administration Building<br>Howard University<br>2401 Sixth Street, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20001 |
| Law Students Civil Rights Research Council | Duncan McConnell<br>1209 34th Street, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20007 |
| Methodist Student Movement | Charles Wilhelm<br>Box 657, American University<br>Mass. & Nebraska Aves., N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20016 |
| National American Youth Committee of Arrow, Inc. | Helen Schierbeck<br>Post Office Box 1628<br>Washington, D. C. 20013 |

| | |
|---|---|
| National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Youth and College Division | Mike Mitchell<br>1324 Druid Hill Avenue<br>Baltimore, Maryland 21217 |
| National Federation of Catholic College Students | Mary Treasey<br>1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20005 |
| National Student Christian Federation | Randy Burkett<br>Box 643, American University<br>Mass. & Nebraska Aves., N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20016 |
| National Student Young Women's Christian Association | Jean M. Whittet<br>600 Lexington Avenue<br>New York, New York 10022 |
| North American Student Cooperative League | John Tyler<br>R.F.D. 1, Box 189<br>Loganport, Louisiana |
| Student Civil Liberties Coordinating Committee | Paul Goodberg<br>Post Office Box 4938<br>Washington, D. C. 20008 |
| Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee | Courtland Cox<br>302 Todd Place, N. E.<br>Washington, D. C. 20010 |
| Student Religious Liberals | Dean Conrad<br>429 South 27th Street<br>Philadephia, Pennsylvania 19146 |
| Students for a Democratic Society | Ken McEldowney<br>2912 Eighth Street, N. E.<br>Washington, D. C. 20017 |
| United States National Student Association | Joel Sharkey<br>3457 Chestnut Street<br>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 10104 |

| | |
|---|---|
| United States Student Press Association | Dean Gottehrer<br>3457 Chestnut Street<br>Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 10104 |
| United States Youth Council | Jed Johnson, Jr.<br>345 East 46th Street<br>New York, New York 10017 |
| Young Christian Students, National Staff | Mary Varela<br>1655 West Jackson Boulevard<br>Chicago, Illinois 60612 |

Ex Officio Members

| | |
|---|---|
| Secretary: | Ken Lester<br>1730 K Street, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20006 |
| Executive Director: | Joseph A. Fallon<br>2445 P Street, N. W.<br>Washington, D. C. 20007 |

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 Dec. 1963

TO: CONTACT LIST
FROM: Norman Hill / Program Director
RE: Proposed Educational Series for Chapters

As the momentum of the civil rights movement increases and increased militancy and sense of urgency spreads through the minority community, CORE continues to grow at a more rapid rate. We welcome this development.

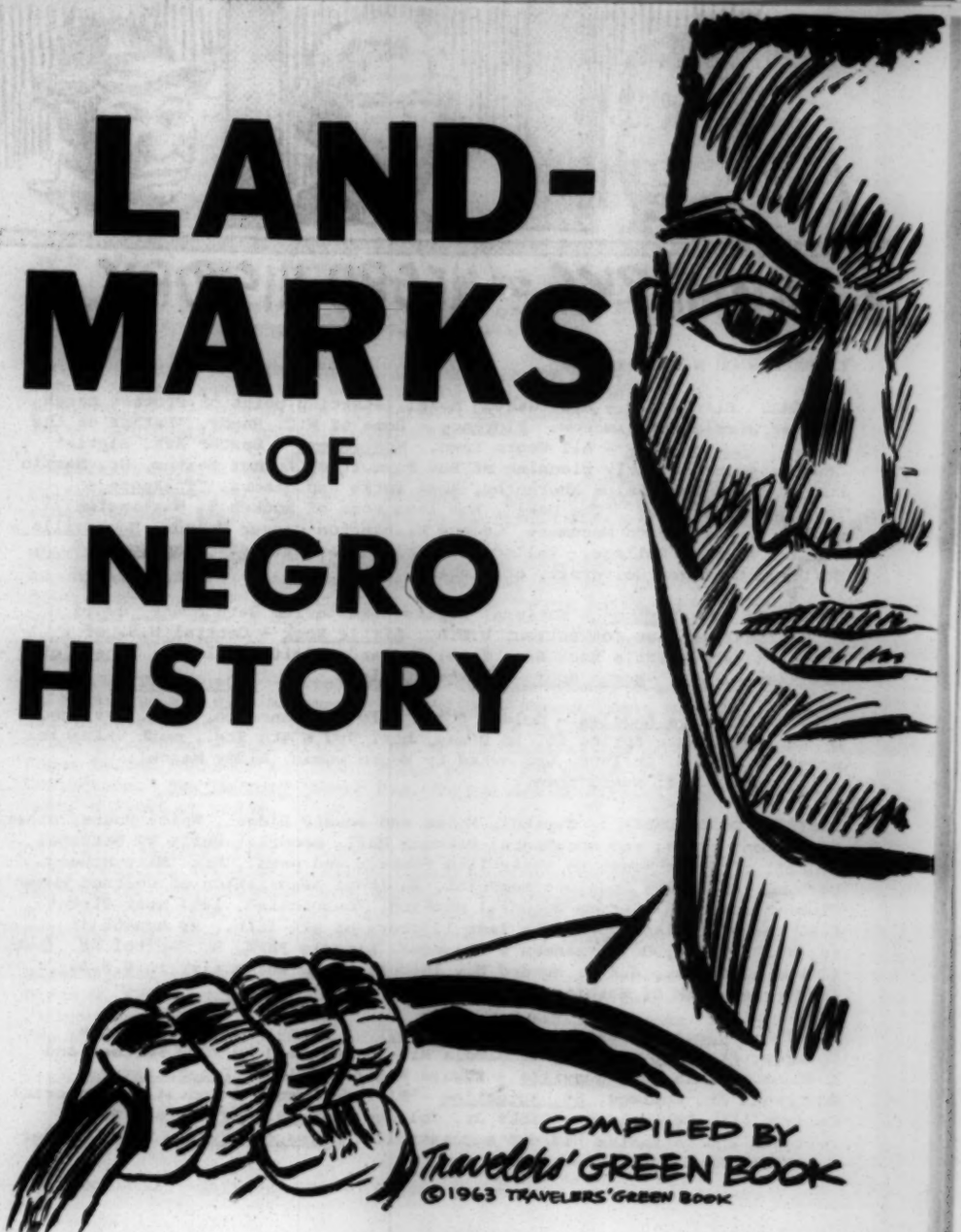
The national staff is also aware of its responsibility as our chapters become numerous and more and more people join our ranks of active members. We feel a greater obligation to better service our chapters, to aid in developing clear project objectives, to provide more training in nonviolent tactics and CORE philosophy, to facilitate an understanding of meaningful civil rights program and to develop strong groups by advising local chapter leadership and membership in organizational techniques

Enclosed is a brief outline of a series of classes currently being conducted by Philadelphia CORE. We urge your chapter to seriously consider a similar effort. The Program and Organization Departments will be happy to assist you in structuring such a series and make suggestions as to resource people, discussion leaders and lecturers.

We would appreciate your reaction to this proposal for the future effectiveness and growth of CORE nationally and locally is largely dependent on the quality and strength of our chapters.

| Session # | Subject Matter |
|---|---|
| 1 | a. Negro History in America - I: Slavery and Reconstruction<br>b. Parliamentary Procedure |
| 2 | a. Negro History in America - II: Agrarian Revolt to the Depression<br>b. How to conduct a meeting |
| 3 | a. Negro History in America - III: Recent Times<br>b. How to conduct a workshop in nonviolence |
| 4 | a. The Negro in the Arts and Letters<br>b. How to organize a Group: Problems of Bureaucracy |
| 5 | a. Economic structure of the Negro community<br>b. How to organize a Group: Factions in and out of civil rights |
| 6 | a. Negro education<br>b. How to conduct a street meeting |
| 7 | a. Negro housing<br>b. How to plan a long-range program |
| 8 | a. Law enforcement and the Negro<br>b. How to conduct Propaganda and Public Relations |
| 9 | a. The Negro and the Labor Movement<br>b. The political implications of CORE's program |
| 10 | a. Review of the Course<br>b. One-Hour examination (written) |

# LAND-MARKS OF NEGRO HISTORY



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# LANDMARKS OF NEGRO HISTORY

LANDMARKS OF NEGRO HISTORY

ALABAMA: Birmingham - A.G. Gaston Motel, starting point of Protest March against Birmingham jimcrow. Florence - Home of W.C. Handy, "Father of the Blues." Hobson City - All Negro town. Montgomery - Dexter Ave. Baptist Church, scene of early planning of Bus Boycott by former pastor, Dr. Martin Luther King, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Rosa Parks and others. Tuskegee - Tuskegee Institute; "The Oaks", the last home of Booker T. Washington; Booker T. Washington Monument, George Washington Carver Museum. Huntsville - Alabama A. & M. College. Talladega - Talladega College. Tuscaloosa - Stillman College; University of Alabama.

ARKANSAS: Hot Springs - National Baptist Sanitarium Bath House, owned by National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Little Rock - Central H.S. of troop-escorted Little Rock Nine fame; Philander Smith College. Pine Bluffs - Arkansas A. & M. North Rock - Shorter College

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles - Golden State Life Insurance Co. Bldg. designed by Paul Williams; Spring St. to B'way, bet. 3rd & 4th Sts., most valuable property in L.A. in 1900, was owned by Negro woman, Biddy Mason. Allensworth - All Negro town.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA : Capitol, House and Senate Bldgs., White House, other government bldgs. and monuments; Bethune Hall, memorial built by National Council of Negro Women to their late founder and pres., Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune; Frederick Douglass memorial, National Association of Colored Women's Clubs-maintained 20-room colonial mansion, "Anacostia", 1411 West Street S.E. where Douglass spent the last 13 years of his life. He bought it in 1882 for $20,000; Freedmen's Monument, Lincoln Park, E. Capitol St. (bet. 11th & 13th Sts., N.E.); Howard U., largest Negro university in U.S.A. Industrial Bank of Washington.

FLORIDA: Cocoa - Carver Jr. College; Daytona Beach - Bethune-Cookman College; Ft. Mins - On Appalachicola River, was held by 1000 Negroes and Indians in 1815. Jacksonville - Edward Waters College. Panama City - Rosenwald Jr. College. St. Augustine - Florida Normal & Industrial Memorial College. St. Petersburg - Gibbs Jr. College. Everglades - Where Negro refugees and Seminoles hid out successfully. Crescent City - Labor leader A. Philip Randolph's hometown.

HOW DID YOU LIKE...?

Travel accomodations at _____ in _____
Was the Food: Excellent Good Fair Lousy ; Service: Excellent Good Fair Lousy
Rooms: Good Fair Terrible Quiet Clean Dirty Other _____
What extra facilities are available? TV Parking Maid service Pool
How would you rate it? _____
Further comment _____
Was management: Helpful Courteous Indifferent
Date of stop-over _____ Was this lst visit? Yes: No:

HOW DID YOU LIKE...?

Travel accomodations at _____ in _____
Was the Food: Excellent Good Fair Lousy ; Service: Excellent Good Fair Lousy
Rooms: Good Fair Terrible Quiet Clean Dirty Other _____
What extra facilities are available? TV Parking Maid service Pool
How would you rate it? _____
Further comment _____
Was management: Helpful Courteous Indifferent
Date of stop-over _____ Was this lst visit? Yes: No:

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What new feature would you like added? _____

What favorite stop-over did we miss? _____

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THIS INFORMATION WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL AND WE ARE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR HELP. THANKS FOR FILLING OUT OUR QUESTIONNAIRE.
Name _____
Address _____ _____
street and number city and state

No. of children _____ with you on trip? Yes No Occupation _____

GEORGIA: Atlanta - Atlanta U. chain; Harold Jackman Collection (Countee Cullen papers); Atlanta Life Insurance Co.; Southern Christian Leadership Conference Hqts.; Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Hqts.; Atlanta Daily World offices; Birthplace of Walter White, late NAACP exec. sec'ty. Albany - site of Albany Movement; Albany State College - Althea Gibson's and Wilma Rudolph's alma mater. Savannah - Carver Savings Bank

ILLINOIS: Chicago - Memorial plaque to Jean Baptiste Pointe DuSable, founder of Chicago, in heart of Windy City near site of his home, "Kinzie Mansion." Offices of Chicago Defender and Ebony Magazine; Provident Hospital, founded by Dr. Daniel Hale Williams; Victory Monument.

KANSAS: Beeler- George Washington Carver homestead. Nicodemus - ghost of all-Negro town. Kansas City - Douglas State Bank.

KENTUCKY: Berea - Berea College. Churchill Downs - Kentucky Derby, where famous jockey Isaac Murphy won a record 3 winners (1884, 1890, 1891). Hodgenville - 3 mile so. is 117 acre-Abraham Lincoln National Memorial Park. Louisville - Louisville Defender.

LOUISIANA: Delta - Birthplace of Mme C.J. Walker, cosmetics pioneer. New Orleans - Rampart St., stomping grounds of many jazz greats (King Oliver, Sidney Bechet, Louis Armstrong, etc.); Louisiana Weekly; Xavier U.

MARYLAND: Annapolis - Naval Academy; Plaque honoring Matt Henson who accompanied Admiral Peary on every expedition and was first man at North Pole. Bucktown - Dorchester County, Harriet Tubman birthplace. Baltimore- Afro-American; Morgan State College. Tuckahoe County - Birthplace of Frederick Douglass.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston -Boston Commons' Crispus Attucks monument (erected in 1888). Bunker Hill Monument. Brookline - Famous tenor Roland Hayes' home. (B. in Curryville, Ga.) Cambridge - Harvard's Phillis Wheatley folio. Great Barrington - Birthplace of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois; log cabin-study of James Weldon Johnson, 1st NAACP exec. secty. New Haven- Yale U's Van Vechten Collection. New Bedford- Where Paul Cuffee son of African and Indian, owned a fleet of ships.

MICHIGAN: Battle Creek - Grave of Sojourner Truth. Detroit - Sojourner Truth Memorial (Originally called "Emancipation") Muhammad's Mosque #1 & University, 11529 Linwood Ave., Marshall - Triangle Park site of cabin of Adam Crosswhite, fugitive slave in famous 1847 case to return him to Kentucky. Mackinac Is. - Meeting place of Moral Rearmament group.

MISSISSIPPI: Alcorn - Alcorn A. & M., founded by 1st Negro U.S. Senator Hiram R. Revels; Jackson - Focal point of Miss. NAACP anti-jimcrow drive; Pineywoods School; Holly Springs - Miss. Industrial College; Tougaloo - Tougaloo Southern Christian College. Mound Bayou - All Negro town.

MISSOURI: Diamond-George Washington Carver National Monument; Jefferson City - Lincoln U.

NEBRASKA: Nr. Omaha-Boys Town.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Jaffrey - Amos Fortune grave

NEW JERSEY: Newark - Newark Herald News

NEW YORK: Auburn - Home of Harriet Tubman preserved by AME Zion Church; Plaque to her in Auburn Courthouse. Irvington - Villa Lewaro, $250,000 home built for late Mme. C.J. Walker. Designed by Vertner Tandy; New York City - Bleeker & Mercer Sts. vic., African Grove, first Negro theatre in America; Lafayette Theatre - 7th Ave. & 132nd St., playhouse of original Lafayette Players (Rose McClendon, Abbie Mitchell, etc.) converted to Williams Institutional Church; Tree of Hope - 7th Ave. Hamilton Grange - 141st Street & Convent Ave.; 125th Street & 3rd Ave. - site of only public school in Harlem in 1853; Strivers Row - West 138th St., locale of many affluent Harlemites in early Twenties; Victory Mutual Life Insurance Co., East 125th Street; United Mutual Life Insurance Company, Lenox Ave.; Abyssinian Baptist Church - pastorate of Cong. Adam C. Powell; Amsterdam News, 8th Ave. bet. 125th & 126th Sts.; N.Y. Courier, East 125th St.; Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 217 W. 125th St.; Fraunces Tavern, Broad & Pearl Sts., George Washington dined there; Schomburg Collection, N.Y. Public Library's depository of "books by and about the Negro; "Dark Towers", 108 W. 136th St., one of the homes of A'Leilia Walker, granddaughter of Mme. C.J. Walker, and the scene of the Black Renaissance, the flowering of Negro artists and writers; Liberty Hall - a great zinc-roofed structure built by Marcus Garvey on 138th St.; 245 Williams St., African Free School #1, 1st real effort at education for Negroes started by Manumission Society in 1786 and precursor of N.Y. Public School System; Orange Street (now 42 Baxter St.), home of N.Y. African Society for Mutual Relief, founded by Peter Williams and others in 1808, 40th Street site of N.Y. Times, (bet. 6th & 7th Aves.) was originally Abyssinian Baptist Church and sold for $190,000; Carver Federal Savings & Loan, West 125th Street; St. Patrick 's Cemetery, Mott Street - Grave of Pierre Toussaint, one of 1st successful hairdressers. He was born in Santo Domingo, Haiti; AME Zion Church organized in 1796 by Peter Williams and others and built with his financing at Church & Leonard Sts.; St. Philips Church, now at 215 W. 133rd St., was opened on the site of the present Criminal Courthouse, Center St., in 1818 by Peter Williams, Jr., Charles C. Seifert Library, 203 W. 138th St.; Colloden Point, L.I.- Where Mutineer Joseph Cinque and crew docked L'Amistad, slave ship they took over; Saratoga-Springs and Racetrack (Isaac Murphy won 49 of 51 races there!) N. Elba - John Brown grave; Stony Point - Garrison of 600 men captured from British in 1779 thro' spy operation of Pompey. He was made a free man. Verplanck - Home of Edward Johnson, 1st Negro N.Y. Assemblyman.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte-Carver College; Charlotte Post; Concord - Barber Scotia College; Durham - Mechanics & Farmers Bank, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.; Elizabethville - Elizabeth City State Teachers College; Salisbury - Livingston College; Raleigh - St. Augustine College; Shaw Univ.

OHIO: Cincinnati - Dumas House, 1st Negro Hotel in U.S., Harriet Beecher Stowe House. Dayton - 219 N. Summit Street, Last home of Paul Lawrence Dunbar; Columbus - First Baptist Church founded February 14, 1829, one of 1st interracial churches.

OKLAHOMA: Boley - Farmer's State Bank. N. Tulsa - First Baptist Church, Oklahoma Pl. & Greenwood Ave. Wilberforce - Wilberforce U. & Central State College.

PENNSYLVANIA: Chester - Lincoln University; Philadelphia - Bethel AME Church, founded by Richard Allen in 1794; Pittsburgh - Pittsburgh Courier. Phila. Citizens & Southern Bank. Montgomery County - James Bland grave monument erected to composer of "Carry me Back to old Virginny" by group of white Virginians.

RHODE ISLAND: Battle of Rhode Island, 1776
Negro troops turned back the Hessians 3 times.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Orangeburg - South Carolina State; nr. Charleston - Site of Cato Insurrection, 1st large slave uprising, 1740; Charleston-Denmark Vesey uprising 1822; Robert Smalls captured a Confed. gunboat and delivered it to Union forces. Columbia - Victory Savings Bank, Citizens' Savings Bank, Meharry Medical School.

TENNESSEE: Nashville - Fisk U.; Memphis - W.C. Handy Park; Tri-State Bank

VIRGINIA: Danville - First State Bank, Richmond- Virginia Union; Consolidated Bank & Trust Co.; Petersburg - Virginia State; Nr. Richmond - Gabriel Prosser Insurrection; Dismal Swamp - Nat Turner Rebellion 1831, Newport News - Crown Savings Bank. Hampton - Hampton Institute

WEST VIRGINIA - Harper's Ferry - John Brown's Raid, October 16-18, 1859.

34 Washington Rd.
Scotia, N. Y. 12302
January 5, 1964

James Farme r, National director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

JAN 7 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I don't have the name or address of the head of the New York City chapter of CORE, so I'm asking that you get this letter to him as well as do anything that you at the national office can do to make this situation better.

A proud member of CORE for several years, I got a terrible shock the other day when I read in the newspaper that CORE in NYC was demanding that Dr. Calvin Gross be dismissed as superintendent of schools. This hurts for two reasons. First, I hate to see this wonderful organization hurt our wonderful cause by failing to understand and trying to hurt anyone, especially its friends. This is going against the spirit of love and understanding which has characterized CORE and made it so successful.

Second, I hate to see CORE miss a chance to have such capable help. If you could ever have a fine friend to work with, it is Cal Gross. I worked with him closely as a principal in a district where he was the superintendent, and I know that his heart and mind are in the right place, working for what we -- and he -- believe in.

It so happens that before he came to our virtually all-white suburban district, I had tried to hire a Negro teacher and been turned down. When he came, I tried again and was able to get one hired, the first of several. He is on the right side; you can depend on that. —

There is mo question that New York City has real problems of school segregation which spring from housing segregation. Reasonable men of good will can differ widely on what is the best way to handle this in the best interest of all children. I would suggest that often we need to be reminded that two wrongs don't make a right, that, for instance, with education money so hard to come by, it may not make sense to hurt everyone's education by sinking too big a chunk into transportation because of housing segregation, or other ways that those closer to the situation may see that children may be hurt by some massive changes.

In any cas e, Ne w York City is lucky to have the fine, honest, selfless, dedicated, unprejudiced superintendent it has in Cal Gross, and CORE hurts its cause if it can't work with such a man. CORE must learn to work with such a ma n, giving him credit for wanting to do wha t is best, listening to what he believes is best, telling what you believe is best, and helping to build the cooperative spirit which has characterized CORE's work, and which is so necessary in improving the problems housing segregation has imposed on the schools.

Please, help our cause, yours, America's , and the world's, by working with rather than against such dedicated men as Cal Gross.

Sincerely,
Sanger B. Steel
Sanger B. Steel

and [redacted] - Covering letter - fact sheet
CORE's policy statement

## The Negro in American History Textbooks

The undersigned, American historians and members of the History Department of the University of California, Berkeley, have been asked to review the American history textbooks that are most widely used in California from the standpoint of their treatment of Negroes. Attached are individual reports on the two state-adopted textbooks used in grade five, the three state-adopted textbooks used in grade eight, and the two high school textbooks reported to be most widely used in the state. These reports disclose an unhealthy condition in California education.

We are concerned first of all <u>as historians</u> that the history taught in our schools should accurately reflect the best findings of current scholarship. Professional scholars are aware that historical "truth" is an elusive quality. Well into the twentieth century professional scholars themselves were affected by the emotional aftermath of the Civil War, and there was a "northern" and a "southern" interpretation of such sensitive matters as slavery and Reconstruction. In the late nineteenth-century mood of national reconciliation, based on a widespread assumption of racial superiority among whites in both North and South, the "southern" view tended to prevail; and the deference of textbook publishers to the special sensitivities of the southern market has caused it to continue by and large to prevail in textbooks until this day. Meanwhile several generations of scholars, freer of sectional emotions and racist assumptions, through their researches and writings developed a substantially different understanding of many of these matters. Most of the textbooks we have examined reflect views on racial and sectional themes that have been rejected or drastically modified by the best of current historical scholarship.

We are additionally concerned <u>as citizens</u> because these historical distortions help perpetuate and intensify the pattern of racial discrimination which is one of our society's most serious problems. We are concerned not only because much of the material in these books is bad history, but additionally because it is a kind of bad history that reinforces notions among whites of their superiority and among Negroes of their inferiority.

Admittedly there is a danger in assessing historical writing in terms of its social consequences. A laudable desire to combat racism, and especially to bolster self-respect among Negro students, might result in exaggerating Negro contributions and the heroic qualities of Negro figures. In our view this would be an equal distortion of historical truth, and in the long run would fail to have the desire social effects.

We do feel, however, that the seriousness of the problem of racism underscores the textbook author's responsibility to portray the Negro's role in American life fully, accurately, and without either sentimentality or condescension. There should be a conscious effort to portray outstanding Negro figures selected by the same criterion of historical significance applied to non-Negro figures. Even those textbooks that now make some effort in this direction tend to single out men like Booker T. Washington and the minor scientist George Washington Carver, whose attitudes about race relations are least disturbing to conservative whites. Equally or more worthy of inclusion by the standard of historical relevance are men like Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, W. E. B. DuBois, and the Rev. Martin Luther King.

Always and everywhere our children should be told the truth, and the whole truth, as near as the best current scholarship can bring us to this elusive quality. This means, among other things, not obscuring the harsher aspects of the truth--the fact that Negroes entered American society as slaves, the brutalities of slavery, the racism of the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction era, and the continuing depth and harshness of the problem of segregation and discrimination.

In the light of these general principles, the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro. As several of the individual reports point out, the Negro does not "exist" in the books. The authors of the books must know that there are Negroes in America, and have been since 1619, but they evidently do not care to mention them too frequently. In one book there is no account of slavery in the colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection.

As Ralph Ellison's novel, Invisible Man, demonstrates, whites frequently do not "see" Negroes. But Negroes are Americans, their history is part of American history. They need to be "seen" in textbooks. The space given Negro history will, of course, depend in part on the nature of the textbook, and minimum standards of coverage are proposed later in this report. What is especially important is that the discussions of Negroes appear as an integral part of the book. Perfunctory or casual treatment may imply that Negroes are not part of America.

Important aspects of Negro experience, of course, depart from that of many other groups in America. Negroes were not just another immigrant group: no other group could be so readily identified by its color, no other group was so systematically enslaved, and no other group has been subjected to as persistent and virulent discrimination. From the seventeenth century to our own day, Negro life has been filled with violence.

These facts highlight another failing of these textbooks that is almost as distressing as the invisibility of Negroes in them. All the texts play down or ignore the long history of violence between Negroes and whites, suggesting in different ways that racial contacts have been distinguished by a progressive harmony. The tone of a textbook is almost as important as anything it has to say. In their blandness and amoral optimism these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes. In several places they go further, implying approval for the repression of Negroes or patronizing them as being unqualified for life in a free society.

We should now like to suggest in some detail the substantive and interpretive elements relating to Negroes that should be included in textbooks covering the whole period of American history. These suggestions do not reflect any effort to give a special emphasis for the purpose of present-day social effects, but only what is necessary for portraying accurately the Negro's role as understood by current scholarship. We regard the suggested content as an indispensable minimum at the junior high level. Some compression would doubtless be necessary at the elementary level, while high-school treatment should be expanded beyond our suggested content.

Early in the seventeenth century Negroes were brought by force from Africa to the English colonies, and over the next fifty years whites in the colonies reduced them to a slavery that was inherited and perpetual. The Negro incurred debasement because he was different, particularly because he was "heathen," black, and helpless. Other colonials entered types of servitude, but their arrangements were usually contractual, their rights were protected by the state, their physical and moral treatment was much better, and their status was temporary. Not even the American Indian, whose exploitation began in the seventeenth century, was reduced to slavery on a substantial scale. Textbooks should tell this story from its African beginnings, through the slave trade, to the enslavement of the Negro.

As the history of the origin of Negro slavery is important, so also is an understanding of slavery as a mature institution in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Students should know that it existed in the North until after the Revolution. Textbooks should supply the most important statistics, for example, that in 1860 there were four million slaves in the United States, virtually all located in the South. Although a majority of southern whites held no slaves, one out of every two persons in the South's fourteen million people was either a slave or a member of a slaveholding family.

There should be a full account of the life of the slave, starting from the fact that he was an article of property held for the profit that could be gained from his labor. Recent scholarship has shown that slaves labored in southern factories as well as fields. They were often overworked, and customarily housed, clothed, and fed at only a subsistence level. As a result the slave was often ill, and his life expectancy was shorter than that of the whites around him. His master could punish or sell him at will, and could even kill him with near impunity, since slaves were not allowed to testify against white men. The informal character of slave marriages made for an unstable family life; and the whole pattern of debasement under slavery inflicted psychological and sociological scars from which Negroes still suffer.

Understandably the slave resented, even hated, his condition, though he usually disguised his real feelings by subservient behavior designed to protect him from the master's power. Students should be told that slaves often ran away, committed sabotage, and plotted revolts, and that on one occasion a slave, Nat Turner, led a bloody general insurrection against the masters.

Slavery's moral and social evil did not go unremarked in the colonial period. The Quakers, for example, insisted that slavery violated both human dignity and divine law. Not until the Revolution, however, did most Americans become sensitive to the discrepancy between slavery and their professed ideals as embodied in the Declaration of Independence. All the states north of Deleware put the institution on the road to extinction, slavery was banned from the Old Northwest, and the Constitutional Convention opened the way for abolition of the slave trade after 1808. Even in the upper South, where the tobacco economy was languishing, liberal leaders hoped that the gradual operation of economic forces would eventually permit the abolition of slavery. Instead the developing cotton market revived plantation agriculture. Slaves proved so productive in southern cotton fields that slaveowners shut their ears to any criticism of the institution until the Civil War brought its demise.

Meanwhile antislavery sentiment was growing in the North. Even here racist assumptions caused free Negroes to be segregated and discriminated against; but after 1830 a vocal abolitionist movement had increasing effect.

The efforts of the abolitionists, who included a substantial body of northern free Negroes, deserve serious and sympathetic exposition in textbooks. They are often derided for their occasional extravagance and for their internal disagreements, yet the fact is that they performed an immense service in educating Americans to the moral evils of slavery.

Abolitionists are frequently blamed for the Civil War by people who also insist that slavery had nothing to do with the coming of the war, that indeed the South fought to preserve state rights. Most scholars today agree, however, that slavery, and especially the issue of extending slavery into the territories, was fundamental. Certainly a careful appraisal of the slavery issue in national politics should be included in any textbook covering this period.

When the Civil War came, some 200,000 Negroes participated in the fighting that resulted in their formal emancipation. Following the war they also took an important part in the struggle over southern Reconstruction, which determined whether their emancipation was to be nominal or full. Reconstruction is a controversial issue in American history. The best scholarship today portrays sympathetically the radical Republicans in Congress, who opposed Lincoln's and later Johnson's plans for bringing the southern states back into the Union as quickly and painlessly as possible under conservative white leadership. The radicals, this scholarship holds, operated from mixed motives: to be sure they were interested in maintaining their political advantage, but they also wished to reform the structure of southern life. They especially wanted to help the Negro make himself a full partner in a free society.

It is in treating the Reconstruction state governments in the South that the older scholarship is most distorted by racist assumptions and most pernicious in its present-day effects. Modern scholarship overwhelmingly rejects the myth of Reconstruction as a saturnalia of misgovernment and corruption by ignorant and/or venal carpetbaggers, Negroes, and scalawags. Though the Reconstruction regimes had their quota of corruption, as did most other American governmental units in this period, the student needs to know that the radical Republican experiment for a time made progress toward a healthy reconstruction of southern society, that many Negroes served ably in the Reconstruction governments, and that the Reconstruction governments had many constructive accomplishments, particularly the extension of the public school system, and the protection of equal civil and political rights of all.

The experiment in Reconstruction failed after a few years, owing to a growing northern indifference which permitted conservative southern whites to regain control by violence, through such agencies as the Ku Klux Klan. Soon Negroes had been reduced to a kind of unofficial slavery. The vote was taken from them, first by trickery and intimidation and later by amendments to the state constitutions. Denied economic opportunity, many were exploited as share croppers, and others in menial jobs. By the end of the century they were born and reared in segregated communities, and lived and died in a state of inequality, isolated from the mainstream of American life. Southern state laws and a disastrous Supreme Court dicision, Plessy v. Ferguson, helped encase them in segregation.

Segregation and violence continued to characterize race relations in the South during the first half of the twentieth century. The hundreds of lynchings which used to occur annually have almost disappeared, but bombings, burnings, and shootings have increased. A more important change has been the movement of millions of Negroes to the cities and to the North. Here repression has been somewhat more subtle but only somewhat less damaging. Employers and unions relegate most Negroes to menial jobs. They are segregated into ghettoes, where they pay high rents for slum housing. Segregated housing means in turn segregated and inferior schools.

The other side of the story is the increasingly vigorous effort, especially by Negroes themselves, to change the situation. The growing Negro vote in crucial northern cities and the cold-war campaign to win the support of the uncommitted nations of the world has made the federal government more responsive to the plight of Negroes. Prodded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the federal courts began to declare in the 1930's and 1940's against racial discrimination in voting, jury service, and educational opportunities. This movement culminated in the Brown decision of 1954 outlawing racial segregation in the public schools. Meanwhile the executive branch of the federal government had begun to move against segregation and discrimination in the armed forces and in civil service employment. Some state legislatures acted against discrimination in housing and employment, and Congress took its first cautious steps since Reconstruction to advance civil rights.

In the years since the Brown decision a civil-rights mass movement has taken shape among Negroes, utilizing the tactics of non-violent direct action to demand immediate and full equality in all areas. The Reverend Martin Luther King led Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, in a year-long boycott of the city's segregated bus system. Negro college students launched "sit-in's" throughout the South in a movement that ended segregation at lunch counters and other public facilities in hundreds of southern communities. "Freedom riders" gave effect to court decisions outlawing segregation in transportation facilities. By 1963 mass demonstrations for equality in public facilities, jobs, education, and housing had spread from the South to many northern cities and over 200,000 people joined a "March on Washington" in support of President Kennedy's proposal that Congress pass a substantial civil-rights bill. These efforts were pursued in the face of mob violence, the arrests of thousands of demonstrators, the assassination of an NAACP leader in Mississippi, and the death of four Negro girls in the bombing of a Birmingham church.

This civil-rights revolution seems to us to be one of the major historical events of the mid-twentieth century and to demand full treatment in any American history textbook. The gains that have been made should be described realistically and not as an ode to the inevitable justice and progress of the democratic system. It should be made clear that the outcome of the civil-rights struggle is still in doubt, and that the inequalities are so great as to defy quick remedy by even the most vigorous effort.

In the midst of this civil-rights revolution, historians and educators have a clear responsibility, at the very least, to see to it that the role of Negroes in American life is taught fully and accurately. We have tried to indicate what a minimally full and accurate textbook account should be.

Surely the state of California can no longer tolerate textbooks that fall far short of this minimal standard.

Kenneth M. Stampp, Chairman
Winthrop D. Jordan
Lawrence W. Levine
Robert L. Middlekauff
Charles G. Sellers
George W. Stocking, Jr.

Miriam E. Mason and William H. Cartwright, Trail Blazers of American History (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1961). A supplementary textbook for grade five.

This book is a series of biographical stories about twenty-five outstanding Americans, arranged topically-chronologically so as to provide a general account of American history. The authors have made a special effort to include minority groups, devoting one of their stories to George Washington Carver and making clear the moral basis of the opposition to slavery. Yet even this well intended effort leaves a great deal to be desired.

The basic problem is that Negroes are completely invisible except in the Carver story and in the section on the Civil War, where the existence of slavery could hardly be ignored. The unit on colonization has a story on John Smith and the founding of Virginia, which might well have discussed the introduction of slavery. But instead readers of this book get the impression that the settlers of colonial America were entirely from Europe. As far along as p. 91, in the introduction to the unit on the Revolution, the following language is used: "You have learned how it happened that Europeans came to live in America . . . At first the colonists thought of themselves as Englishmen, not Americans." This unit discusses Washington's boyhood on a plantation (he "lived on a large farm called a plantation", p. 116) and his later management of Mount Vernon without any reference to the presence of slaves.

In fact Negroes or slaves are not mentioned at all in the book until p. 187, where Lincoln encounters slavery on his trip to New Orleans. This is in a unit on the Civil War consisting of stories about Lincoln and Lee. This unit emphasizes that both Lincoln and Lee opposed slavery, implies that Southerners maintained the institution because they "depended upon slaves to do the work" on their cotton plantations, and even suggests the worst aspects of slavery by reporting that in New Orleans young Lincoln "saw Negroes chained together." This section continues (p. 187): "Abe was a kind-hearted young man. It made him feel sad to see the slaves. 'I do not believe in slavery,' he thought. 'It must be hard to be a slave, even if your owner is kind. It would be terrible not to be free.'" (The suggestion that owners were usually kind is made again when Lee is reported as saying to his wife [p. 202], "They are our slaves, and we take good care of them. But if anything should happen to me, I would like to have our slaves set free.")

Yet even the Civil War section suffers from the book's persistent dodging of conflict and controversy, its unflagging commitment to a thesis of harmonious progress. The unit on the Civil War is introduced by the following statement (p. 183): "As our country grew, people in different parts of it came to have different ways of thinking about some of their problems. These differences led to quarrels and finally to another terrible war. This was called the War between the States. But when the war was over, men and women in all parts of the country worked together again to make America great and strong." (Cf. p. 192, "This war is now known as the War between the States or the Civil War.")

It should be no surprise then that the Negro drops completely from view with the Emancipation Proclamation, not to reappear at all except in the Carver story. Here again the ugly realities of race relations are completely obscured. It is explained several times that Carver had great difficulty finding a school he could go to and a college he could go to, but there is no explanation of why he had difficulty. Tuskegee is described (p. 250) as "a college in Alabama especially for Negro students," with no further explanation. The only general statement about the conditions of life for Negroes is a statement imputed to Carver (p. 251): "Many people of my race are poor. They have little to eat." The only statement suggesting a "race problem" is quoted from a citation in praise of Carver (p. 253): "'You have done much for the white people as well as for the Negroes,' he was told. 'You are a bridge between the two races.'"

While recognizing the authors' praiseworthy effort to include an outstanding Negro, I question whether Carver is the most appropriate figure to use. Carver deserves to be held up for emulation on account of his moral qualities, but the contention that his scientific work was distinguished or had any substantial effect on southern agriculture is by and large a sentimental myth. Moreover both his Tuskegee connection and the story line of his life are implicit arguments for Booker T. Washington's questionable philosophy of race salvation through humility and hard work.

The basic fault of this book, as of many others, is its effort to purvey a sweetness-and-light picture of American history that is both false and vicious in its effects. Children, both black and white, need to know that through the institution of slavery Negroes were a major element in American life from the very beginning. They need to know what slavery was like before the Civil War and what it has been like to live under the "new peculiar institution" of segregation and discrimination since the Civil War. They need to know that Negroes, despite the handicaps imposed upon them, produced leaders who fought for justice and quality. For the purposes of this book a figure like Frederick Douglass would have been much more representative of what has been best and most important in American Negro life.

Charles G. Sellers

Edna McGuire, The Story of American Freedom (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1961). A basic textbook for grade five.

Since my comments will serve only as partial basis for a later integrated report it seemed appropriate to offer them in unintegrated topical form.

SLAVERY:

Despite the suggestion on p. 229 that slavery was "a way of life", it is in fact treated in narrow, sterile and naively economic terms as a labor system pure and simple. Witness the definition on p. 161: "Such a system of securing workers through ownership is called slavery." The major account of its development (229-30) is couched in a similar framework: "A new country needs workers. . . . [The English] met this need in two ways. . . . [Although the first Negroes were bound servants], slavery later became common. . . . Slavery increased in the South, where it met a need for workers . . . [on] large plantations where only one crop was grown. . . . [The cotton gin increased the need for workers, which] brought an increase in slavery." The information offered as to its extent is at best misleading. The statement that it was "accepted in the South" is supplemented by the fact that many Southerners did not own slaves and that there were 18,000 free Negroes in New Orleans alone. Since this is the only numerical statement having to do with slavery in the whole book, one cannot help wondering if it was not intended to minimize the magnitude of the problem. As to the character of the slave system as "a way of life", we are given no more than incidental clues On p. 149 we are told that Negro women and children rode in wagons to Mississippi while the slave men walked; on p. 165, that Negro slaves sometimes ran away to Florida; on p. 230, that slaves "often ran away." But there is no inkling of the reasons why they might have run away, no mention of the slave trade, of the problems of discipline and order, no indication that Negro resistance to slavery ever took any other form than individual escape, no suggestion of the social or psychological meaning of slavery either for the Negro or the Southern white beyond the idea that the difference in labor systems was at the root of sectional conflict.

ABOLITION, CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION:

One feels that this book treads a very narrow course between a dominant traditional concern for Southern prejudices and a dawning consciousness of the commercial significance of Negro-liberal sensitivities. If there is no attempt to justify slavery in other than economic terms, no repetition of the customary suggestion that Negroes worked better in the sun, neither is there any adequate indication of the moral implications of slavery. True, at one point it is suggested that "many people thought slavery was wrong" (p. 230), but we are given no clue why. And far from indicating that opposition to slavery expressed the moral spirit of our modern democratic-industrial culture, the book suggests in effect that the Northern opponents of slavery were irresponsible trouble-makers whose views had no relation to the irresistable moral currents of their time: "Many people thought that slavery was right. But certain other people thought that slavery was wrong" (p. 220) "Some Northerners [by attacking it]. . . stirred up differences between the American people." (p. 230) Indeed, the only person who would seem to be permitted a legitimate and intense moral opposition to slavery is R. E. Lee, who, for reasons unknown, "hated slavery" and freed his own slaves. (p. 240)

A similar excessive concern for Southern feelings is evident in regard to the war which began in 1861: "It is called the War Between the States. It is often [but not in this book] called the Civil War." (p. 229) This of course exactly reverses the priorities of actual historical and even popular usage. The distortion is minor, but nonetheless indicative. As to the war itself, my main observation would be that there is no mention whatsoever of the considerable Negro participation in the Union armies.

The rather confusing one-page discussion of Reconstruction and after (p. 244) perpetuates a number of traditional anti-Radical views: the men "who wanted to punish the South" passed laws "neither wise nor generous" and "several years of confusion followed". There is no mention of Black Code or Ku Klux Klan. Both the public school system and the breakup of the plantation system are by implication incorrectly attributed to the Redeemers. The New South is created in a phrase, the post-Reconstruction fate of Negroes disposed of with the laconic suggestion that they "learned to take care of themselves."

THE NEGRO IN MODERN AMERICA:

Once slavery is disposed of on p. 244, the treatment of the Negro changes radically. He disappears completely as the focus of a moral or social problem. There is no mention of the Jim Crow system, of the school segregation cases, or of the modern Negro movement for equality, though the book (published in 1961) carries right on up through Khrushchev to Castro. On the other hand, it is only after the Civil War and the abolition of slavery that Negroes emerge as distinguishable human individuals. Even so, only three Negroes are actually named in the whole book: Percy Julian and G. W. Carver, who receive brief biographies, and B. T. Washington, who is mentioned in the second of these as the founder of Tuskegee. But if Julian and Carver are "sympathetic" characters touched by the heroic aura surrounding all scientists in our society, their biographies are virtually devoid of specifically racial significance. And whether by chance or design, these two are juxtaposed in separation from the biographies of white scientists. (pp. 298-300)

BEYOND THE TEXT ITSELF:

In this lavishly illustrated book, there is only one picture (of the Tuskegee laboratory on p. 300) which contains people who are obviously Negro. There is also on p. 345 a small picture entitled "Negroes permitted to vote by Constitutional amendment--1870" in which two of the white-skinned figures might be identified as Negro by their costume and slightly Negroid characteristics. But beyond this, the Negro is invisible, even in the scene of life on a tobacco plantation. (p. 93) In the numerous exercises at the ends of chapters and sections, I was able to find less than a handful of questions or activities which related to the Negro. On p. 165, "slavery" is one of a list of words to master--but one looks in vain for the words "segregation", "discrimination", or "integration", though they are no more difficult than many others in the book. Aside from a general "How did each event pictured help democracy grow?" under the aforementioned picture on p. 345, the only "question for thought" having to do remotely with the Negro is one on p. 245: "Why did slavery grow in the South and die out in the North?" In the context provided, this question can only help to reinforce a generally amoral approach to slavery and its consequences. In the sections "Making History Live," the only suggestion relating to the Negro is one on p. 279 that students learn some of the "beautiful songs called spirituals" which "the Negroes have given us" (consider the implication of the phrasing). Among the many books suggested for "good readers", there is not one whose title indicates any relation to the Negro, unless it be Carl Sandburg's Abe Lincoln Grows Up.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES:

When I read the unelaborated suggestion on p. 175 that "their neighbors objected to certain Mormon beliefs", it occured to me that much of the treatment of the Negro might be explained simply as product of a general desire to avoid any potential controversy. But in this text, at least, this is not the case. The section between pages 305 and 316, "Life in Modern America", is in effect a discussion of a series of social issues in industrial America. If the treatment is insipid, the issues are nevertheless posed in normative terms (e.g., immigrants lived in "crowded, dark houses" and were sometimes "forced to work for very low pay", p. 307). If most of the problems are now safely in the past of historical consensus, some of them are still matters of current debate: e.g., that of adequate schools for America's growing population. It certainly would have been possible to include in this chapter, perhaps under the section "Saving America's Human Wealth," some treatment of the problems of integration.

Other alternatives are suggested by the treatment of the American Indian. (see esp. pages 253-57) An attempt is made here to present the Indian in both cultural and moral terms. "To understand the Indians on the last frontier, you need to know something of early Indians"---and we are given a picture of the variety of Indian cultural forms. There is some suggestion of the history of violence and double-dealing which reduced the Indian to reservation life, and even a discussion of present social prpblems in this historical context: "Some Indian tribes have a difficult time today. They cannot make a living on their lands. Their people have not had the training or help to make it possible for them to earn the things they need." The justice of the Indian resistance to the white advance is explicitly posed as a "question for thought". Students are elsewhere urged to choose among individual Indian chiefs as subjects for library research and class report (p. 279) While the role of the Negro and the Indian in American history and their positions in modern life are in many respects quite different, the utility of analogous approaches would seem obvious, both in more accurately portraying the Negro's historical role and in giving to both Negro and white children the sense of respect for self and fellow citizen which underlies the creation of a broader national identity.

George W. Stocking, Jr.

Harriett M. Brown and Joseph F. Guadagnolo, America Is My Country: The Heritage of a Free People (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961). A supplementary textbook for grade eight.

About half of the book is devoted to teaching children how "We Americans Honor the Symbols of Our Democracy (the flag, the American eagle, the Statue of Liberty, etc.); which are "The Patriotic Landmarks and Monuments Every American Should Know" (Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, Mount Vernon, etc.); which are the best-known "Patriotic Poems and Songs for Americans" ("Old Ironsides," "I Am an American," etc.); and which are "The Patriotic Holidays that Americans Celebrate."

The substantive chapters are the following:

1. What It Means to Be an American
3. Our Documents of Freedom
4. Uncle Sam's Government in Washington
5. Washington, Capital of Our Nation
7. Great Americans Express the Spirit of Our Nation
10. Good Americans Make Democracy Work

How the Negro fares in these six chapters is easily described: he doesn't exist--he is never mentioned. He doesn't appear in the index; and, although the book is profusely illustrated, he does not appear in any of the photographs. The explanation for this is not white chauvinism but timidity--the desire not to offend anyone. Since this book was published in 1955, it was still possible not to be too concerned about offending Negroes.

Actually, the book exudes a vague sort of good will toward all men. On page 3 there is this statement: "We Americans are different in a very important way from the people of most countries. . . . [Unlike other countries] we Americans do not come from one national stock. We are descended from people of many nationalities--English, Scotch, Irish, German, Scandanavian, Italian, Polish, Russian, and so on. . . . We believe that our country is stronger and richer and more vigorous because our people come from many lands." The omission of Negroes, Asians, and Indians in this statement is an example of the timidity characteristic of this book.

On pages 7-8 is this statement about equality: "Under our Constitution and our laws all citizens have equal rights. . . . It makes no difference what a man does for a living, to what race or religion he belongs, or how much money he has--he is the equal of any other citizen in the eyes of the law. . . . We Americans believe that everyone should have an opportunity to get an education and a job, and the chance to make a decent life for himself and his family. We have done a great deal to make these things possible for all Americans. Although some of our people still do not enjoy equal opportunities, we are working toward our ideal of 'liberty and justice for all.'" Again, timidity accounts for the vagueness of this statement.

In Chapter III, which deals with "our documents of freedom," one statement (page 55) concerning "what we should know about our Constitution" declares: "We should know that no American can be refused the right to vote because of race, religion, or color." This, of course, is a vague and inaccurate reference to the Fifteenth Amendment. The following "documents of freedom" are

completely ignored: Thirteenth Amendment; Fourteenth Amendment; Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation; the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

Chapter 7, "Great Americans Express the Spirit of Our Nation," is a medley of well-known quotations from Lincoln, Webster, Washington, Patrick Henry, etc. A portion of Lincoln's second inaugural address is included, with the passage referring to slavery omitted. Indeed, there is no quotation with any reference to slavery, to emancipation, or to the post-Civil War struggle for civil rights.

Chapter 10, "Good Americans Make Democracy Work," devotes more space to how to fight communism than to any other topic. One might expect at least a brief discussion of the problem of race relations in this chapter, but the authors ignore the problem. On page 207 they make this astonishing statement: "Today almost all men and women over twenty-one have the right to vote, regardless of their race or their color or whether they are property owners." But elsewhere in this chapter there are additional vague statements which are good in themselves but are not related to anything specific. On page 208: "We believe that every person deserves respect as a human being, no matter who he is. We believe in fair play and in justice for all." On page 209: "Respect for the rights of others is part of our way of life in our democracy." On page 218: "We know that there is still room for improvement in our democratic way of life. . . . Citizens may . . . criticize our democracy because there are still Americans who are not given equal rights in the community where they live. . . . However, "we do not condemn the game of football because of the errors and fumbles a team makes."

At the very end of the book are two relatively bold statements, if still somewhat vague:

Page 220: "We are a land of many races and nationalities, and we are proud that this is so. This is the wonderful and different thing about America. . . . There is no room in our way of life for racial prejudice. We are all Americans, living and working together in this great democracy of ours."

Page 222: Part of "A Pledge for Americans": "I will judge a person by what he is, not by his race or religion. I will not let prejudice affect my ideas of justice and fair play."

Kenneth M. Stampp

Rebekah R. Liebman and Gertrude A. Young, The Growth of America (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959). A supplementary textbook for grade eight.

COLONIAL PERIOD

The first mention of Negroes in this book is with relation to their introduction into Va. "as slaves" in 1619. There is no mention of where they came from nor is the continent of Africa mentioned once in this book. At no time in the discussion of slavery is there any attempt to explain what slavery actually was or how it differed from other labor systems such as indentured servitude which receives several paragraphs. The reasons given for the introduction of slavery are wholly economic: "No one person could do by himself all the work that was necessary for growing crops on such a large piece of land, so the southern planter had slaves to help him." (p. 78) There is no attempt to explain why slavery was wholly Negro slavery. This seems to be taken for granted. In the rather extended discussion of the colonial plantation economy there is no direct description of the life and condition of the slaves though there is a strong intimation that it was quite decent.

> The slaves did most of the work, but the plantation owner worked too. . . . He had to see that his family was well provided for and also that there was enough food and clothing for his slaves. Not many planters neglected their slaves, since each one represented a great deal of money. . . . The planter's wife . . . saw to it . . . that the health of her family and of the slaves was good. (pp.78-79.)

The only comment that can even remotely be construed as a criticism of slavery is this stark one-sentence paragraph which appears in a discussion of colonial education: "For the slave population there was no education." (p. 86) There are no reasons given for this nor are the consequences of the lack of education pointed out. There is no further mention of slavery or the Negro during the colonial period or the Revolution or the early national period though in the section on Ante-Bellum America there is mention of the fact that the Northern states abolished slavery (no dates or reasons are given) and that such leaders as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, and Henry opposed slavery (again no reasons are given).

ANTE-BELLUM PERIOD

The treatment of slavery in the section dealing with the causes of the Civil War (which is quaintly titled "WE DECIDE TO SEPARATE and then to UNITE") is as vague as it was in the earlier parts of this text. Again there is absolutely no description of slavery as an institution or a way of life and the term "slave" itself is nowhere defined. All that is mentioned is that the South was convinced that slavery was absolutely necessary to the maintenance of their economy and a group of people in the North called abolitionists felt that slavery was an evil. But there is not even a hint of the reasons for the latter's antipathy to slavery. Indeed, if anything, the author's treatment of slavery can be called favorable. In a sub-section entitled "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN CAUSES TROUBLE" they have this to say of Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel:

> It told of the sufferings of the slaves of the South and of the cruelty of the slave owners.

> Actually Uncle Tom's Cabin was not a fair nor a truthful picture of the conditions of the slaves. Although some slaves may have been badly treated, for the most part, they were not.
>
> Slaves represented a great deal of money to their owners, and their owners took care of them. There was also in many cases a close feeling between the slaves and their masters which the Abolitionists did not understand. (p. 288)

The treatment of the events leading up the Civil War is generally brief and inadequate. The Dred Scott Decision for instance is described as follows:

> The Supreme Court of the United States decided two things: (1) that Dred Scott was still a slave, and (2) that a slave owner had a right to take his slaves to any part of the country where there were no laws against slavery. (p. 290)

The part of the decision which most upset the North -- that Congress could take no action with relation to slavery in the territories -- is completely ignored.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

The treatment of the Civil War (which in these pages is almost invariably called The War Between the States) focuses mainly upon military events though this novel and fanciful account of the origins of the Emancipation Proclamation is given:

> During the war the people of the South had been using their slaves to do many jobs which helped in the war effort. They cooked for the army, dug trenches, drove wagons.
>
> The leaders in the North said that something should be done to stop this use of slaves. Lincoln's answer was the Emancipation Proclamation. (pp. 307-309)

There is no mention of the participation of the Negro in the Northern war effort.

The brief treatment of Reconstruction is the standard anti-Radical Republican pro-Southern Democrat account. Again there is no attempt to describe the condition of the freedmen. The 13th and 14th Amendments are mentioned without comment and the 15th is described with an obvious lack of approval:

> The right to vote or to hold office was not given to the leaders of the Confederacy. However, the Negroes were given these rights, although few of the Negroes could read or write; and none had any experience in government. (pp. 318-319)

There is no description of the advances in civil rights made under the Reconstruction governments though the corruption of the Carpetbaggers is vaguely described. There is also this totally amoral account of the K.K.K.:

> The purpose of the Ku Klux Klan was to frighten the Negroes and the people who were in control of the Southern state legislatures. The organization lasted for a time; but as the Southern states became once more part of the Union, <u>there was no longer any reason</u> for the existence of an organization such as the Ku Klux Klan. (pp. 319-320) (Italics mine)

Why there was no longer any reason for the Klan and precisely what happened to the Negro after Reconstruction is not explained. Indeed, this is the last mention of the Negro in this text. Although the book was published in 1959 and mentions events as recent as the launching of American space satellites in 1958, there is not one word about the civil rights movement, the migration of Negroes to the North, the condition of Negroes in the 20th Century, or the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision. After Reconstruction the Negro, who was treated vaguely enough up till then, becomes wholly invisible.

The striking things about this volume is the dehumanized way in which Negroes are treated. They are mentioned only in the institutional setting of slavery, and there inadequately, but never as human beings; their way of life, their problems, their gains, their struggles, are totally ignored. Not one Negro individual is named with the exception of Dred Scott. Words like "segregation" "desegregation" "integration" do not appear once anywhere in this account. In a book which has two or three illustrations on every page, there are only two illustrations depicting Negroes, both of them during slavery.

It should be mentioned that the authors are not morally obtuse or unwilling to take a stand on every issue. Thus they criticize the manner in which the Mormons were treated and describe their hardships (p. 263); they describe the often inhuman conditions of early factories, the plight of the workers and justify the rise of labor unions (pp. 275-276); the American Indians are treated sympathetically and the treatment accorded them by the white settlers is criticized (p. 336); the immigrants are treated with a bit less sympathy but at least their plight is described (pp. 360-361). The authors' treatment of the Negro therefore is not typical of their treatment of a number of other groups which have been victims of intolerance. The Negro above all is singled out not only for unsympathetic and inadequate treatment but for non-treatment.

Lawrence W. Levine

Mabel B. Casner, Ralph H. Gabriel, Edward L. Biller, and William H. Hartley, Story of the American Nation (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962). A basic textbook for grade eight.

While the treatment of Negroes in this eighth-grade American history textbook may be faulted at almost every turn, virtually all the myriad failings derive from four inter-related presuppositions.

The most pervasive and insidious (because least conscious) assumption is that Negroes are not Americans; they do not share in the Story of the American Nation because, evidently, they are not part of the "American people." This assumption colors every mention and non-mention of Negroes in the book. It is responsible for the failure to describe the African cultural background (though the civilizations of China and Japan are fulsomely portrayed, pp. 508-9) and for the absence of any discussion of Negro acculturation. (There were "Jewish people" and Roman Catholics, but "most people of the English colonies were Protestants," p. 87.) It is responsible for the implicit exclusion of Negroes from the "people of many countries"--the French, Scotch, Irish, Scotch-Irish and Germans are mentioned--who "move[d] to America's communities, seeking freedom and land "and who, living together, beg[a]n to create American ways of life," partly through "marriage between people of different nationalities" (pp. 92-4). Thus "the melting pot" is endorsed while the most important element in the process is ignored and, thereby, implicitly disapprobated. Similarly, during Reconstruction "the people of the South found themselves opposing the governments of their own states" (p. 426); this assertion is the more striking because the authors are usually careful to qualify, as in the unexceptionable assertion on the same page that Southern Republican Congressmen "did not truly represent the majority of the Southern people." One of the most unfortunate reflections of this exclusion of Negroes from the body national is the necessary and drastic depersonalization of Negroes. In the colonial period, while they are described as raising crops, working "as butlers, cooks, and gardeners" and "in shops," they are first introduced as one of "two different kinds of workers [who] were found [in order] to solve the labor shortage" (pp. 72-3). After Eli Whitney invents the cotton gin, "slaves" are "owned" and "slave labor" is "depended upon" and "needed," but the slaves don't do anything (p. 343). There is no description of life in slavery or of Negro resistance to it. The same tendency is evident with individual Negroes. Nat Turner (who "led a Negro rebellion in Virginia") is one of three individuals mentioned in a section describing Abolition (pp. 309-10); the other two, Garrison and Yancey [sic], are listed in the index; Turner is not. Later, B. T. Washington "opened Tuskegee Institute" (p. 431) and is admitted to the index. Finally, there is a picture and caption showing "Nkrumah of Ghana" speaking before the U.N. (p. 683). These three and Dred Scott are the only individual Negroes so much as mentioned in the text itself. On the other hand, three others are the subjects of books listed as enjoyable for further reading. A biography of Harriet Tubman is noted as the story of an underground railroad conductor (whose color is not specified, p. 319); Washington's Up From Slavery is a "description of a Negro boy's struggle and triumph" and "gives a good picture of Negro development after the war" (p. 435); a book on Ralph Bunche is also included (see below).

The second of the inter-related bases of approach is the felt necessity of avoiding any implication that racial differences have produced strains in American culture. This principle of avoidance concerns the Negro primarily and perhaps exclusively: witness the endorsement of racial pluralism and harmony in the section entitled "The population of Hawaii includes several races

of people--all now United States citizens" (p. 694). Sometimes the resultant faults are minor (relatively), as in the failure to indicate that the Spanish introduced Negro as well as Indian slavery (p. 33) and in omission of the racial element in the proslavery argument (p. 310). But this avoidance also results in omissions which produce serious distortion, as in the extended account of the Dred Scott decision where the court is presented as ruling that a slave was not a citizen while nothing is said of the court's decision on citizenship of Negroes (pp. 391-2). For a time, during Reconstruction, especially when the Klan terrorizes "Negro voters" and "Southerners struck at the Negro" (p. 428), Negroes as such--rather than as slaves (for there is no discussion of Negroes who were not)--became a factor in the story. But then, almost predictably, they simply drop from view, appearing neither as an issue nor as share croppers, much less as the targets of legislators or as migrants to Northern cities. They are finally resurrected, by implication rather than by name, in 1954 when the Supreme Court opines that the "segregation of races in the public schools" is "contrary to the Constitution." Just why this decision was made and why newspaper reporters had waited for it "for months" we are not told. Sectional differences in response to the decision are handled by reference to "Louisville" and "Baltimore" and "some communities." Still more remarkable is the ensuing discussion of two civil rights acts, in which "civil rights" are not described, the term Negro is not mentioned, and one waits until almost the end before the element of "race" is so much as referred to (pp. 689-90). Finally, the recommendation of a biography of Ralph Bunche describes him as "raised in poverty and in the midst of ugly discrimination" but does not identify him as a Negro. This reference to racial discrimination is the most direct in the book; it also seems to be the only one.

Tightly linked with unwillingness to acknowledge race as a factor in American history is an apparent subservience to Southern sensitivities on the subject. Indications turn up at every hand. Among them, in addition to many cited above, are the treatment of Abolition (the extent, motivation, and arguments of which are accorded less space than the Southern proslavery defense, pp. 309-11), the incorrect suggestion that opposition to slavery began "in the early 1800's" (and therefore, by implication, had no connection with the founding of the nation and the ideals of the Revolution and the Founding Fathers, p. 309), the literally invariable use of the ingenius "War Between the North and the South," and, inevitably, the unflattering presentation of the Radical Republicans.

Finally, the treatment of the Negro in this book is strongly colored by blandness, timidity, and an underlying determination to present life as pretty. In fact, of course, much of the Negro's experience in America has been far from pretty, and by implying otherwise this book distorts an important aspect of the American past.

Winthrop D. Jordan

Mabel B. Casner and Ralph H. Gabriel, The Story of American Democracy (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., third ed., 1955). A high school textbook.

These remarks are merely by way of supplement to my report on the eighth-grade textbook, Casner and Gabriel, Story of the American Nation (1962). The two books are substantially similar. Although the older book is used in the eleventh grade, it does not appear to be appreciably more sophisticated than the newer version; indeed the commercial publisher refers to the newer book as the "successor" of the older. While the newer book appears to be essentially an up-dated and more sprightly version of the older, there are important differences between the two in their treatment of the Negro which suggest that some of the newer book's deficiencies may have derived from an unwillingness to arouse certain Southern sensibilities.

Thus, though the older version is on most counts unsatisfactory in much the same ways as the newer, it includes several brief sections on the Negro which were altered or struck during revision. In contrast to the newer, it offers a picture of Crispus Attucks on a page headed "Patriots from many peoples" with the notation, "a Negro of Massachusetts, [who] was the first to die for American liberty" (p. 133); a not unfavorable reference to Uncle Tom's Cabin (p. 358); the assertion that "As time passed, the Klan fell into the hands of men who used it for selfish purposes" (p. 389); and a review question asking the student to think "What changes have taken place in the South since the end of the war . . . in the lot of the Negro" (p. 395). In the process of revision, too, the title of one chapter has been changed from "Americans Seek the Goal of Equal Opportunity" to "Americans Improve and Enrich Their Ways of Life." A section on ante-bellum theater and music in the older book, which included a discussion of "Negro spirituals" summarized by the statement that "The Negroes made the first important contribution to American music" (pp. 293-95, 297) has been discarded in the newer version. Gone (in the interests of factual accuracy?) is the statement re nullification, "In our day, nearly everybody accepts the power of the Supreme Court to decide whether or not a law is in accord with the Constitution" (p. 273). Gone too is the categorical statement, "The democratic ideal of equality left no room for slavery. . . ." (p. 297). Finally, the newer version contains nothing so explicit and forceful as the following: "For what is democracy but belief in the dignity of every individual human being, famous or unknown, whatever his color, race, or religion?" (pp. 658-59).

All in all, one gains the impression that The Story of American Democracy provides a more satisfactory treatment of Negroes in American history than does Story of the American Nation (1962), but also that the older book is far from faultless in this respect since it contains so many of the defects which appear in the newly revised version.

Winthrop D. Jordan

Ralph V. Harlow and Ruth Elizabeth Miller, Story of America (New York: Henry Holt and Co., revised ed., 1957). A high school textbook.

GENERAL COMMENT

This book contains few of the crudities that textbooks sometimes offer about Negroes. At times it shrinks before the tender sensibilities of the South, as, for example, in its elaborate explanation of why it refers to the Civil War as the "Civil War" ("The most common [name] but not the most correct") and as the "War Between the States." (p. 211) It sometimes strives to be fair in treating controversial points either by maintaining a gray impartiality or by belaboring both sides (the true and the good, it seems to assume, in such cases, are always in the middle, half-way between the two sides). There are some striking omissions -- the NAACP is not mentioned, nor are most Negro leaders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and most court cases affecting Negro civil rights are ignored. And clumsy organization robs the book of some of its limited force (examples appear below).

After saying all this, I would still say that this text is much better than several others I examined. Despite omissions it makes a serious attempt to trace a variety of Negro experience. And in the process it shows that the Negro has suffered in America but it does not romanticize him.

SLAVERY

The book assumes that the origins of Negro slavery were solely economic: because land was cheap in the colonies and white labor expensive, it holds, Negroes were imported. This emphasis upon slavery as an economic institution is maintained throughout the book. There is no suggestion that slavery developed over a period of time until it was recognized in law in the 1660's nor is there a hint that the Negro's color contributed to his enslavement. (The book may intend to suggest that the unfree status of Negroes gradually hardened into slavery, for it refers to the human cargo of 1619 as "the first Negro servants," but thereafter it uses the word "slaves.") Slave life is ignored in the book and nothing is said about the psychological and social effects of the institution.

In most places the treatment of slavery is factual, though no facts are given about broad areas of slavery. There is one admirable assessment of slavery: "The benefits of slavery were all on the side of the owners. As the anti-slavery speaker said, nobody ever asked to be a slave . . . [and, the text concludes] nothing could make up for the loss of freedom. . . ." (p. 130)

This passage occurs in a chapter on nineteenth-century America. Nothing comparable is said about slavery in the colonial period. In fact slavery in the colonial period is treated in a chapter that presents colonial life as one of unrestrained achievement. The colonial period is a period of progress, of material advance; plantations served colonial enterprise and slaves served on plantations. In this context, which exudes utilitarian values, slavery may appear to the uncritical reader as an eminently useful -- and good -- institution.

The account of the colonial period may lend itself to a second inference (perhaps incompatible with the one above). The tone of the discussion of the colonial period is one of relentless optimism. Colonial America was a going concern, as those section headings suggest: "Ability counted more than birth in America," "A sturdy middle class developed," "Colonists could better themselves," "Royal governors had a hard time." "Free American air" is contrasted with the stuff unfree Europe breathed. The setting is one described by Turner, and in it slavery by implication appears as an aberrant condition of relatively little importance. And although success is attributed in large part to American opportunity, at one point race is credited in a disucssion of craftsmen like Benjamin Franklin -- "men of good racial stock and ability." (p. 29)

ABOLITION, CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, THE NEW SOUTH:

Although the book's treatment of slavery is unsatisfactory, the worst of it may be cancelled out by the discussion of the anti-slavery movement. "Here," the discussion begins, "was a system [slavery] that denied all the values of the American system to millions of Americans. Slaves had no share in economic opportunity, no part in politics, no rights to education, and not much chance at moral improvement. Slavery was completely out of line with American ideals." (p. 151) But in its account of the anti-slavery movement, the book gives the impression that it was unfortunate that anyone insisted too strenuously that these American ideals should be extended to Negroes. Moderate men who "tried to end slavery by appealing to the American sense of fair play" are contrasted favorably with abolitionists, "men who thought they could get results by making everybody angry." (p. 152) To incite hatred was the intention of the abolitionists, according to the text. Although the text does not advocate the view attributed to the South -- that "the real danger to the welfare of the United States came not from slavery, but from abolitionists" -- it evidently admires a statement cited from Daniel Webster "that abolitionists accomplished nothing good or useful."

In a chapter heading the book makes obeisance to the argument that state rights "led to" the Civil War, but the substance of the chapter itself focuses on the problems of slavery, and especially the extension of slavery into the territories. The book fails to discuss any aspect of the part of Negroes in the War.

Although the discussion of Reconstruction relays several bankrupt views, at one point implying, for example, that two disgruntled leaders, Sumner and Stevens, were largely responsible for post war policy, for the most part it is detached and informed. It provides a detailed description of the "black codes," which are described as appearing as "slavery in disguise" (p. 236); it points out that although Negroes held offices they never controlled the government of any state; it shows that Congress attempted to protect Negroes and to elevate their social status; and it suggests that the motives of the Radical Republicans were mixed and included a desire to aid Negroes in the South. The treatment of the Ku Klux Klan is less satisfactory, implying in a muddy passage that the "Fourteenth Amendment" forced Southerners to create it. Its terrorist activities are described, however.

The Negro's position in the "New South" is rendered in detail and with considerable sensitivity. The book probably over-emphasizes the extent to which Negroes participated in the wealth of the New South. But it is more perceptive in its treatment of the denial of equality to Negroes. ("Southern whites refused to admit Negroes to any kind of equality." p. 250). The repressive techniques employed to maintain white supremacy are catalogued; the failure to observe the Fourteenth Amendment is described; and Jim Crow laws are listed. A striking passage penetrates the basis of the surface harmony in southern life. "White families employed Negro servants and nurses, and the relationship was kindly and pleasant on both sides--provided always that no one raised the issue of equality. White people patronized the shops and stores Negroes ran, provided only whites were served. Negro clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and teachers worked only among their own people. If Negroes made no attempt to change this system there was usually no trouble." (p. 251)

TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEGROES:

Negroes are scanted in the second half of the text; and there is no recognition of the importance of post Civil War racial conflict. With the exception of Jack Johnson and Joe Louis, the boxers, no Negro is mentioned nor are Negro problems noted until post-World War II America is treated. The problem Negroes faced in getting a living in the postwar period are only acknowledged. Negro sharecroppers are singled out as a deprived group, and the text notes that President Truman's Civil Rights Commission reported "that a good many Americans still found their color, their religion, or their national origin a barrier to bettering their social and economic positions." Civil rights, the text suggests, remained a crucial issue.

Finally, the Brown Case gets adequate treatment in the book. The decision is briefly described and Southern resistence is noted. Unfortunately the Brown case is treated without any reference to earlier Court cases; and the discussion fails to mention either the court's contention that separate facilities are inherently inequal or its use of sociological data.

Robert L. Middlekauff

## The Panel

Professor Winthrop D. Jordan. Mr. Jordan, a colonial historian, taught at Brown University and was a Fellow at the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia. He has written several articles on slavery and the Negro in colonial America, including "Modern Tensions and the Origins of American Slavery," Journal of Southern History, and "American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies," William and Mary Quarterly. He is the author of a forthcoming book to be entitled White Over Black: The Development of American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812.

Professor Lawrence W. Levine. Mr. Levine teaches recent United States history at the University of California. Before assuming his position at Berkeley, he served on the faculties of City College of New York and Princeton University. He has written a book on William Jennings Bryan which will be published next year. Mr. Levine is currently studying Negro protest movements in the twentieth century.

Professor Robert L. Middlekauff. Mr. Middlekauff taught colonial history at Yale University before joining the faculty of the University of California. As H. F. Brinton Fellow at Yale, he wrote a prize winning dissertation which has been printed by Yale University Press as Ancients and Axioms: Secondary Education in Eighteenth-Century New England. Mr. Middlekauff is now engaged in research for an intellectual biography of New England's famed Mather family.

Professor Charles G. Sellers. Mr. Sellers has written numerous articles for scholarly journals, is the author of a biography of James Knox Polk, and has edited The Southerner as American, a collection of essays. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, a professional society of American historians, and of the Board of Editors of the Journal of Southern History. Mr. Sellers has been a Professor at Princeton University and a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford. He is now on leave from the University of California as a Guggenheim Fellow.

Professor Kenneth M. Stampp. Mr. Stampp is chairman of the panel. He teaches the history of the Civil War and Reconstruction at the University of California and is the author of The Peculiar Institution, the definitive work on slavery in the United States. He is on the Executive Committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Formerly Mr. Stampp taught in the South, served on the Executive Committee of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and was a Guggenheim Fellow. He was also Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University and Commonwealth Fund Lecturer at the University of London.

Professor George W. Stocking, Jr. Mr. Stocking, a student of American social and cultural history, is a Fellow of the American Anthropological Association. He has written articles on the ideas of race and culture, and presently holds a fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies to complete a book on Race and Culture in American Social Science, 1890-1915.

# Memorandum

To: Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Mr. Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director
Mr. Norman Hill, Program Director

From: Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman, CORE Southern Education Project

Subject: Proposal for a Program of Negro History in CORE Chapters

In recent weeks as the success of the CSEP program for supplying general books, equipment and now specialized books on Negro history, literature and culture has become known, there has been increased inquiries pouring in to me requesting information about CORE's Negro history program, how a group should go about setting up such a program, and suggestions, on learning that there was no CORE program for Negro history, to set up such a CORE program. We have, of course, been undertaking such a program for our Southern centers through our current drive to collect books on Negro and African history, literature and culture. The CSEP proposes that CORE consider undertaking a Negro history program to meet the rising demands of the Negro people to see their own image in the historical struggle for freedom and equality. This program could be easily spearheaded by the CORE Southern Education Project through its growing bibliographies from numerous sources on Negro life and history, and by expanding our program to include all CORE Chapters. We feel that CORE should heed the demands of the rising tide of Negro pride in their strength and the growing appreciation of their worth as Afro-Americans with a proud historical heritage of creativity and struggle for first class citizenship. Just as we have proven ourselves with other CSEP projects, we feel, so could we with this project.

"You cannot drink from the spring high up on mountain unless you climb for the water."

– Charles C. Spaulding

# NEGRO HISTORY GUIDE

## for Teachers

contributions of Afro-Americans to the American culture

Grades: Kindergarten- 6th grade

# Revised Negro History Guide for Teachers, with Suggestive Areas for Classroom Teaching

**Theme:** "Prominent Persons and Their Contributions"

**Pupils' Goal:** To understand contributions of the Negro and the impact of these contributions upon American culture.

**Teachers' Goal:** To guide pupils in understanding the acculturative process in America in relation to the Negroes' assimilation in the United States.

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## Foreword

This teachers' guide is not complete and not meant to be prescriptive. It is intended to be a suggestive guide for teachers' use. Current research and future findings will be of value in expanding this guide. We hope that those who use the guide will find it helpful in assisting pupils to understand the uniqueness of the American culture. Within America's "symphony of people", there is to be found history and accomplishment of all its various ethnic groups.

Members of the original committee were staff members of P.S. 93. The guide is the result of a cooperative venture of the following:

Edwina C. Johnson, teacher, Chairman
Elias Emanuel, Assistant Principal
Alice Finnegan, Librarian
Lolita Chandler, teacher
Phyllis King, teacher
Aubrey Nicholson, teacher
Sylvia Taylor, teacher
Beatrice Thompson, teacher
Glovinia Wilkinson, teacher


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Interborough Negro History Committee

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# CALENDAR OF AFRO-AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICA

| Day | Name | Year Birth | Year Death | Contribution |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **JANUARY** | | | |
| 4 | Benjamin Lundy | 1789 | 1839 | Colonizationist |
| 17 | Paul Cuffee | 1759 | 1817 | Colonizationist seaman, philanthropist |
| 18 | Dr. Daniel Hale Williams | 1858 | 1939 | Surgeon, performed first successful human heart operation |
| Note: | | | | |
| 5 | George Washington Carver Day Governor's Decree, 1945, N.Y. | 1864 | 1943 | World's greatest Chemurgist |
| | **FEBRUARY** | | | |
| 1 | Langston Hughes | 1902 | --- | Poet - Writer |
| 3 | Dr. Charles Henry Turner | 1867 | 1923 | Biologist, studied ant colony life |
| 14 | Richard Allen | 1760 | 1831 | Founder of African Methodist Movement |
| 14 | Frederick Douglass | 1817 | 1895 | Abolitionist, Statesman, Orator |
| 23 | Dr. W.E.B. DuBois | 1868 | --- | Writer, Historian, Scholar |
| 27 | Marian Anderson | 1908 | --- | Concert Artist |
| Note: | | | | |
| Negro History Week embraces Douglass' birthdate. | | | | |
| | **MARCH** | | | |
| 12 | Col. Charles Young | 1864 | 1922 | Martyr, Soldier |
| 18 | Norbert Rillieux | 1806 | 1894 | Inventor of the sugar refining process |
| Note: | | | | |
| 4 | Crispus Attucks | in 1770 was | | First American to die in cause of Revolutionary War |
| 7 | Estevanico in | 1539 was | | Discoverer of 7 cities of Cibola in South - west. |
| 10 | Harriet Tubman | | 1913 | Underground Railroad Leader |
| 20 | Jan Matzelinger | 1852 | 1887 | Patented the shoe lasting machine |
| | **APRIL** | | | |
| 5 | Capt. Robert Smalls | 1839 | 1915 | Civil War Hero deliverer of "Planter" southern gun-boat to union lines. |
| 5 | Booker T. Washington | 1856-1915 | | Educator, Orator |
| 9 | Paul Robeson | 1898 | ---- | Baritone, Actor |
| 23 | Granville T. Woods | 1856 | 1910 | Inventor |
| 26 | James Beckwith | 1798 | 1867 | Fur Trader, Explorer, Beckwith Pass on Pacific Coast named in his honor. |
| 29 | "Duke" Ellington | 1899 | --- | Musician, composer |
| 26 | John James Audubon | 1785 | 1851 | Artist orthnologist |
| | | Audubon Society named after him. | | |
| | **MAY** | | | |
| 2 | Elijah McCoy | 1844 | 1928 | Inventor |
| 2 | Nannie H. Burroughs | 1879 | 1961 | Educator |
| 6 | Major Martin Delany | 1812 | 1885 | Author, civil war hero. |
| 11 | Wm. Grant Still | 1895 | ---- | Musician, orchestral music. |
| 13 | Joe Louis | 1914 | ---- | Heavyweight Champion |
| 30 | Countee Cullen | 1903 | 1946 | Poet |
| Note: | | | | |
| Lewis Temple, a slave, died May 18, 1854, inventor of Temple Toggle Harpoon. | | | | |
| | **JUNE** | | | |
| 3 | Dr. Charles R. Drew | 1904 | 1950 | Developer of blood plasma. |
| 3 | Roland Hayes | 1887 | ---- | Concert Artist |
| 11 | Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown | 1882 | 1961 | Author, Educator |
| 17 | James Weldon Johnson | 1871 | 1938 | Poet, Composer lawyer |
| 20 | Charles W. Chestnutt | 1858 | 1932 | Pioneer |
| 21 | Henry O. Tanner | 1859 | 1937 | Painter |
| 27 | Paul Lawrence Dunbar | 1872 | 1906 | Poet |
| Note: | | | | |
| On June 30, Joseph Cinque, in 1839 led revolt aboard the Amistad, Slave ship, began return to Africa | | | | |
| | **JULY** | | | |
| 11 | Mary McLeod Bethune | 1875 | 1955 | Educator, Presidential Advisor |
| 24 | Ira Aldridge | 1807 | 1867 | Actor |
| 24 | Charles S. Johnson | 1893 | 1956 | Sociologist |
| Note: | | | | |
| On July 18 Sgt. Wm. H. Carney, | | in 1863 | died | Civil War Hero. |
| 4 | Robert Purvis | 1810 | 1898 | Abolitionist |
| 7 | Dr. Ralph J. Bunche | 1904 | ---- | Social Scientist, Nobel Prize Winner. |
| 8 | Matthew A. Henson | 1866 | 1955 | Explorer, planted U. S. Flag on North Pole. |
| 10 | Clarence Cameron White | 1880 | 1960 | Violinist, Composer |
| 14 | Ernest Everett Just | 1883 | 1941 | Marine-Biologist |
| 16 | Peter Salem | ? | 1816 | Minuteman of Bunker Hill, Revolutionary War. |
| | **SEPTEMBER** | | | |
| 1 | Hiram R. Revels | 1822 | 1901 | 1st U.S. Negro Senator |
| 2 | James Forten | 1776 | 1842 | Inventor, Abolitionist |
| 12 | Prince Hall | 1748 | 1807 | Free Masonry Leader |
| 12 | Jesse Owens | 1913 | ---- | Olympic Star |
| 13 | Alain Leroy Locke | 1886 | 1954 | Philosopher, Author |
| | John Henry (Many writer's believe John Henry's feats took place in Sept. mid-1800's) | | | Legendary figure who defeated a machine in a steel-drilling contest |
| | **OCTOBER** | | | |
| 10 | R. Nathaniel Dett | 1882 | 1943 | Pianist-composer |
| | **NOVEMBER** | | | |
| 9 | Benjamin Banneker | 1731 | 1806 | Astronomer, Inventor, Mathematician |
| 16 | W. C. Handy | 1873 | 1958 | Originator of Blues |
| | **DECEMBER** | | | |
| 15 | Wm. A. Hinton | 1883 | 1959 | Bacteriologist-developer of Hinton test for syphillis. |
| 19 | Dr. Carter G. Woodson | 1875 | 1950 | Historian |

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K-2 (cont'd)

REFERENCE MATERIALS FOR TEACHERS:

"The Child's Story of the Negro" by Jane D. Shackelford
"Play Songs of the Deep South" by Altona Trent-Johns
"Gladiola Gardens" by Effie Lee Newsome
"Golden Slippers" by Arna Bontemps
"Bronzeville Boys and Girls" by Gwendolyn Brooks

GRADES 3 - 4

It is suggested that teachers utilize the material presented for K-2 as well as that which follows; thus the curriculum will have greater continuity. Sources under "References for Teachers" K-2 are valid for 3-4 teachers' use.

LANGUAGE ARTS

Pupils may learn of the lives of writers as well as of their work.

Paul Lawrence Dunbar

Paul Lawrence Dunbar was a poet. He wrote of many subjects, often using dialect, which is not easily understood today. One of his most beloved is, "The Seedling", which describes nature's wonder of spring and rejuvenation of plant life. Dunbar lived nearly one hundred years ago.

"The Seedling" may be read to the class, or learned by the class in whole or in part. See page 156, "The Child's Story of the Negro", for the poem in its entirety.

Phyllis Wheatley

Phyllis Wheatley was a slave girl. She showed talent at an early age, so her owners taught her to read and to write. She could read Latin as well as English. She wrote five books of verse. She wrote a poem in honor of George Washington and in return received from the President an invitation to visit him.

Effie Lee Newsome

Effie Lee Newsome is presently Elementary School Librarian at Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio. She began writing poetry at the age of seven and has written on subjects children enjoy most: the seasons, toys, games, holidays, nature's mysteries and family life. Here are a few selections suitable for February and March, taken from"Gladiola Garden". Miss Newsome also paints and writes musical compositions.

The Game

I've often seen the snowflakes play
A funny little game of tag,
And dart in such a jerky way
They all get mixed up in their play

I always find it hard to say
Which lead and which ones lag
Their movements are so much the same
I can't find out who wins the game
They never stop to brag.
There really seems no way to know
What's "it" when suddenly - they go!

Snow Prints

Along the paths my overshoes
Make little pits intwos and twos,
But often on that very day
The sunshine melts them all away.

It seems a funny kind of waste,
These footprints getting all erased.
It takes a very ice day
To ever make them really stay.

The following poems may be learned by pupils:

Peanuts grow on vines,
They ripen under the ground.
Pretty soon from them we make
Peanut butter for all around.
E. Johnson

John Henry was a strong man
He worked hard every day.
He dug a tunnel with his hammer
Faster than a drill, they say.
E. Johnson

Brother Bear went everywhere
Eating the food of his friends.
They put him to sleep
In order to keep their food
Till the cold winter ends.
E. Johnson

Other Language Arts activities are : creative writing by the pupils, cooper.tive poems, narrative charts, jingles about G. W. Carver, John Henry and Brother Bear.

## Science

Plant sweet potatoes, follow the growth. Inspect peanuts, taste peanut butter. Teacher may have materials for children to see, touch and taste.

## Crafts

Make John Henry's hammer out of construction paper or oak tag or laundry cardboard.

Crayon pictures of large tunnel John Henry dug. Paint or crayon the sleeping bear, or the animals of the forest he knew.

## Physical Activities

Play songs:
Bon-Ton or Sissy in De Barn. "Play Songs of the Deep South" by Altona Trent-Johns, page 2.
Willowbee (First Version). "Play Songs of the Deep South," pg. 14
Chickama, Chickama-Craney Crow. "Play Songs of the Deep South pg.32
Skip to My Lou (formerly "Poor Lolette") - "Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin #9, pg. 54
Shoo Fly - "Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin", pg. 88

Big Muscle Activity.

Pretending to be John Henry, swinging his mighty hammer, in rhythm.

## Music

Folk songs
"There's a Little Wheel A-turning" - "Music Through the Year", pg.83
"Skip to My Lou"
"Chickama, Chickama"
"Jimmy Crack-corn" (Blue Tail Fly)
"John Henry"
"Shoo-Fly"

## Audio-Visual Aids

Filmstrip: "George Washington Carver"
Tape"John Henry and the Steam Drill" - from Tales from the Four Winds
Records: Y.P.R. 403-A "Let's all Join In" (includes John Henry)
F.C. 7406 - "Follow the Sun" - Charity Bailey
Illustrations for Bulletin Board: John Henry at Work
George Washington Carver
Brother Bear and Forest Friends

## Gwendolyn Brooks

Gwendolyn Brooks has written many poems. She is well known. She won the Pulitzer prize for 1954. Here is one of her poems:

### Val

When grown-ups at parties are laughing,
I do not like the sound.
It doesn't have any frosting
It doesn't go up from the ground.

So when my Daddy chased me
Away from the bend in the stair
With a "Get about your business!"
I didn't really care.

I'd rather be in the basement.
I'd rather be outside.
I'd rather get my bicycle
And ride.

The legend of John Henry (who actually lived and was famous for his strength and speed) is one of America's favorites. Music, poetry and stories have been told for generations about John Henry, who lived about a century ago, the son of a poor minister. His hard work and determination to be the "best" gave him a place among the immortals.

### John Henry, Mighty Man

John Henry was a healthy little boy. He grew up to be a strong man. His muscles were like steel and he helped to cut the first railroad tunnel through the mountains of West Virginia. The mountains are made of rocks and the rocks had to be drilled through.

John Henry, with his steel pick and iron hammer, became the best "driller" of the countryside. The mountains would tremble and shake when John Henry's hammer struck.

One day a large steam drill was brought to the mountain. This steam drill was a machine which could drill through rocks very rapidly. John Henry decided he would have a race with this machine. Everyone came to watch this race between a man and a machine.

John Henry won-he had drilled deeper and faster than the steam drill.

The folk story of Brother Bear can be read by the pupils themselves, or dramatized as the teacher reads to the class. The story can be found in the Language Arts of K-2.

### Language Arts Activities

The teacher may read any or all selections to class. Pupils may read poems and stories for themselves.

Creative Writing:
- Write to authors
- Present oral or written reports
- Compose class or individualpoems
- Start a picture and news file
- Children write of their own aspirations

### Social Studies

The stories of Frederick Douglass, George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune and Benjamin Banneker, Crispus Attucks, Robert Smalls, are suitable. Excellent short stories may be found in "Child's Story of the Negro", by Jane Schackelford.

## Crispus Attucks, a Hero of the Revolutionary War

For many years, the anniversary of the American Independence was celebrated on March 5th, in honor of the day that the first fighting for liberty took place. The American colonists were growing tired of the British taxation and strict rules, and wished to be independent of Britain altogether.

In 1770, on March 5, a group of soldiers were standing in a place called Boston Commons, in Boston, Massachusetts. Small groups of people stood around talking, many of them angry because the soldiers kept telling them to move along.

One man stepped forth and dared the soldiers. He had become tired of the soldiers bullying people around - for he himself loved freedom more than anything else in the world. He had once been a slave and run away to freedom. His name was Crispus Attucks.

He would not move when the soldiers told him to. He and his friends quarreled with the soldiers. Crispus Attucks struck one of the soldiers down with a stick. His friends joined him in daring the soldiers. Crispus Attucks and his four friends were killed by the soldiers' bullets.

There is a statue in Boston Commons in honor of Crispus Attucks and his four brave companions.

## Captain Robert Smalls

There were 186,000 Negro soldiers in the Civil War. Many more served as spies, scouts and guides. No one was more willing to fight than the Negro, for the Civil War was fought because of slavery, and at that time, most Negroes in America were slaves.

Of the 186,000 who fought, there were many who won the highest honor, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for bravery beyond the call of duty.

One of the most exciting stories of the Civil War is about Robert Smalls. Robert Smalls was born April 5, 1893. He was born in slavery and obtained his freedom by impersonating the captain of a southern gun-boat and taking the gun-boat through to a Union port!

Smalls and his companions served as slaves aboard the Confederate gun-boat, "Planter". Smalls studied the manner in which the officers of the boat operated the machinery. One night, when the officers had left the boat, Robert Smalls took charge of the boat and guided it right through the Confederate ports. As he passed each post, he gave the correct signal, and the Confederate guards thought nothing strange was going on! The clever Robert Smalls pulled the Captain's hat down over his own head and pulled the collar of the Captain's coat around his neck so that his face would not be seen. Fortunately there was fog in the air and Smalls, and his companions, easily slipped the gunboat through the waters to Union territory.

Robert Smalls delivered the gun-boat to the Union lines, won his freedom and became a captain in the Union Navy. Later, he became a Congressman of the United States. He died in 1915.

His adventures are described in "Captain of the Planter", by Dorothy Sterling.

## Matthew A. Henson, Co-discoverer of the North Pole

Matthew A. Henson loved adventure even as a small boy. He joined Admiral Peary's party and made several trips with Admiral Peary to the North Pole region. On the successful trip, which enabled the men to finally reach the Pole, Admiral Peary suffered frost bite and Matthew A. Henson went ahead, and planted the American flag atop the world. A monument to Matthew Alexander Henson, co-discoverer of the North Pole, stands in Maryland in his honor.

## George Washington Carver

George Washington Carver was born a slave. He was very poor. Like most boys and girls, George loved to paint and to look at beautiful plants. He spent much time looking at beautiful plants. He decided to learn all he could about different plants and animals. He worked in many places and studied in several schools. He became famous when he discovered that from the sweet potatoes, more than 100 items could be made: such as, ink, paste, starch, meal, flour, vinegar and shoe blacking.

He made more than 300 different items from the peanuts, such as: milk, shaving lotions, eyes, linoleum, flour, butter (peanut butter), face powder, breakfast foods, and hair shampoo.

All of his life he continued to study and to paint. One of his paintings hangs in the Luxembourg Gallery in Paris. He is known all over the world because of his great work. He lived a useful and good life.

January 5th is "Carver Day" in New York State. Carver Day was establis in 1945 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey.

## Frederick Douglass

Frederick Douglass was born a slave, on February 14, 1817. He escaped by masquerading as a sailor. He learned to read and write by himself, for there were no schools for runaway slaves. He had a great desire to help other slaves become free--and a wish to serve America. He became a great writer and orator. He published a paper and wrote stories telling why Negroes should be freed.

## Booker T. Washington

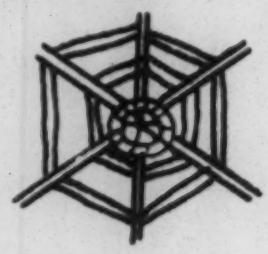
Booker T. Washington was born a slave on April 18, 1856. The house in which his family lived had no windows, no light, not even a floor--only the earth beneath their feet. From this poor and deprived home Booker T. Washington aspired to become a learned man. He worked diligently at cleaning, polishing and dusting in order to earn his keep in school. He attended college and was such a brilliant student, his name was suggested for higher honors. He was sent to Alabama and established Tuskegee Institute there. George Washington Carver began his famous scientific work at Tuskegee Institute. Mary Mc Leod Bethune gained hope and confidence by visiting Tuskegee Institute. Booker T. Washington is known all over the world because of his work and his ideas. When you visit New York University's Hall of Fame you will see a bust of Booker T. Washington, famous educator.

## Mary McLeod Bethune

Mary McLeod Bethune was born just afterall American slaves had been freed. She had sixteen brothers and sisters. The seventeen children worked with their parents to buy the land on which they had lived during slavery. When Mary was just a little girl, because she was unable to read, she was greatly insulted one day by a rich girl who could read. Mary decided that no one would insult her again--she would learn to read too. At that time in history, very few of the former slaves could read and there were almost no schools. Instead of being angry about the rich girl's insult, she decided to learn to read. Instead of fighting the rich girl who had hurt her feelings, she made up her mind to become educated and to help others. Mary finally learned to read and write. Then she decided to devote her whole life to teaching others. She began a school with only one dollar and fifty cents. She baked pies and sold them to workmen. She grew vegetables in the school garden and sold those to people in the community. She taught her pupils to sing beautiful songs--which are still sung today by students in her school. Before she died in 1954, Mrs. Bethune's school, Bethune-Cookman College, was worth over $1,000,000. Imagine, from $1.50 to $1,000,000. Mrs. Bethune received a high honor from the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and became an advisor to him.

Benjamin Banneker

Benjamin Banneker lived almost 200 years ago. His grandmother taught him to read. He attended school in Maryland and spent most of his time studying instead of playing. He enjoyed arithmetic and spent long hours working out difficult problems. When he became a young man he began to experiment with mathematical ideas. He made a clock which ran for twenty years without need of repairs. It is said to have been the first striking clock made in the United States. George Washington called him to work with a group of other men to plan the city of Washington D.C. Washington, D.C. has an interesting feature. All streets radiate from the Capitol. An aerial view of the city has the following appearance:



Pupils might compare a map of Washington, D.C. with a map of New York City.

SCIENCE

Plant sweet potato, follow its growth. Inspect peanuts, taste peanut butter.

Discuss Dr. Carver's discoveries made from the sweet potato: ink, paste, starch, meal, flour, vinegar, shoe blacking, - several of the 100 he discovered.

Discuss some of Dr. Carver's more than 300 items made from the peanut: milk, butter, shaving lotion, linoleum, breakfast foods.

Relate the crude materials used by Dr. Carver to some used in the classroom - old jars, blotters, pieces of metal. Emphasize the simplicity of Dr. Carver's laboratory and the inventiveness of his mind.

Observe an ant colony.

Children may become familiar with the name of Charles Henry Turner. His scientific discoveries about habits of crawfish, ant and honey bee are of interest to children and may be presented simply.

Dr. Charles Turner and His Study of the Ants

A man who has learned more about ants than anyone else is Dr. Charles Henry Turner. He studied animal life and especially the social life of the ant. Here is a short story about the ants Dr. Turner observed:

> Ants live in colonies or ant cities. They live in a community as we do. There is a queen ant who lays the eggs. There are nurse ants who take care of the baby ants. There are soldier ants who protect the "city". There are workers who do all of the work. In an ant community everyone has a job to do and cooperates with everyone else.

CRAFTS

Crayon pictures of John Henry and his hammer.

Paint pictures of the tunnel John Henry dug, or the train which went through it.

Construct simple cabin such as the one Booker T. Washington wasborn in, windowless, floorless.

Dioramas of: an ant colony, or the garden in Mrs. Bethune's college showing the various vegetables grown by the pupils of her school, or of any of the other materials studied.

MUSIC

Several instruments were brought to the New World by the Negro - banjo, marimba, drums, xylophones. Beautiful music was composed.

"Certainly, Lord"
"Climbing up Jacob's Ladder"
"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"

Playsongs are listed under Physical Activities.

Work songs:

Ballad of John Henry

Folk Songs: (Some of these are based on slave tunes or slave songs and have been modified from time to time).

Blue Tail Fly (Jimmie Crack Corn)
Kemo-Kimo
Buffalo Gals
The Grey Goose
Lullaby
Poor Boy
Shortnin' Bread

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Film Strip: "Life of George Washington Carver"
Tape: "John Henry and The Steam Drill" - from Tales From the Four Winds
Records: Y.P.F. "Let's All Join In"
F.C. 7752 "The Glory of Negro History"
F.C. 7406 "Follow the Sun", Charity Bailey

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR BULLETIN BOARD

Dr. George Washington Carver
Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune
Booker T. Washington
Dr. Charles Henry Turner
Benjamin Banneker
John Henry
Paul Lawrence Dunbar
Phyllis Wheatley
Frederick Douglass
Carter G. Woodson

REFERENCE MATERIAL FOR TEACHERS:

Those listed in K-2 and the following:

"First Book of Negroes" - Langston Hughes
"John Henry and the Double Jointed Steel Drill" - Irwin Shapiro
"The Burl Ives Song Book" - Burl Ives
"Bronzeville Boys and Girls" - Gwendolyn Brooks

## GRADES 5 - 6

**Several American Negroes for Study** (See calendar, page 1)

**Language Arts:** Langston Hughes, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Countee Cullen, Phyllis Wheatley, Gwendolyn Brooks, Arna Bontemps, Shirley Graham, Willard Motley.

**Social Studies:** Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Crispus Attucks, Banjamin Banneker, John Henry, Ralph Bunche, Carter G. Woodson, Paul Cuffe, Robert Smalls, William Carney, Henry Johnson, Matthew A. Henson, Robert Smalls.

**Science:** George Washington Carver (Chemurgy), Charles Henry Turner (marine-biology), Percy Julian (botany), William Hinton (bio-chemistry), Charles Drew (hematology), and Jan E. Matzeliger(invention), Daniel Hale Williams,surgery.

**Arts and Crafts:** George Washington Carver, Henry O. Tanner (painting), E. Simms Campbell (cartoons), Augusta Savage, Romare Bea rden (sculptors).

**Physical Activities:** Jesse Owens, Althea Gibson, Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, Bill Robinson, Pearl Primus, Carmen deLavallade

**Music:** W. C. Handy, R. Nathaniel Dett, Harry I. Burleigh, William Grant Still (composers); Count Basie, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington (instrumentalists); Marian Anderson, Charity Bailey, Josh White, Odetta, Harry Bellafonte, Lena Horne, Ella Fitzgerald (vocalists)

**Theatre:** Sidney Poitier, Ossie Davis, Roby Dee, Claudia McNeill, Paul Robeson, Ira Aldridge

**Implementing the approach:**

Pupils of grades 5 and 6 should know of individual lives and accomplishments of at least four or more persons from each field of endeavor. This can best be accomplished through research. The teacher may motivate pupils by asking any or all of the following questions:

1. Who was this person?
2. What was his background?
3. How did he receive his education?
4. For what is he famous?
5. What era of American History is represented by him?

The class will be able to discover the answers to these questions through committee work, individual reports, library assignments. Reports may be written or oral - committee or individual. Oral reports afford learning for the entire class and can be followed by discussion periods. Committee work affords the opportunity for group study of an area, each member reading books or sections of books about the contribution and life of one individual. Collating the work and orally presenting group findings assist in the development of cooperative habits and improved speech patterns.

Teachers may read summary stories from prededing sections as introductory material.

**LANGUAGE ARTS ACTIVITIES**

Committee reports on one field, ex: Science, Social Studies.
Individual reports.
Start picture file: daily papers, weekly Negro press, national magazines. (5x8 blank cards and a shoe box are suitable materials for beginning a file).
Original short stories.
Original poems.
Write to authors.
Book reviews.
At conclusion of unit, pupils may write composition describing personal reaction to study, or of own aspirations.
Choral speaking: selections from "Golden Slipper" are good.

## SOCIAL STUDIES

Discussion of: pioneers in education: Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune
" " pioneers in abolition movement: Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth
" " pioneers in recording of Negro history: Carter G. Woodson, Arma Bontemps, Shirley Graham, W.E.B. DeBois
" " pioneers in the westward movement: James Beckwith, Jean DeSaible
" " Military participation inall wars U. S. engaged in, heroes of

## SCIENCE

Understandings to be developed:
Products of the peanut
Products of the sweet potato
Uses of the soy bean
Establishment of the Red CrossBlood Bank
Ant life in an ant colony

## CRAFTS

Paint the Underground Railroad in action
Paint pictures of individual studied
Clay models of famous person at work
Clay model of John Henry's tunnel
Diorama of ant city
" " Dr. Carver's laboratory
" " garden at Bethune-Cookman College
Paint delivery of gunboat "Planter", to Union lines during Civil War.

## PHYSICAL ACTIVITIES

Dances: May be taught or demonstrated
Cake walk
Charleston
Tap dance - "Dixie" - Physical Activities Book, pg. 152
Bunny hop
Fox-trot

## MUSIC

R. Nathaniel Dett, an editor of spirituals, wrote about Negro music:

> The American Negro gave the world a great gift of his music. His great-great-grandfather came from West Africa. Over there every town had secret societies in which musicians were trained. They played music and kept repeating and singing their history. To this music they clicked their fingernails, stamped their feet or clapped their hands.
>
> The types of music the American Negro is most famous for are: spirituals, work songs, play songs, blues, jazz. The spirituals were sung in the hope of freedom from slavery. The work songs were sung to keep time with the swinging of arms during work periods. The play songswere mainly danced and sung by children in the fields. Blues and then jazz grew out of the African beat and hope for freedom and finally, happiness.

Spirituals: "Let usBreak Bread Together" - Voices of the World, pg. 179
"Git on Board" - pg. 11
"I've Got a Robe" - Music Across the Country, pg. 134
"Certainly, Lord"
"Go Down, Moses"
"Climb Up Jacob's Ladder"
"Swing Low, Sweet Chariot"

Folk Songs: "Kemo-Kimo"
"Michael Row the Boat Ashore"
"Li'l Liza Jane"
"Buffalo Gals" (based on "Lulby Fan)
"Careless Love"

Songs of the Caribbean:
"Hold 'Em Joe"
" Caucaunne"
"Last Train to San Fernando"

Discuss: drum, banjo, marimba, xylophone, as instruments.

## AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Film strips: Life of George Washington Carver
Life of Booker T. Washington

Sound Films: George Washington Carver

Records:
FC 7752 - The Glory of Negro History, Langston Hughes
FC 7312 - First Jazz, Langston Hughes
FC 7250 - Jamaican Songs - Bennett
FC 7114 - Negro Poetry
FC 7406 - Follow the Sun, Charity Bailey
Josh White, Album of Folk Music
Odetta, Album of Folk Music
Leon Bibb, Album of Folk Music

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Crispus Attucks
Benjamin Banneker
Booker T. Washington
Paul Lawrence Dunbar
Mary McLeod Bethune
Ralph Bunche
Carter G. Woodson
Frederick Douglass
Langston Hughes
Charity Bailey
John Henry
George Washington Carver
Phyllis Wheatley

## REFERENCE BOOKS FOR TEACHERS

A Pictorial History of the Negro inAmerica - Langston Hughes
The First Book of Negroes - Langston Hughes
North Star Shining - Hildegarde Swift
Burl Ives Song Book - Burl Ives

## BIBLIOGRAPHY (In addition to those listed on next page)

American Ballads & Folk Songs, compiled by John A. Lomax, Massachusetts: Macmillan Co., 1949
American Negro Art - Cedrick Dover, New York Graphic Society, 1961
Burl Ives Song Book - Burl Ives, New York, Ballantine Books, 1953
Child's Story of the Negro - Jane D. Shackelford, Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1956
Negro Spirituals - Edited by R. Nathaniel Dett, London, Blandford Press, 1959
Physical Activities Curriculum Bulletin #9 - New York: Board of Education 1958
Pictorial History of the Negro in America - Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer, New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1956
Play Songs of the Deep South - Altona Trent-Johns, Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1944
Story of the Negro - Arna Bontemps, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953
Toward Better International Understanding (A Teachers' Manual, Curriculum Bulletin 1956-60 Series No. 4) New York: Board of Education, 1959

**Suggested List of Books on Negro History for Outside Reading, Research, Committee Activities, Individual or Group Study, and for Reading to Children by Adults**
**Grades 5-6**

Pupils may find these books at any of the Public Libraries:

| TITLE | AUTHOR | READING LEVEL |
|---|---|---|
| First Book of Negroes | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of Jazz | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| Famous American Negroes | Langston Hughes | 7 |
| A Pictorial History of the Negro in America | Langston Hughes | 5-6 |
| First Book of Rhythms | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of Africa | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| First Book of West Indies | Langston Hughes | 4-6 |
| Booker T. Washington | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| George Washington Carver | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| There Once was a Slave (Frederick Douglass) | Shirley Graham | 4-6 |
| DeSable, Jean Baptiste Pointe (discoverer of Chicago) | Shirley Graham | 6-7 |
| Your Most Humble Servant (Benjamin Banneker, Mathematician) | Shirley Graham | 5-6 |
| Count of Monte Cristo | Alexander Dumas | 7 |
| The Three Musketeers | Alexander Dumas | 7 |
| Story of the Negro | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| Children of Haiti | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| We Have Tomorrow | Arna W. Bontemps | 7 |
| George Washington Carver | T. A. White | 6 |
| Up From Slavery | Booker T. Washington | 6 |
| Story of George Washington Carver | F. C. Means | 5-6 |
| Cowtail, Switch and Other West African Stories | Harold Courlander | 5-6 |
| Child's Story of the Negro | Jane D. Shackelford | 3-6 |
| Mary McLeod Bethune | Catherine O. Pearee | 7 |
| Harriet Tubman | A. L. Petry | 7 |
| Freedom Train, The Story of Harriet Tubman | D. Sterling | 7 |
| It's Good To Be Alive | Roy Campanella | 5-6 |
| Ralph J. Bunche | Joseph A. Kugelmass | 7 |
| The Negro inSports | Edwin Henderson | 6-7 |
| Lives of GirlsWho Became Famous | Sarah K. Bolton | 6 |
| Lives of Poor Boys Who Became Famous | Sarah K. Bolton | 6 |
| Twenty Modern Americans | Alice C. Cooper | 5-6 |
| Famous American Poets | Laura Benet | 6 |
| Our Negro Brother | Edith Mayer | |
| Great American Negroes | Ben Albert Richardson | 7 |
| Marian Anderson, A Portrait | Kost Vehanen | 5-6 |
| Horn of Plenty - Louis Armstrong | Robert Coffin | 4-6 |
| Paul Dunbar and His Song (Dunbar was a Poet) | Virginia Cunningham | 4-6 |
| Golden Slippers (Anthology of Negro Poetry) | Arna Bontemps | |
| Bright April (Story of Negro Girl) | Marguerite DeAngeli | |
| Call Me Charley (Negro boy in hostile community) | Jesse Jackson | |
| Key Corner (Negro children in rural south) | Eva Knox Evans | |
| Lad of Lima (Negro Saint) | Mary F. Windeatt | |
| The Negro in American Life (brief text of Negro contributions) | John L. Becker | |
| All Brave Sailors: The Story of the SS. Booker T. Washington (exciting high seas adventures) | John Beecher | |

Education - New York

9/62

SCHOOL INFORMATION

NEW YORK CITY:

OPEN ENROLLMENT PLAN

which enables children to transfer from crowded schools to under-utilized schools. Transfer will be freely given.

No transfer should be revoked unless by request of parent, or if child creates a "hazard" on the buses which are used to transport him to the school which is out of his area.

In case of trouble, the assistant superintendent of the borough is the only one who could order a "recall" of the transfer, and this is the person to see.

Main office of Board of Education (Superintendent Turner) feels any other reasons for recalling transfer "highly irregular." They seem to be completely sympathetic to the idea of open enrollment and want to comply.

LO42000
TN73000
OX56000

**BOARD OF EDUCATION**

**City of New York**

# PLAN FOR INTEGRATION

**August 23, 1963**

to

**Dr. James E. Allen, Jr.**

**Commissioner of Education**

**The University of the State of New York**


Max J. Rubin, President
James B. Donovan, Vice President
Joseph G. Barkan
Aaron Brown
Lloyd K. Garrison
John F. Hennessy
Morris Iushewitz
Clarence Senior
Mrs. Morris Shapiro

Calvin E. Gross, Superintendent
of Schools

August 23, 1963.

Hon. James E. Allen, Jr.
Commissioner of Education
State Education Department
Albany 1, New York

Dear Dr. Allen:

With this letter I am transmitting to you, on behalf of the Board of Education, the report on integration in the New York City Schools which you requested on June 14, 1963.

The report will speak for itself, but I think you will recognize that it represents the most comprehensive effort to achieve maximum integration, both on the basis of past performance and future commitments of any city school system in the country. We have planned carefully and thoroughly, using the best advice we could get, to move toward complete ethnic integration to the limit permitted by feasibility and sound educational practice.

I should like to invite your attention particularly to our new free choice transfer policy and to the various kinds of urgent attention which have been directed toward developing real instructional excellence in schools where de facto segregation still exists.

Our plan represents all possible steps we have been able to devise, short of the compulsory interchange of Negro and white students between distant communities.

We expect that other new ideas of merit may be presented, and we shall welcome them. In addition we plan to keep our timetable up to date and to add new programs as rapidly as they are adjudged feasible. Your own suggestions will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Calvin E. Gross

CEG:al

# PLAN FOR INTEGRATION

In the years since the historic 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court, and even earlier, the New York City Public Schools have pursued earnestly their commitment to the objective of racial integration in the schools. Much has been accomplished. Nevertheless our midsummer 1963 stocktaking makes it clear that much more has to be done. Our past programs and activities were appropriate for their time, but we now propose to embark on a new series of endeavors which we hope will hasten the day when our city is completely integrated and all of our children will enjoy equal educational opportunity. We believe that school integration is an important part of our pursuit of excellence for all children.

We wish we were able now to provide not only the dates for each new step in our integration plan but also the date by which all our schools will have been desegregated. However, the complicated interrelationships of life in our City require that such a comprehensive program and timetable be developed jointly by all the many agencies whose activities affect integration. The Board of Education will take leadership in urging city-wide participation in the preparation of such a plan and timetable for integration.

In the meantime, we shall move ahead with attacks on four major fronts:

On the moral front the professional staff of the school system commits itself to pursue vigorously the unequivocal integration policy established by the Board of Education. We shall establish procedures to enlist a like commitment from civic and community groups in every part of the City.

On the desegregation front we shall develop and apply programs which will achieve ethnic integration to the extent permitted by feasibility and sound educational practice.

On the instructional front we shall move with imagination and energy to give every child the kind of education which is his birthright especially if he has been denied equal opportunity up until now. By raising children's aspirations and then establishing instructional programs to fulfill them we shall strive to provide a broad and thorough educational background for the new career and academic opportunities which will be opening to them. We shall work towards securing more college opportunities for Negro and Puerto Rican high school graduates.

On the job front we shall strengthen our program to prepare students with more precision for the job opportunities which will be offered by New York City industry and commerce. We shall insist that all our graduates be dealt with justly.

## I. PROGRAMS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION IN SEPTEMBER 1963 OR SHORTLY AFTER

### A. On the Moral Front

1. Strong new top-level administrative impetus for accelerated integration. Continuous development of plans and updating of timetable. Strengthened staff in Central Zoning and Human Relations units. Both units to maintai direct liaison with the Superintendent of Schools.

2. Personal copies of the Board of Education's recently reaffirmed policy on integration to be distributed to every employee in the school system and made subject of conferences and other appropriate follow-up activities.

3. Strong enforcement of contract provisions against discrimination. All reasonable steps to bar contracts for construction, building repairs and maintenance, or purchase of textbooks, school supplies and equipment from concerns and unions that practice discrimination in employment.

4. Closer cooperation with the City Commission on Human Rights to promote integration goals.

5. Human relations training for teachers and supervisors. To be offered this fall in each field superintendent's area using materials and teaching guides developed in cooperation with colleges and employing additional specialists as instructors of pre-service and in-service courses, conferences and seminars.

6. Parent and community education. Human relations programs, workshops and seminars in each field superintendent's area, particularly designed to advance integration goals. Information to communities about human relations programs in the schools.

7. Extended use of group discussion techniques to promote integration. To promote identification, study and solution of integration problems through such techniques as those used by the Panel of Americans.

### B. On the Desegregation Front

1. Open Enrollment. As a transition fron the present Open Enrollment Program to the Free-Choice Transfer Program (described below), upward adjustment to be made in the utilization percentage of schools providing opportunity for integrated learning. Approximately 2,000 junior high school pupils heretofore unable to transfer as of September, 1963, because of lack of space, to be recanvassed for immediate placement.

   Meanwhile, this September, 4,000 additional pupils to be assigned under the existing Open Enrollment program, bringing the cumulative total of pupils in the program to more than 14,500, exclusive of the 2,000 to be recanvassed.

2. Zoning Changes. 100 new changes, all conforming to policies promoting integration, and twelve providing large numbers of children with a newly integrated situation. 644 high school zoning variances to improve ethnic balance. First open enrollment children to arrive in senior high schools by virtue of promotion from receiving junior high schools.

Constant and detailed consideration by the staff and the Board of the integration recommendations of the Central Zoning Unit with regard to the selection of school sites.

3. Systematic central and neighborhood collaboration among school staff and civil rights and community groups in planning and executing new programs of integration and instruction. Monthly meetings of Superintendent of Schools and his staff with civil rights and human relations groups. Exploration and application of integration measures for local areas by district councils of parent and community groups in the area of each field superintendent, working through the local school boards.

4. Use of consultants. Expert assistance from colleges and elsewhere to help solve both general problems and particular local situations.

5. Recruitment of more Negro and Puerto Rican teachers. Intensified efforts to attract minority group candidates, both within the City and outside. More Future Teacher Clubs in secondary schools with large numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican students. Conduct of examinations for teachers in central strategic locations outside New York City. New York University Study of Teacher Personnel Practices to guide future procedures.

6. Effort to increase the number of Negro and Puerto Rican Supervisors. New York University Study of Personnel Practices to serve as a guide for the development of procedures.

Professional seminars for teachers preparing for promotional examinations. At least two of these in areas of minority group concentration.

C. On the Instructional Front

1. Crash remedial programs. Afternoon and Saturday morning tutorial programs for pupils who need extra help or a place to do homework, and for dropouts.

2. Additional personnel and instructional materials for both sending and receiving schools in the Open Enrollment and Free Choice Transfer Programs.

3. Teaching about minority group contribution to American history and culture. To be stressed in all areas of teaching. Expedited development of new city-wide materials of instruction. Cooperation with colleges in producing readers oriented to urban living and social studies texts describing the actual part played by minority groups in the development of American history and culture. Expanded criteria in library book selection to reflect life in an integrated, democratic society.

4. Full complement of teachers in September. Written acceptances for all positions received as of August 1. From 10 to 25 supernumerary teachers assigned to each field superintendent as a pool ready for reassignment to schools as needed on opening day of school.

5. A City-wide, systematic Aspirational Inventory for all junior high school students. To identify the educational and vocational plans of students on an individual school and city-wide basis. This Occupational Index to serve as a guide in curriculum planning, student counselling and in helping pupils to raise and fulfill their aspirations.

6. Full five hours for first grade. More than half (of the first grade pupils approximately 46,000) to be put on a five-hour day in September.

7. More classes and services for socially maladjusted pupils. Increase in number of "600" schools, Junior Guidance Classes in elementary schools, Career-Guidance classes in junior high schools, and work-study as well as manpower development and training programs in secondary schools.

8. Review of policy on intelligence testing. To insure that group test intelligence scores do not militate against either pupils' self-images or their optimum teaching and learning programs.

9. Evaluation of the Higher Horizons Program. A comprehensive evaluation.

10. College opportunities for Negro and Puerto Rican Pupils. Conferences between Board of Education and Board of Higher Education to explore ways of increasing opportunities for minority group high school graduates to attend the city colleges.

D. On the Job Front

1. Extension of junior high school guidance services. To acquaint students, especially members of minority groups, with new opportunities for careers in business and industry, particularly some of the less frequently selected skilled trades in the construction industry.

2. Job Placement. Better year-round placement and guidance services in every high school, particularly to expedite contacts with employers seeking minority group graduates of trade courses, commercial courses, etc.

3. Dropouts. One high-ranking official to expand and coordinate all new and existing programs designed to anticipate and meet special needs of dropouts.

4. Liaison with trade unions. More comprehensive working relationships with the trade unions which represent crafts taught in vocational high schools, to insure placement of students. Cooperation with agencies and civic and labor groups to prevent discrimination in employment. Active participation in stepping up apprenticeship training and equalizing job opportunities for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

## II. PROGRAMS TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT IN FEBRUARY, 1964 AND SEPTEMBER, 1964

Some of what we should like to do now cannot be set in motion until detailed plans have been made while school is in session. We shall inaugurate several actions now and put them into effect in February, 1964 at the change of semesters and in September, 1964.

### A. February, 1964

1. Free-Choice Transfer Policy. The basic purpose is to further integration by permitting any child in a school with a certain high percentage of Negro and/or Puerto Rican enrollment to transfer, at his parents' request, to any other school in the city where there is space available, on a first-come, first-served basis. The plan will apply to elementary, junior high and senior high schools. "Space available" will be defined on the basis of more than 100% capacity, probably at or near the city-wide index for overcrowding. This will provide more transfer space, since school utilization in Negro and Puerto Rican areas now runs as high as 130% of capacity.

   Transportation will be furnished free, by bus when feasible or by common-carrier tickets.

   After experience has been gained, the percentage of Negro and/or Puerto Rican concentration which qualifies a school will be lowered progressively. Once a school qualifies, any student in it may apply for transfer. The same opportunity will be offered to children in schools having an equivalent percentage of white concentration.

   Certain restrictions will necessarily prevail. For example, children now in the last grade of a school should not transfer during that year. Any children now participating in the Open Enrollment Program should continue during the remainder of the 1963-64 school year.

2. Junior High School Joint Zoning Pattern. At least one pair of junior high schools to be ready in February, 1964 for a joint zoning pattern with their cluster of feeding elementary schools. Other pairings under development. In the joint zoning pattern, two junior high schools in close proximity to each other divide the total population in the districts of the schools for maximum integration.

### B. September, 1964

Rezoning in Critical Fringe Areas - The Princeton Plan. Taking into account the necessity of community discussion and preparation, several other possibilities may be ready for inception in September, 1964. Urgent special attention will be given to rezoning opportunities in several critical fringe areas. For example, we see the possibility of introducing the Princeton Plan or adaptations in three or four locations in several boroughs, to be applied either to pairs of schools or multiple school composites. Under the Princeton Plan, two or more schools in close proximity are so organized that each building is used for certain grades for all pupils in the districts of the two or more schools, with the total encompassing all elementary grades for all pupils of these districts.

## III. OTHER ACTION BEYOND THE 1963-64 SCHOOL YEAR

A. Expansion of Pre-Kindergarten education.

B. Balanced ethnic distribution of teachers.

C. Substantial increase in programs to raise educational standards.

1. Reduction of class size

2. Equitable distribution of the best teachers

3. Intensified remedial programs

4. Introduction of effective new instructional techniques

D. Improvement of licensing and personnel procedures.

E. Elimination of elementary school classes in junior high schools to accommodate more Free-Choice Transfer pupils.

## IV. PROPOSALS FROM VARIOUS SOURCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

A. Educational Park - Several schools on a single large site providing unusual opportunities for integration and for the flexible use of a variety of educational practices.

B. High School de-zoning

C. "Reverse Open Enrollment"

D. Establishment of special-purpose integrated schools in de facto segregated areas.

## V. COST

We estimate that at least ten million dollars will be required to take major steps during the first year.

If the state were to revise its financial aid formulas to reflect adequately the unusual educational needs of our city's children and the effects of municipal overburden on big-city taxpayers, then the New York City Schools would receive several hundred million dollars more annually from the state.

We should be spending at least one hundred million dollars a year more on Item III, C. above, "Substantial increase in programs to raise educational standards," referring in this context of course only to de facto segregated schools.

The major items within the ten million dollars estimated are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Strengthening the Central Zoning Unit | $40,000 |
| Strengthening the Human Relations Unit | $40,000 |
| Textbooks and Other Materials to Teach Minority Contributions to American History and Culture | $860,000 |
| Human Relations Courses | $5,000 |
| Personnel for Enforcement of Non-Distrimination Policy in Construction and Purchasing | $20,000 |
| Additional Transportation for Open Enrollment | $100,000 |
| Teacher Recruitment and Examination Outside New York City | $50,000 |
| Courses for Teachers Seeking Advancement | $10,000 |
| Crash Remedial Programs In All Special Service Schools | $3,000,000 |
| Full Complement of Teachers in "District Pools" To Eliminate "uncovered" classes | $2,200,000 |
| Aspirational Inventory of Junior High School Pupils | $75,000 |
| More Classes for Socially Maladjusted Pupils Additional "600" school | $135,000 |
| Junior Guidance Classes in Elementary Schools | $310,000 |
| Career Guidance Classes in Junior High Schools | $240,000 |
| High School Work-Study Programs | $25,000 |
| Evaluation of Higher Horizons Program | $40,000 |
| Added Jobs Placement Services and Liaison with Trade Unions | $20,000 |
| Increased Personnel in Open Enrollment and Free Transfer Schools | $3,000,000 |
| Increased Materials in Open Enrollment and Free Transfer Schools | $75,000 |
| Studies of Other Proposals | $50,000 |
| Consultants in Human Relations and Integration | $25,000 |

## VI. PROGRESS IN INTEGRATION DURING PAST FEW YEARS

In the application of its policies of integration, the Board of Education has pursued two major courses of action, each complementary to the other:

A. To promote ethnic integration wherever possible.

B. To achieve equality of educational opportunity when, as a result of the operation of forces beyond its control, ethnic integration has not been possible.

These efforts toward integration have been summarized on a number of occasions within recent years. Eight of these reports would seem to provide a good over-view of these efforts:

"Toward Greater Opportunity," June 1960, (enclosure "D")

"Integration Progress Report, October 4, 1962" (enclosure "E")

"New York City Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged," February, 1963 (enclosure "F")

"Report of the Committee on Integration, Part I," February 1963 (enclosure "G")

"Central Zoning Unit Annual Report 1961-1962" (enclosure "H")

"The Open Enrollment Program in the Elementary Schools," June 1961 (enclosure "I")

"Annual Report 1955-56 - Part II, Puerto Rican Children" (enclosure "K")

Final report on Puerto Rican Study - "The Future Is Now" 1958 (enclosure "L")

Programs toward integration are in a continuous process of improvement and expansion. Those which will have outlived their usefulness will be discarded.

Among the highlights of the advances toward integration set forth in these reports are the following:

ON THE MORAL FRONT

Establishment of Human Relations Unit

Establishment of Education Information Services and Public Relations Unit

Cooperation with special community projects: Mobilization for Youth, Associated Community Teams, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited.

## ON THE DESEGREGATION FRONT

Creation of Central Zoning Unit; maintenance of ethnic data for pupils.

Establishment of ethnic integration as one of the cardinal principles of zoning

Open Enrollment program and Building Utilization program, which resulted, between 1958 and 1962, in the transfer of almost 60,000 children for better integration. (enclosure "I")

Establishment of ethnic integration as a cardinal principle in site selection.

Acceleration of building program in areas on the fringes of heavy concentrations of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils.

A census of teachers, in order to determine the over-all distribution of ethnic groups.

Strengthened coordination between Central Zoning Unit and Office of School Planning

Development and extension of extra-curricular and interscholastic programs leading to improved integration of pupils.

## ON THE INSTRUCTIONAL FRONT

Puerto Rican study of education of non-English speaking children.

Organization of Demonstration Guidance Project to salvage academic potential of disadvantaged pupils. Extension into Higher Horizons program.

Establishment of Teacher Recruitment Unit.

Acceptance of principle of special and additional services for disadvantaged children as necessary for equality of educational opportunity.

Expansion of programs for dropouts and potential dropouts, and creation of new programs for such pupils.

Expansion of special programs for children with serious problems--Junior Guidance classes, Career Guidance classes, "600" schools, Early Identification and Prevention, All-Day Neighborhood Schools, Pre-Kindergarten Classes and others.

Special programs, in cooperation with colleges and universities, of training teachers for service in the inner city (both pre-service and in-service).

Administrative devices to improve and equalize quality of teachers in all schools.

Efforts to secure instructional materials which will be appropriate for children in big-city schools, and which will give all children adequate information concerning the contributions to our American democracy of all ethnic groups, and particularly of Negro and Puerto Rican groups.

## ON THE JOB FRONT

**Development of programs to increase employment opportunities of pupils and former pupils**

The Cooperative Education Program, enabling high school students, sixteen years of age and over to obtain employment and job training while attending school. Students in school in alternate weeks, and employed full time duringweeks not in school. Central job placement through the Cooperative Education Office. Students placed in jobs in commerce, industry and municipal departments.

The School to Employment Program, in fifteen schools, providing a work experience program for potential dropouts. Students in school in the morning and in part-time jobs in the afternoon. Special curriculum materials. Placement by the teacher-coordinator of the program in each school.

The Youth Employment Service of the New York State Employment Service, with representatives in over forty high schools. Testing and placement of graduates and dropouts.

Increased coordination among schools, official labor agencies and equal opportunity organizations, such as the Urban League.

## VII. STATEMENTS OF POLICY

On December 23, 1954, a resolution was unanimously approved by the Board of Education which stated clearly that its policy and program was to devise and put into operation a plan which would prevent the further development of racially homogeneous schools, and integrate the existing ones as quickly as possible. The intent of that resolution is well expressed in the following excerpts:

> ". . . We, therefore, interpret the May 17th decision of the United States Supreme Court as a legal and moral reaffirmation of our fundamental educational principles."
>
> ". . . the Board of Education of the City of New York is determined to accept the challenge implicit in the language and spirit of the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We will seek a solution to these problems and take action with dispatch implementing the recommendations resulting from a systematic and objective study of the problem here presented." (Enclosure "B")

On June 26, 1963, the present Board of Education unanimously reaffirmed its commitment to the objective of racial integration in the schools, and set forth its responsibilities to its pupils, its personnel, and to the communities in the furtherance of its integration policies. This most recent resolution stated:

> "Our schools must not be neutral in the struggle of society to better itself. We must not overlook the harmful effects of discrimination on the education of all children. Moreover, within the limits of our control, we must not acquiesce in the undemocratic school patterns which are a concomitant of segregated housing. Furthermore, we must continue our policy of not tolerating racial or religious prejudice on the part of any member of our staffs. If education is to fulfill its responsibility, it must recognize that the school world has a significant influence on each child's attitudes and affects the future of democracy..." (enclosure "C")

## VIII. NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS WITH 50% OR MORE NEGRO AND/OR PUERTO RICAN ENROLLMENT

| | Elem. | | Jr. HS | | Acad. HS | | Voc. HS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BOROUGH | Total Schools | 50% or More | Total Schools | 50% or More | Total Schools | 50% or More | Total Schools | 50% o More |
| Manhattan | 97 | 74 | 24 | 20 | 10 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
| Bronx | 100 | 49 | 27 | 13 | 9 | 1 | 4 | 4 |
| Brooklyn | 193 | 77 | 46 | 20 | 20 | 3 | 9 | 3 |
| Queens | 156 | 26 | 31 | 3 | 14 | 0 | 5 | 1 |
| Richmond | 32 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Total | 578 | 226 | 131 | 56 | 57 | 10 | 29 | 15 |

An analysis of this table is attached (enclosure "A") giving the name, type and location of these schools, and the number and percent of children in each ethnic group.

Schools

November 7, 1963

Mrs. Judith Milkman
244-17 61st Avenue
Douglaston, New York

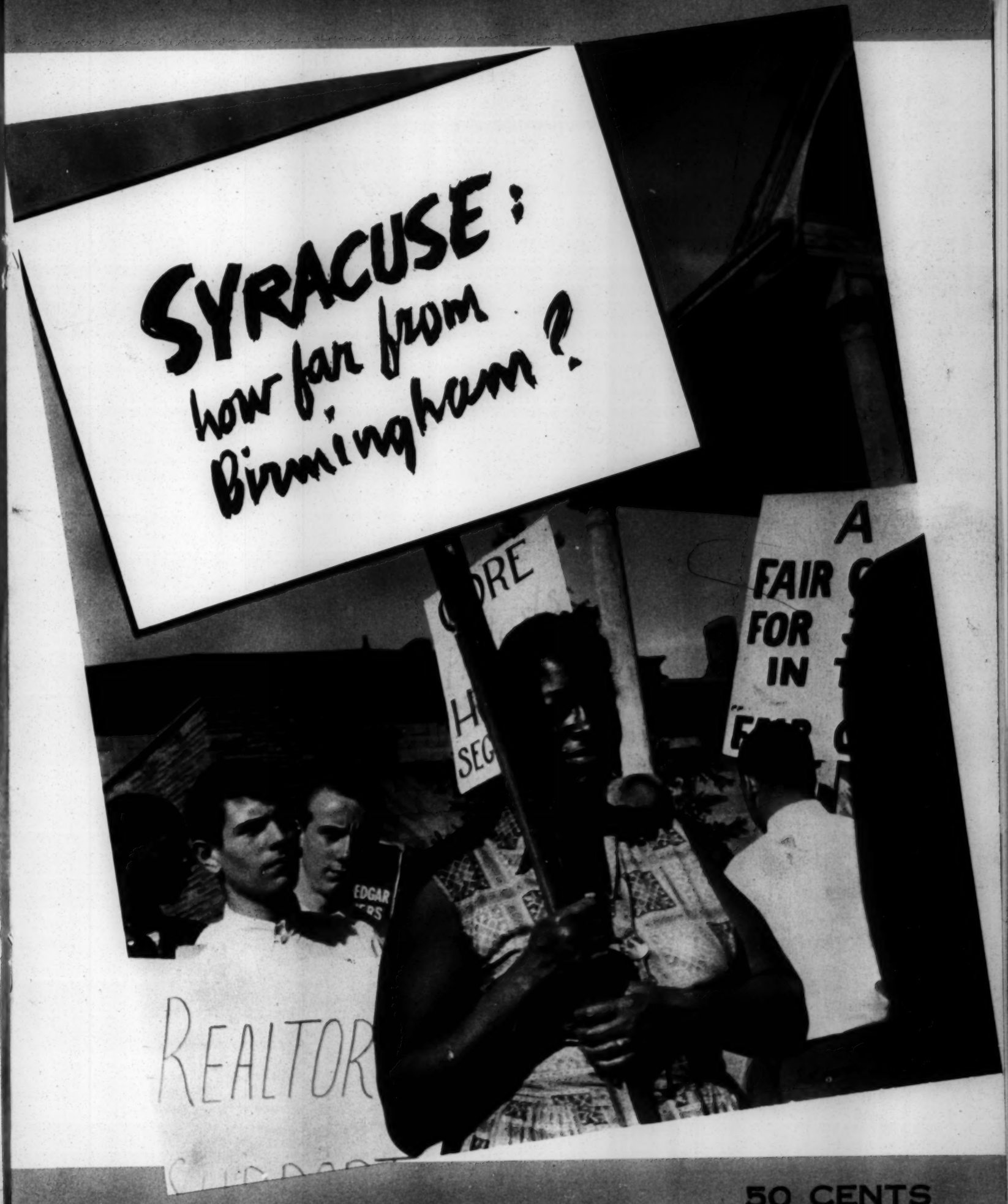
Dear Mrs. Milkman:

Integration in New York City schools can only be approached sucessfully on two levels; that is to raise the integration problem along with a program designed to raise the quality of education in New York schools generally, therefore, CORE is for integration being a prime factor in zoning and re-zoning, districting and redictricting, site selection for new schools, staffing of every phase of administration add teaching, and the curricula which reflects the constitution of all races with historical and current authenticity. Because we feel that a school should be an integral part of the community in which it is located, in order to be most repponsive to the needs of parents and children, we feel that a crash financial program to raise the quality of education in all schools, particularly those located in the ghetto would be more effective than mass bussing.

Sincerely,

Norman Hill
Director
PROGRAM DEPARTMENT

NH/ss




50 CENTS

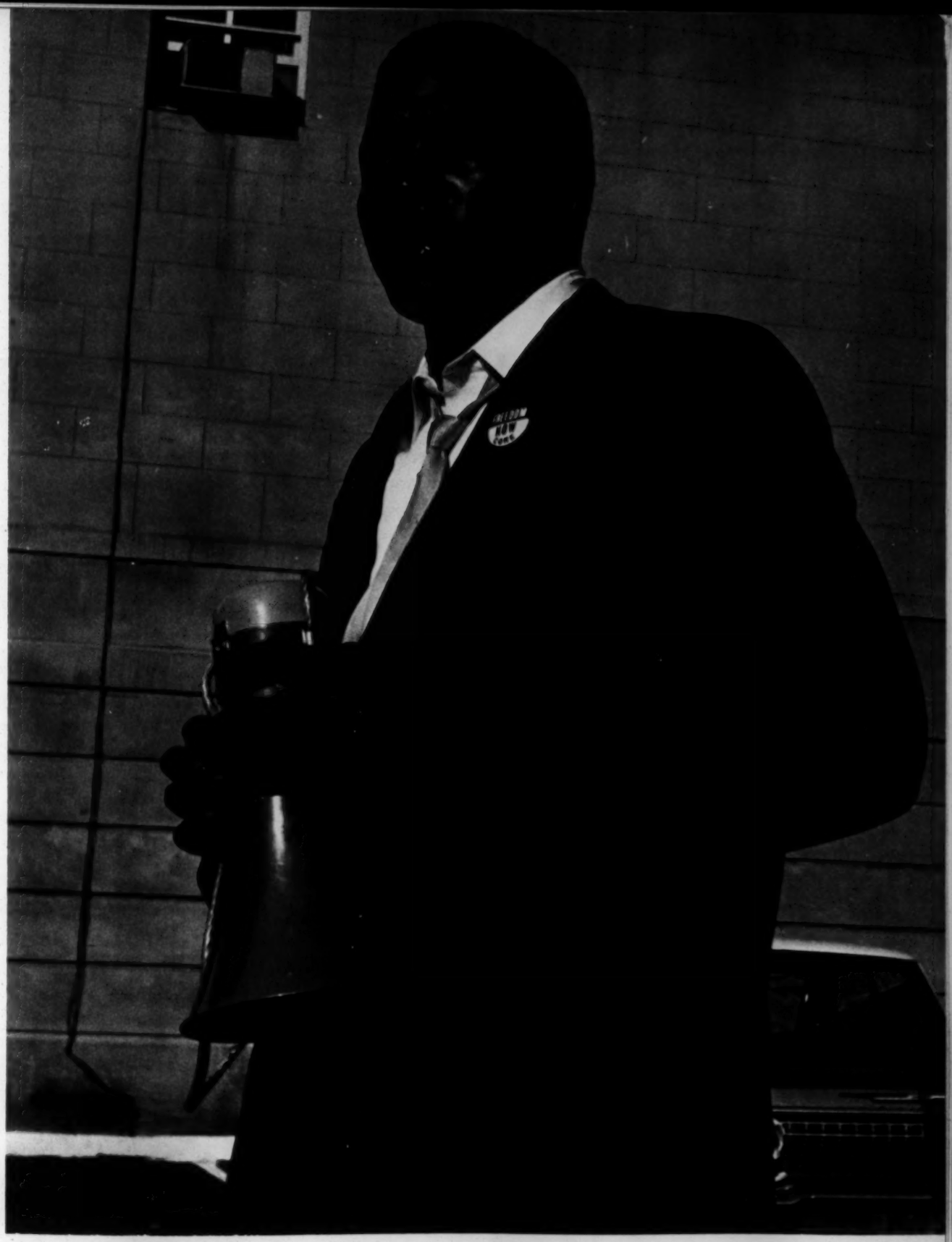
It is necessary to recognize as false, myths
that have survived so long and have contributed
so much to the divisiveness among our people.

*(Commissioner J. Edward Conway, New York State Commission for Human Rights. The statement was made at a public meeting on housing in Syracuse, New York, October 2, 1963 at the Syracuse Press Club.)*

**IN MEMORIAM**

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY
1917 - 1963

Bruce Thomas
CORE
Chairman



This magazine is dedicated to informing citizens in Syracuse. It was edited and published by the Syracuse Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) and its costs are being met entirely by voluntary contributions from Syracusans. To help meet the printing debt and costs of publication, and for additional issues, you may send a check to CORE (Magazine), 609 East Adams, Syracuse, New York, 13202. Additional copies: 50 cents, or 35 cents in bulk over 100. Editor: Robert O. Blanchard, with assistance from Edwin Day, and the CORE Information Committee. Photographs by: R. Hammond. Other snapshots from anonymous Syracuse citizens.

One hundred persons were jailed in Syracuse in connection with Civil Rights demonstrations in September, 1963.

Physicians, unemployed laborers, several housewives, scores of university professors and graduate students, two members of the Mayor's Commission on Youth, a minister, a labor leader, and the director and some staff members of the Youth Development Center were among those who were jailed.

Hundreds more picketed, donated money, painted picket signs, staffed the CORE office, spoke before civic groups, participated in mass meetings, bought newspaper space and participated in many other forms of commitment.

They acted because there was and is widespread racial discrimination and bigotry in Syracuse. They acted because the city government and business community did and will not act in any meaningful way to eliminate discrimination – especially in the relocation of hundreds of Negro families displaced by Urban Renewal projects. They acted because most of the mass media managers in the city have been unfair and openly hostile to relevant discussion of social injustices in Syracuse.

It is difficult to communicate sincere beliefs in an atmosphere of fear, hostility and ignorance, abounding with myths. It is difficult to communicate when there is no charity towards the motives of those who protest injustice.

Only after the demonstrations there was some public dialogue, as the following quotations demonstrate:

"A significant segment of the Syracuse community has tended to dismiss student supporters of civil rights demonstrations as...uninformed and irresponsible faddists. In response to these allegations, we, the undersigned students (300 names) of LeMoyne College, issue this declaration of the basic factors which influenced our own support of these protest actions....."

(*Source*, a public statement which also appeared in a quarter-page advertisement in the Syracuse *Post-Standard*.)

"We are in full agreement with the objectives, the direct non-violent action methods and the sense of urgency of the Syracuse civil rights protest movement. Civil disobedience is a time-honored method for rectifying unjust forms of law and order, and as such it respects and fulfills the fabric of law and order. We uphold disciplined, non-violent civil disobedience as a legitimate form of civil protest."

(*Source:* a public printed statement, part of which appeared in a *Post-Standard* news story, signed by 18 Syracuse Protestant Ministers.)

"The Catholic Interracial Council agrees with the aims of the protesting organizations. We, too, over the years, have fought to educate Syracusans to the truth of the race problem and to persuade them to a just solution.

"So long as the present attitude of racial prejudice continues, the Urban Renewal program is both villain and victim for the only way it can be implemented is by continuing a pattern of racial segregation.

"...We specifically urge that a program include scattered site public housing, stringent code enforcement by prosecution, the granting of enforcement powers to the Mayor's Commission in order to make it an effective instrument."

(*Source:* a public statement by the Catholic Interracial Council as reprinted in the Syracuse *Post-Standard*, October 21, 1963.)

"We, the undersigned citizens of the Syracuse area, (75 names of prominent citizens) resolved that a just and democratic community be achieved in fact – NOW – know that:

"The civil rights protest now taking place in city is based on real grievances.

"The city's proposed plans for rehousing families displaced by the present Urban Renewal program are inadequate and are perpetuating the present segregation housing pattern....."

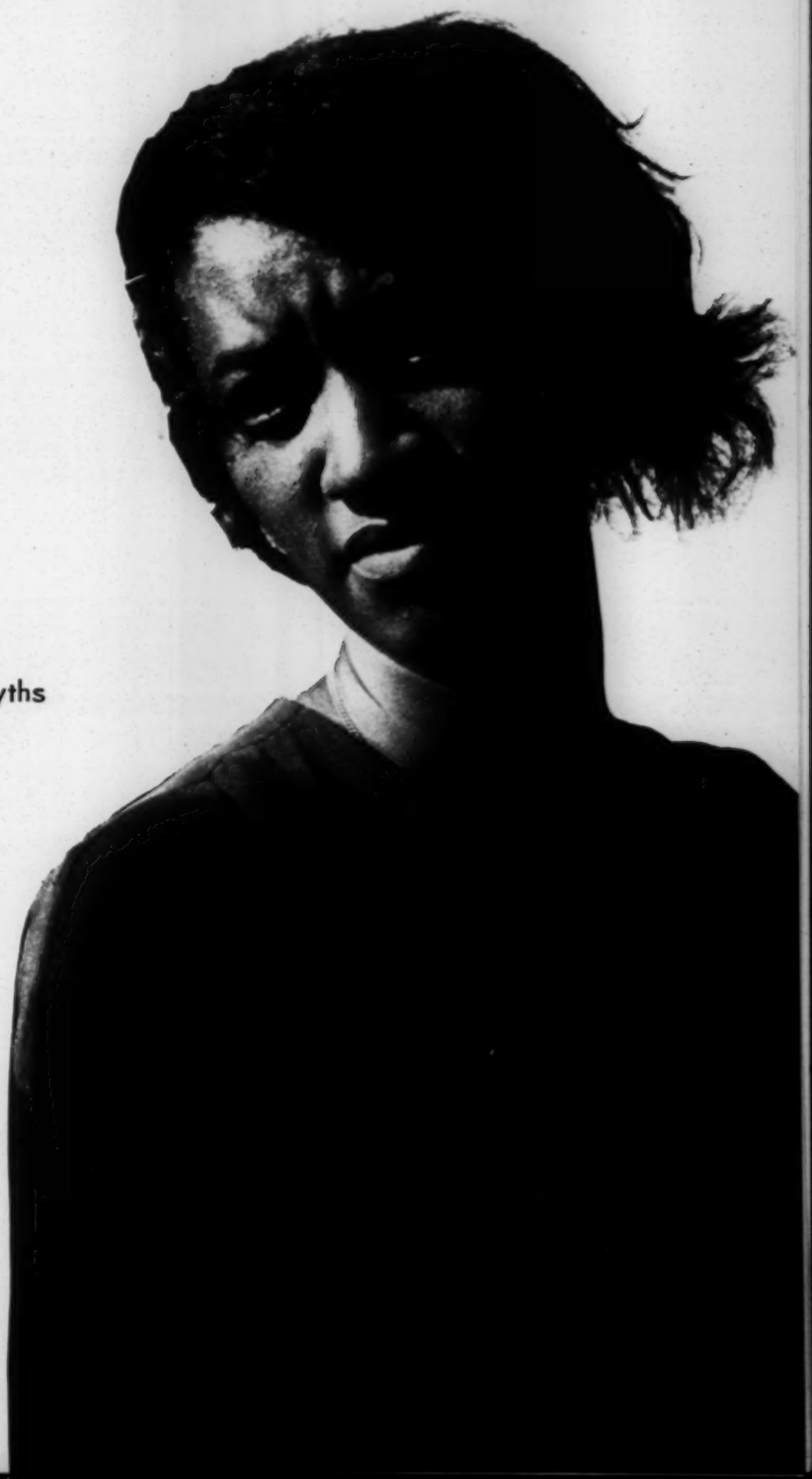
(*Source:* a September 25 *Herald-Journal* advertisement.)

There was other support. But the largest obstacles to meaningful discussion of and progress in racial equality in Syracuse cannot take place until some basic myths are challenged.

This publication is an attempt to challenge some myths – myths which barricade communications, myths based on error, and myths perpetuated on the vehicles of stereotypes, slogans and catch phrases distributed in an information monopoly.

This publication cannot "answer" or "eliminate" the myths, or even challenge all myths which appear in Syracuse media daily. But this publication hopefully is a beginning, a cry in a moral wasteland where, outside of some Syracuse churches and several public meetings, there has been no relevant cry at all.

All photographs in this publication were taken in Syracuse, New York, United States of America, August and September, 1963, the 20th Century, A.D.



**ASSERTION:** "The Syracuse community, both from a public and private standpoint, is not anti-Negro."

*(**SOURCE:** Joseph V. Ganley, reporter, Syracuse Herald-American, September 22, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "There is discrimination against Negroes in private housing. No one denies that fact categorically. Syracuse is not 100 per cent 'open occupancy' city."

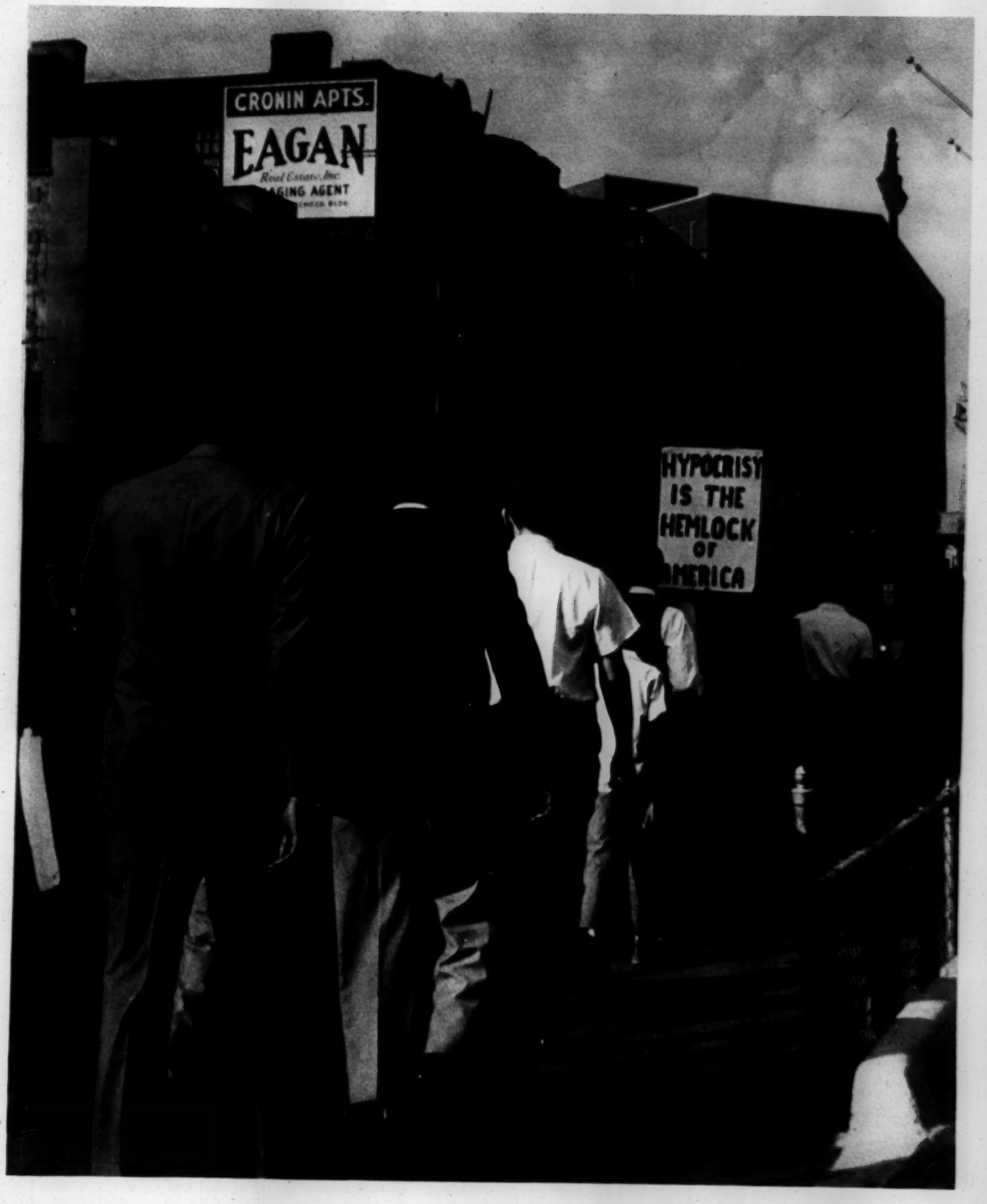
*(**SOURCE:** Same reporter, same article, same issue, three paragraphs below.)*

**ANOTHER REPLY:** "CORE last night presented about 20 grievances (Editor's Note: that is, 27 formal complaints, properly filed) to representatives of the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights and the State Committee (sic) for Human Rights.

"CORE said that 44 apartment houses were visited last week by Negroes and white members of the civil rights group. Of these, 27 landlords or 61 per cent of those visited, either refused to rent to Negroes or discriminated in price. (Ed's Note: that is, cited a higher rent figure to the Negro than to the white applicant.)

"Hale (executive secretary of the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights)...told CORE members that the city commission, under state law, cannot accept grievances that have been filed with other agencies or in court."

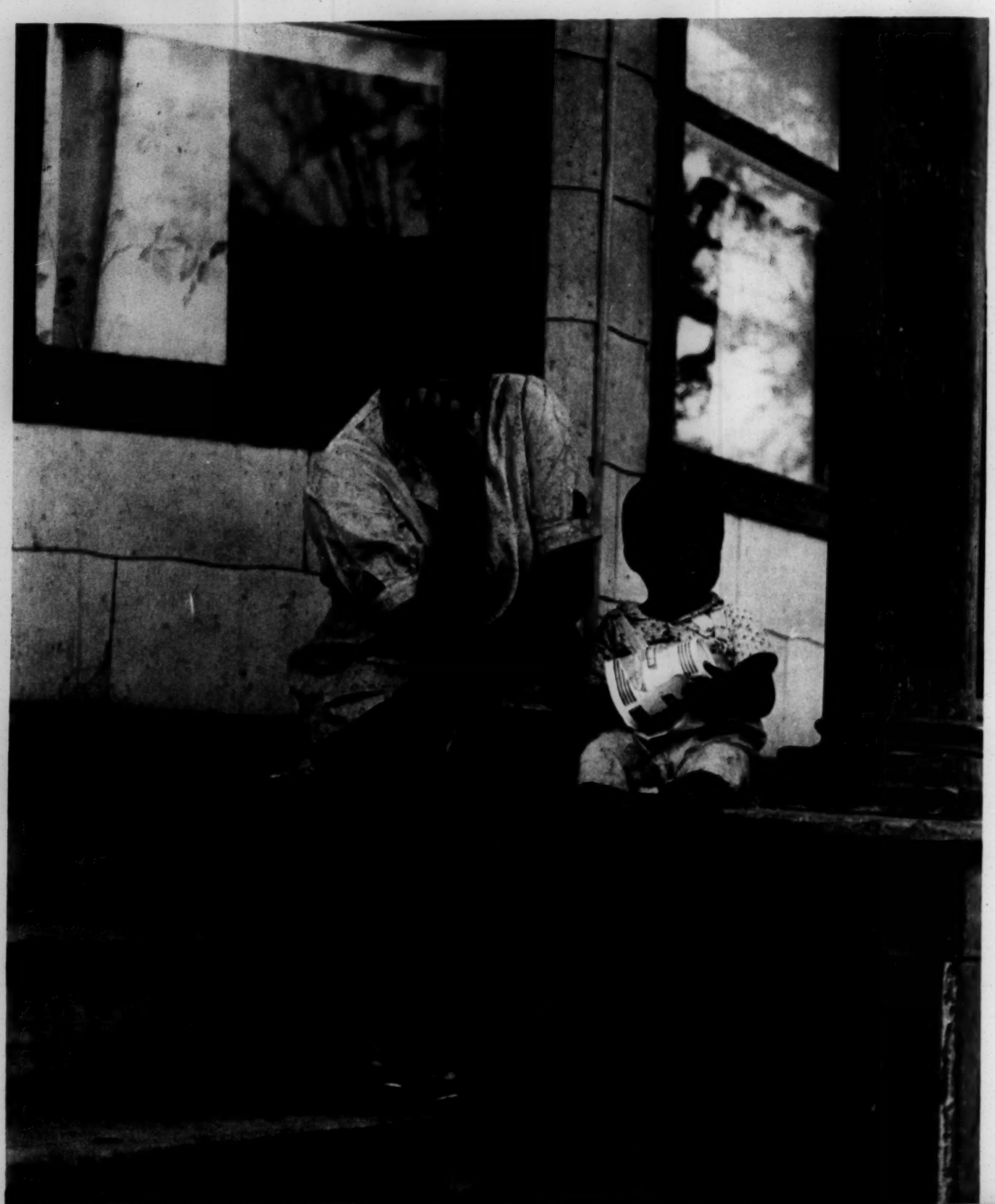
*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Post-Standard, November 4, 1963. Editor's Note: The September demonstrations were conducted because the Mayor would not agree to give enforcement, subponena and injunctive powers to his proposed Human Rights Commission. CORE protested that the commission would be ineffective without such powers and that without such powers there was no need for a city commission. CORE, in its negotiations with the Mayor, insisted that the State Commission for Human Rights could do everything and more than his proposed commission and that his aggressive leadership against discrimination, not an empty gesture and toothless city commission, is what Syracuse needed. For more information, write CORE for its newsletter "In the Wind", Volume I, Number 1.)*


CRONIN APTS.
EAGAN
Real Estate, Inc.
AGING AGENT
HYPOCRISY
IS THE
HEMLOCK
OF
MERICA

**ASSERTION:** "The cold fact is that Syracuse has an excellent story to tell on relocation and urban renewal – as good if not better than any northern city of its size."
*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Herald-Journal editorial, September 21, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "Forty-one per cent of all the housing complaints filed in up-state New York in 1962 came from Syracuse. This trend continues, in 1963, with 43 per cent of all up-state housing complaints received through July 31, originating in the city of Syracuse.

*(**SOURCE:** Commissioner J. Edward Conway, State Commission for Human Rights: public meeting on housing, October 2, 1963, Press Club Auditorium, Mid-Town Plaza, Syracuse – as printed by the State Commission on Human Rights. Editors Note: Copies of the statement, which included the above quotation, were distributed to the members of the press in the auditorium. Neither Syracuse newspaper has published these remarks.)*



**ASSERTION:** "In short, Syracuse has an all around record for fine performance in its integration effort that is not excelled anywhere in this country."

*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Herald-American editorial, September 15, 1963.)*

**REPLY:**

September 17, 1963

Dear Editor:

"Syracuse has as fine a record for relocating families forced out of homes by urban renewal as any city in the United States." If this statement, and others like them in Sunday's editorial, is true (and I for one would like to see it proven) then it is a sorry indictment indeed for the entire nation.

Have you ever inquired into the real difficulties met by the Relocation Office in trying to find adequate housing outside the center of the city for dislocated Negro families? Have you or has any high official in the city administration ever volunteered through your own church to help a Negro family find new housing?

I have done this for the past year and I know from meetings with other church relocation committees that we have all had the same experience. It is not a pretty picture.

We have gained a little insight into what it means to find an apartment suitable in every way only to have the door slammed in our face when we told the landlord that the prospective tenant is a Negro. We realize not that it is not enough for a Negro family to be educated, financially able, and neat – they should also be white, or all the other qualities do not count.....

Until we are able to face up to the fact that Syracuse, with its relatively small Negro population, is not one iota better than any other metropolitan area and earnestly seek to remedy our situation now, we are simply passing the problem on to the next generation and this coming generation may not be satisfied with peaceful picketing or non-violent civil disobedience.

*(**SOURCE:** Mrs. W. C. deVries in a copy of a letter to the editor of the Herald-American, never published.)*

**ANOTHER REPLY:** "...After more than 50 fruitless visits and another 50 leads, at least, we found a nice, clean, large, reasonable apartment whose owner would accept children and people of any race or creed...It was a double happy ending to our quest together. But what concerns me... are the number of people who said – and would say – 'Sorry. No place for them....' We can understand the basis on which Communists point the finger and report on the treatment given to one-tenth of the population in a so-called religious nation."

*(**SOURCE:** The Rev. Leon D. Sanborne, as published in An Aid to Relocation: Sponsorships, pp. 7-10, published by the Department of Urban Improvement, 211 E. Water St., Syracuse, N. Y. For other similar cases, consult that publication.)*

**ASSERTION:** "This chore (of relocating Negro families) was taken on at a time when there was a massive wave of in-migration of Negroes to Syracuse from the deep South.

"This wave more than doubled the Negro population in the city... Despite the housing problems posed by this influx of Negroes, who for the most part came from agrarian sections of the South and most (sic) accustom themselves to urban conditions, the city has continued its efforts to wipe out slums."

*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Herald-American front page article on urban renewal by Joseph V. Ganley, September 22, 1963. For other references to "the influx" of Southern Negroes in the Syracuse Herald-Journal, read the following editorials: "A Hoodlumism Review," December 2, 1962; "On Being a Racist," June 21, 1963; and "To Consolidate Gains," September, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "I have found that in some quarters it is believed that Syracuse had an over-whelming in-migration of Negroes from the South. (Census figures) show that 39 per cent of the city's non-whites were born in New York State; 72 per cent were living in Syracuse or Onondaga County in 1955; only 18 per cent were residing in a different state or abroad in 1955, and have settled in the county or the city since that date. These recent arrivals comprise 13 per cent of the total of the non-white population and account for 23 per cent of the increase of non-whites recorded in the period from 1950 to 1960. Obviously, these figures do not suggest extensive in-migration from the South or from any other area."

*(**SOURCE:** Commissioner J. Edward Conway, State Commission for Human Rights at the October 2, 1963 public meeting on housing cited above. Neither was this statement published in either local newspaper.)*

**ASSERTION:** "This wave (of Negro in-migration from the South) more than doubled the Negro population in the city. Specifically, U.S. census figures report that in the 10 years 1950-1960 the non-white population increased by 7,223, from 5,058 to 12,281."

*(**SOURCE:** Herald-American, front page story, September 22, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "Apparently 'Negro' and 'non-white' are used interchangeably. This is a gross error. The U.S. census publication for Syracuse (from which the reporter apparently drew his figure of 12,281) states (on page 3): "Negroes and persons of 'other races' taken together constitute 'non-white' persons." More accurately, Negroes constitute 11,210 persons in the city of Syracuse, the other 1,071 being 'other races.'

While these 'other races' constitute a relatively small proportion of the total non-white population, their inclusion with the Negro total is quite misleading – particularly when applied to the census maps. The heading at the top of the maps (published September 22, on the front page of the Herald-Journal) lables it The Negro Movement: 1950-1960. The legend at the bottom of the maps, however, indicates that they refer to the non-white population.

....Very closely allied to this is the legend indicating the number of persons per census tract. It would appear that the purpose of these gradations was to convey the impression that Negroes live in almost all parts of the city.

A closer examination, and a more accurate interpretation of census data, proves this impression is false. According to (the reporter), with the exception of census tracts 1 and 26, which are largely industrial, there are only four tracts in 1960 with no Negroes. In actuality, this refers to non-whites.

If one looks at census tracts without Negroes, the figure for the city is 12 out of 61, or roughly 20 per cent.....

Thus, if a single Japanese war bride or Onondaga Indian lived in a particular tract, the tract would be colored gray, conveying the impression that anywhere from 1-99 Negroes lived there!

*(**SOURCE:** Morton O. Wegenfeld, Research Associate, Youth Development Center – extract from a letter sent to the editor of the Syracuse Herald-Journal, never published.)*

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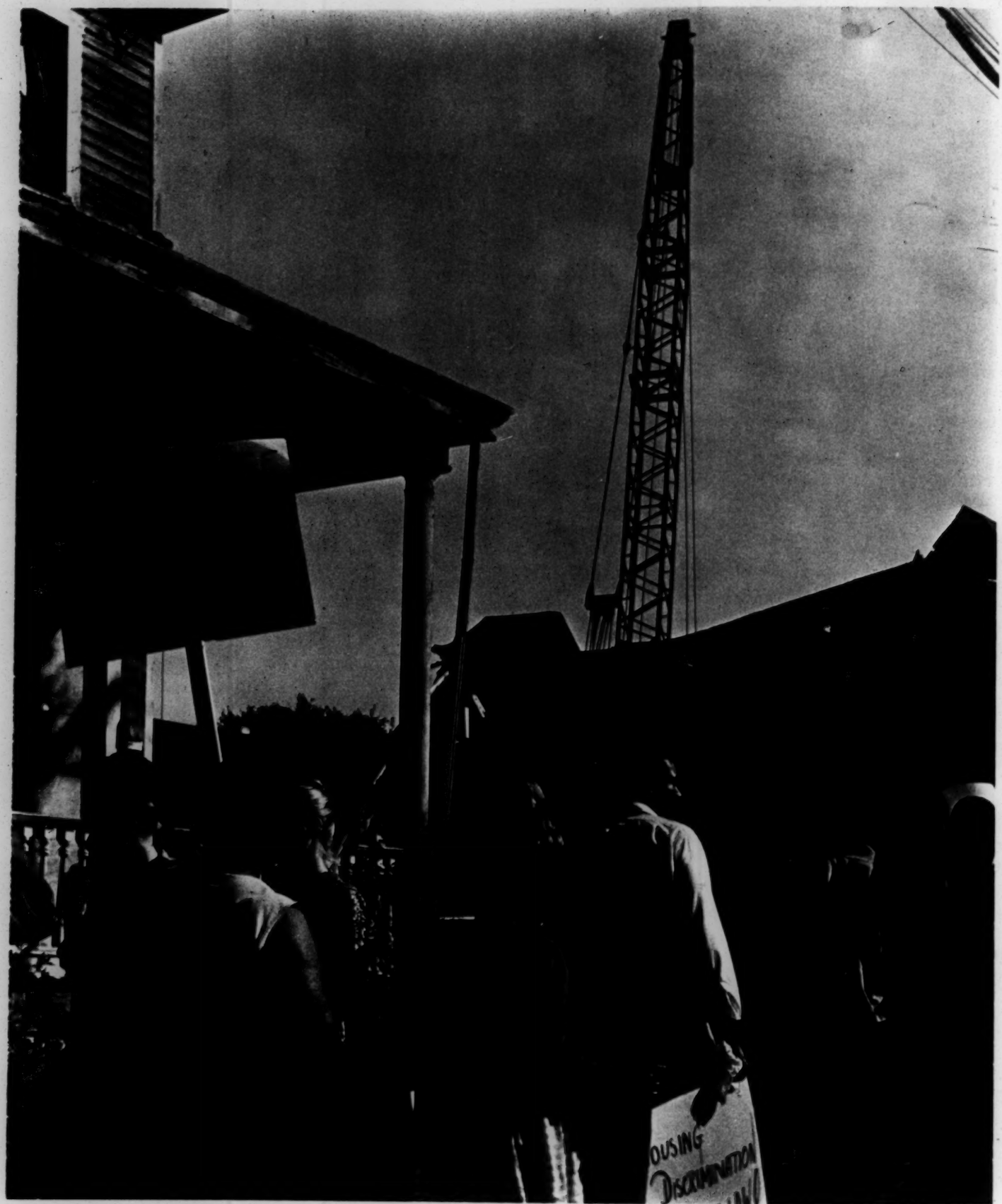

OUSING
DISCRIMINATION

**ASSERTION:** "They (the Negroes) are fully enfranchised American Citizens up here, entitled to every privilege their pocketbooks will permit."

*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Herald-Journal editorial, "To Consolidate Gains," Fall, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "In March, 1962, Capt. James Anderson of 101 Medora Place, a physician assigned as an examining officer at Syracuse's Armed Forces Recruiting Station, filed a complaint with the (State Commission for Human Rights) charging that...(a prominent attorney)...had refused to rent an apartment to him. Dr. Anderson is a Negro.

At a hearing **a year later** (EMPHASIS BY THE EDITOR) before the commission...(the attorney) admitted that he refused to rent the apartment to Dr. Anderson and said he did it because the doctor is a Negro."

*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Post-Standard, November 4, 1963, p. 6., "Court Requires Attorney Rent to Negroes".)*

**ANOTHER REPLY:** "The belief that most Negro families cannot afford to live outside the 15th Ward is contradicted by the facts of Negro family income when related to the average rents prevalent in thirty-five outer tracts (located a mile and a half radius from the center of the 15th Ward, or Negro ghetto).

"In 1960 there were 1,902 Negro families living in the 15th Ward. More than half of these families had incomes of over $4,000.

Assuming 20 per cent of income is spent for rent – and Negroes are forced to spend nearly 25 per cent of their income for private rentals in the 15th Ward – **983 Negro families could have afforded to live in the outer tracts."**

Specifically, 302 families with incomes of $4,000 to $5,000 could afford to live in 8 tracts where median rents ranged from $67 to $83; 277 families with incomes of $5,000 to $6,000 could afford to live in 12 tracts where median rents were $83 to $100; 240 families who earned $6,000 to $8,000 could afford to live in 12 tracts where median rents were $100 to $133; and 164 families with incomes over $8,000 could have afforded to live in the two highest rental tracts in the city."

*(**SOURCE:** Albert C. Ettinger, field representative, N. Y. State Commission for Human Rights; as quoted in letters-to-the-editor column, Syracuse Post-Standard, September 29, 1963. This letter was also sent to the Herald-Journal, but never published.)*

**ASSERTION:** "There will always be substandard housing in every community, a condition urban renewal aims to correct. But officials will tell you something we all know – that, like every other race and nationality, Negroes prefer to live with their own people."

*(**SOURCE:** "The Truth About Relocation," Syracuse Herald-Journal editorial, September 21, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "The assertion that Negroes prefer to live together is frequently made by descendants of nationality groups who did in fact prefer to live in close proximity because of their distinctive cultural backgrounds, particularly with respect to a foreign language and/or a "minority" religion.

"In this regard it might be pointed out that the culture of the American Negro is more Anglo-Saxon than that of any minority group except the English. Fear of prejudice and discrimination are effective deterrents to "pioneering" with respect to many Negroes.

But the whole argument is really beside the point. There can be no objection to persons who wish to live in enclaves, but they certainly should not be required to do so by discriminatory restrictions of the housing market."

*(**SOURCE:** Albert C. Ettinger, field representative, New York State Commission for Human Rights; as published in the letters-to-the-editor column, Syracuse Post-Standard, September 29, 1963. This letter also was sent to the Herald-Journal, but it has never been published.)*

**ASSERTION:** "I have statements from Syracuse businessmen and officials who testify that George A. Wiley has shown no interest in facts in any discussion."

*(**SOURCE:** Executive editor, Herald Journal editorial, September 15, 1963.)*

**REPLY:**

*Dear Mr. Wiley:* *August 20, 1963*

*As a member of the Educational Committee of the Syracuse Area Council of the State Commission for Human Rights, I should like to express my appreciation for the excellent work you have been doing on the problem of de facto segregation.*

*I am sure that contributions such as the one you have made will ultimately be the most important and influential factors in the furtherance of the cause of racial understanding.*

*I am happy to know, also, that the work of your fine committee is continuing. I feel certain that your initial contribution is the start of a series of helpful and progressive steps which will be of great assistance in our community.*

*Very truly yours,*

*William F. Walsh*
*Mayor*

(This letter from Mayor William F. Walsh, on the Mayor's official stationery, is on file at 609 East Adams, Syracuse. Dr. Wiley is CORE community relations director and an Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Syracuse University.)

**"From here on, what happens depends on whether a little group of radical crackpots is really determined on fomenting trouble."**

*(**SOURCE**: Syracuse Herald-Journal editorial, September 15, 1963, referring to the protest demonstrations in Syracuse, New York. The picture above was taken in front of Syracuse City Hall during the same demonstrations. Similar sentiment has been frequently expressed by Radio Station WOLF.)*

## EDITOR'S NOTE

**Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C., is quoted in this publication because of the ringing endorsement one of his speeches received from the *Herald-Journal*. On June 18, 1963, in an editorial responding to published criticism of its editorial policy as "racist," the Newhouse newspaper said in part:**

**"Next Sunday the *Herald-American* (the Sunday *Herald-Journal*; Syracuse is a monopoly newspaper town) will publish in full a speech made by Robert C. Weaver, Housing Administrator of the United States (sic), before the Fund for the Republic in Chicago. Mr. Weaver is a Negro and a brilliant man.**

**"In my opinion, this speech is the best exposition of the hopes and aims of the American Negro today that has been made in years by anyone."**

**What better source than this speech, praised by the *Herald-Journal*, to retort the *Herald-Journal*?**

**Weaver's speech, in part can be found in *The Negro as an American*, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.**

**ASSERTION:** "And so came the Polish folks and the Italians and the Jewish citizens-to-be in large numbers....And none of our newcomers created slums or complained they were being poorly treated." (***Herald-Journal** editorial, June 21, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** Implicit,...is the assumption that Negroes can lift themselves by their bootstraps, and that once they become brown counterparts of the white middle-class Americans, they will be accepted on the basis of individual merit. Were this true, our race problem would be no more than the most recent phase in the melting-pot tradition of the nation. But in comparison to the earlier newcomers from Europe, the later ones who are colored face much greater impediments in moving from the slums or from the bottom of the economic ladder and also have fewer resources to meet the more difficult problems confronting them." *(Robert C. Weaver, in a speech praised by the **Herald-Journal**.)*

**ASSERTION:** "Each (immigrant) group had its national organizations – singing societies, social and religious organizations, neighborhood clubs." *(**Herald-Journal** editorial, June 21, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "One of the most obvious examples of the Negro's lack of internal resources is the absence of widespread voluntary organizations. As we know, such organizations contributed greatly to the adjustment and assimilation of European immigrants. Both the Negro's heritage and the nature of his migration in the United States have militaged against the development of similar institutions for Negroes.

"Slavery and dependence upon whites that continued after the Civil War stifled self-reliance. Movement from the rural South to northern cities was far different from immigration for Europe to the New World. This internal migration was not a real break with the past, as it was with the Europeans, nor were those who participated in it subjected to feelings of complete foreigness. Thus, the Negro tended to preserve his old institutions when he moved from one part of the nation to another. The European immigrant, on the other hand, created new ones. Most importantly, the adjustment of non-whites to an urban environment today is happening at a time when public agencies are rapidly supplanting voluntary organizations." *(Robert C. Weaver in a speech praised by the **Herald-Journal**.)*

**ASSERTION:** "Certainly enough progress in racial equality has not been made in the last 100 years, but amazing advances in the economic and social position of our colored population have been recorded none the less." *(Herald-Journal, editorial, May 9, 1963)*

**REPLY:** "Of course there are those who observe that the average income, the incidence of home ownership, the rate of acquisition of automobiles, and the like among Negroes in the United States are higher than in some so-called advanced nations. Comparisons like this mean little...As he has so frequently and eloquently demonstrated, the Negro in America is an American. His status, no less than his aspirations, can be measured meaningfully only in terms of American standards.

"Viewed from this basis, what are the facts?

"Median family income among non-whites was slightly less than 55 per cent of that for whites in 1959; for individuals, the figure was 50 per cent.

"Only a *third of the Negro families* in 1959 earned enough to sustain an acceptable American standard of living. Yet this involved well over a million Negro families, of which 6,000 earned $25,00 or more.

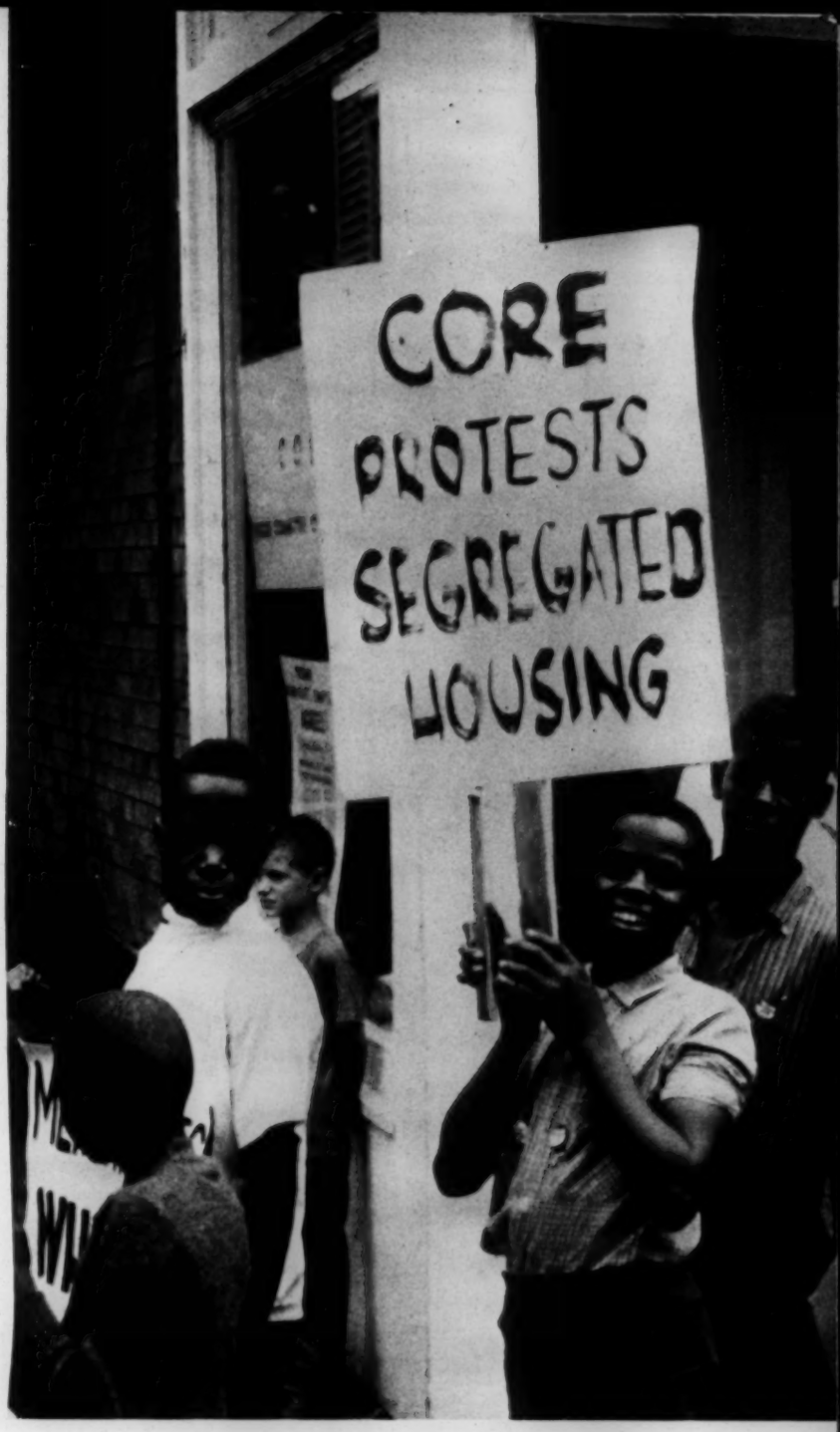
"Behind these figures are many paradoxes. Negroes have made striking gains in historical terms, but their current rate of unemployment is well over double that among whites. More than two-thirds of our colored workers are still concentrated in five major unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, as contrasted to slightly more than a third of the white labor force.

"Despite the continuing existence of color discrimination even for many of the well prepared, there is a paucity of qualified Negro scientists, engineers, mathematicians, and highly trained clerical workers. Lack of college-trained persons is especially evident among Negro men. These figures show why:

"In 1959 non-white males who were high school graduates earned, on the a v e r a g e, 32 per cent less than whites; non-white male college graduates earned 38 per cent less.

"The absence of economic rewards for higher education for men goes far in accounting for the scarcity of male college graduates among non-whites and the high rate of drop-outs."

***(SOURCE:** Robert C. Weaver, in a speech praised by the Herald-Journal.)*




**ASSERTION:** Why then should not Negro leaders express pride in their race and instill that pride in their race and instill that pride in their children instead of coming into court with the camouflage that their future depends on sitting next to a white in school." *(Herald-Journal editorial, "To Consolidate Gains," Fall, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "It must be recognized that the Negro cannot suddenly take his proper place among whites in the adult world if he has never lived, played, and studied with them in childhood and young adulthood." *(Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, as quoted by Robert C. Weaver, in a speech praised by the Herald-Journal.)*

**ANOTHER REPLY:** "The challenge frequently thrown to me is: Why don't you go out to the Negro community and exhort Negro youths to prepare themselves for present and future opportunities?....

"Many of the youth whom I am urged to exhort come from broken homes. They live in communities where the fellow who stays in school and follows the rules is a "square." They reside in neighborhoods where the most successful are often engaged in shady – if not illegal – activities. They know that the very policeman who may arrest them for violation of the laws is sometimes the pay-off man for the racketeers. And they recognize that the majority of society, which they frequently believe to be the "enemy" condones this situation. Their experience also leads some of them to believe that by getting the kind of job the residents in their neighborhood hold is merely a commitment to hard work and poverty. For almost all of them, the precepts of Ben Franklin are lily-white in their application." ***(SOURCE:** Robert C. Weaver in a speech praised by the Herald-Journal.)*

**ASSERTION:** "CORE has done much to dramatize the problems of the Negro in Syracuse, and no one will deny that these are very real and urgent. But the methods they have chosen have done more to lose them popular sympathy than to gain public support. Nothing is won by creating conflicts."

*(**SOURCE:** Syracuse Post Standard, September 14, 1963.)*

**REPLY:** "I must confess that over the last few years I have been gravely disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizens Councilor or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, 'I agree with your goal, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action!' Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will."

*(**SOURCE:** Martin Luther King.)*

**ASSERTION:** "Picketing in northern cities could develop into much worse incidents—which is what the forces of violence undoubtedly hope for." (*Syracuse Herald-Journal*, editorial, May 29, 1963)

**REPLY:** "Many white Americans are perplexed, confused or antagonized by the persistent pressure of Negroes to break down racial segregation. Few pause to consider what involuntary segregation means to its victims. To the Negro, as an American, involuntary segregation is degrading, inconvenient, and costly. It is degrading because it is a tangible and constant reminder of the theory upon which it is based – biological racial inferiority. It is inconvenient because it means long trips to work, exclusion from certain cultural and recreational facilities, lack of access to conveniently located restaurants and hotels, and, frequently, relegation to grossly inferior accommodations. Sometimes it spells denial of a job; often it prevents upgrading based on ability.

*(Robert C. Weaver, speech praised by Herald-Journal)*

## A SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN SYRACUSE

CORE, as early as June, 1963, attempted to constructively bring the human element into the Syracuse urban renewal program.

On June 27, 1963, two CORE representatives, Everett Makinen and Dr. George Wiley met with Mayor Walsh. They displayed a map, prepared from Relocation Office statistics, which illustrated that 97 percent of relocation of Negroes had been in the Ghetto or adjacent areas, mostly in sub-standard neighborhoods. The CORE representatives presented a nine-point program to suggest to the Mayor how to improve relocation and implement true neighborhood integration in Syracuse. The representatives said civil rights groups would be looking for a positive program, not just a power-less commission, and that direct action would be used if the Mayor did not respond. CORE turned to "the private sector:"

During July 1963, CORE sent letters to the major real estate firms and banks, asking that the Real Estate Board formulate an anti-discrimination program. Real estate firms were presented with specific suggestions for non-discrimination. A few of the firms answered this letter; some firms pledged non-discrimination; the over-whelming majority denied discrimination existed. The same cycle was experienced with banks.

The result, in short, was frustration and almost no response to discrimination suffered by Negroes in Syracuse. Clearly, leadership from the "public" sector was needed.

On August 26, 1963, a march on the County Courthouse by CORE, NAACP, IUE Civil Rights Committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was staged. The Mayor mentioned his proposed civil rights commission, but did not suggest any action program, nor did he offer any program to implement the commission's goals or respond to CORE'S nine-point program.

On August 28, 1963, direct action against the urban renewal demolition sites began, and a letter was sent to the Mayor asking him to stop demolition until the serious relocation problems were attacked with a positive program.

In response to the direct action, the Mayor, for the first time since June 27, publicly acknowledged receiving the nine-point program. After sitting on the proposal for three months the Mayor rejected it as an "ultimatum." In his "answer" he touched on each of the nine points, but he inadequately covered most of the issues and problems raised by the points. Any reading of the nine-point program, along with the Mayor's letter, will reveal this.

Again in response to continued picketing and sit-ins, the Mayor agreed to negotiate with the three civil rights groups. At this time, and not before, he began drafting his own "action program." It was released along with a copy of a proposed ordinance for a civil rights commission on September 19 for publication on September 20. It came closer to adoption of CORE'S nine points.

On September 22, CORE announced that the Mayor's new promises, which followed weeks of demonstrations and arrest, formed "a skeleton which could provide a fruitful basis for the satisfaction of the needs recognized by all reasonable people." CORE said the Mayor's proposed Human Rights Commission – with proper subpoena, injunctive and enforcement powers – could be effective in combating discrimination.

There was no response from the Mayor.

On September 30, the Common Council established the Mayor's proposed Commission on Human Rights without any powers.

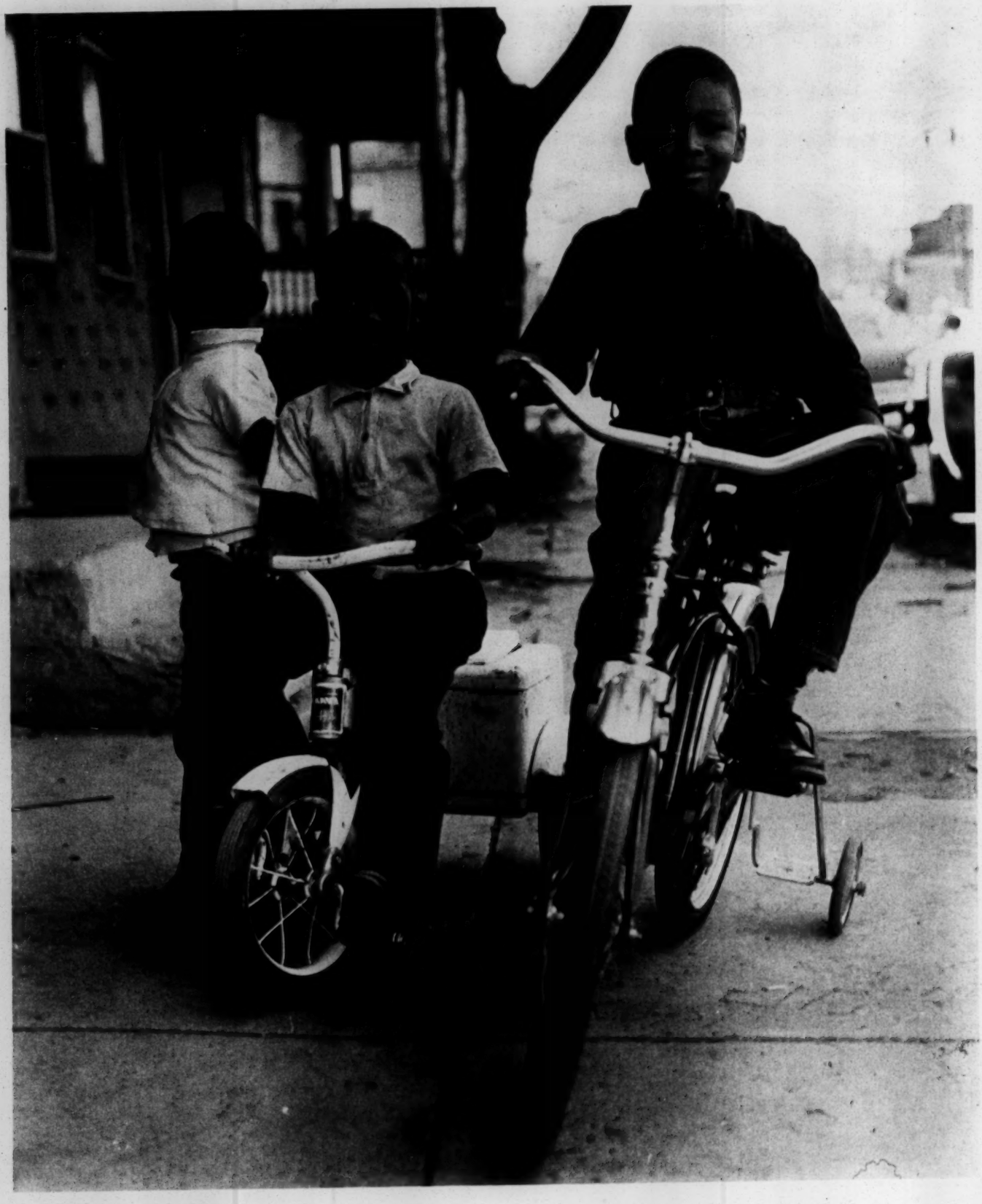
When the Commission was formed, Mayor Walsh said: "The formation of the City Commission on Human Rights represents the accomplishment of a goal . . . . . I am personally convinced this type of commission represents the best vehicle and the best approach to the solution of discrimination at the local level. (*Post-Standard*, October 4).

What did the Mayor mean? He was hoping the establishment of the commission would quell protest and alleviate him of any responsibility.

On November 4, CORE presented 27 cases of housing discrimination which came out of the testing of 44 apartments listed in the local newspapers. Robert Hale, executive officer of the Mayor's commission, turned down the complaints. He said the commission had no power to act on the cases. He advised CORE to file the cases to the New York Commission on Human Rights.

At a meeting on October 30, the Mayor's Commission ruled it had no power to accept housing complaints, then the commission endorsed observance of International Human Rights Day, December 10.

Then it adjourned.



# Statement by New York *CORE* Chapters on School Integration

## January 16, 1964

CORE is devoted to the fight for an integrated society through nonviolent direct action, and for a basic social and economic change in the condition of minority groups—in housing, employment and education. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, *Brown* vs. *the Board of Education of Topeka*, pointed out the necessity for integration in education. The Supreme Court held that segregated schools are inherently inferior and that the education a student receives in the segregated school has a negative effect on his personality. There can be no doubt that the segregated school cannot, even under the best circumstances, overcome the destructive effects which the society outside the classrom inflicts on the individual. The white student in the artificial atmosphere of the segregated classroom is led to think that he is superior because he goes to a separate school; he does not learn how to live with the other people with whom he must share this world.

New York State Commissioner of Education Allen this summer called for local school boards across the state who have a racial imbalance in their schools to attempt to get a 50/50 racial balance. In order to accomplish this and to meet the needs of New York City students, the Board of Education must make integration top-priority, and come up with a positive program for integrating now.

On September 5, 1963 the Board of Education, the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Education and the City Commission for Human Rights, in the presence of Stanley Lowell (chairman of the Commission), signed a written agreement with the Board of Education that the Board would submit a tentative report and plan for integration by December 1, 1963, and that a final plan for integration of the New York City schools would be available by February 1964. The plans, with a timetable for integration, were to be worked out in consultation with the Civil Rights organizations and were to "include provisions for a substantial, realistic and working program of integration in every school district in September 1964." The Board has failed to live up to this agreement.

Even a quick look at the state of education in New York City will show why parents are so angry. It is a dreary picture of a system that handicaps our children and then discharges them into the city streets with little preparation for meeting the harsh reality that they quickly come up against when they try to get a job.

New York City schools are segregated and understaffed; they are overcrowded and under-equipped. Thousands of classrooms are greatly overcrowded. Many of the school buildings are ancient and deteriorated; many are unsafe. Many teachers are inadequately trained and methods are outdated; they are still underpaid and burdened with non-classroom chores. Many teachers are demoralized and fail to understand the problems that children have in the 1960's. Curricula, particularly in social studies and history, do not satisfy the needs of our multi-ethnic group city population.

*CORE is deeply concerned that:*

**30% of all teachers and 50% of those in minority group schools are substitutes.**

**that in just the last six years the number of almost completely segregated elementary and junior high schools has more than doubled, from 77 in 1958 to 165 presently.**

**that 239 school buildings currently in use were built before 1910.**

**that over 70% of junior high school mathematics teaching positions are filled by substitutes and teachers trained in other fields.**

**that the class size in New York City is the largest in the country, the size of classes in elementary and high schools has continued to rise over the last ten years.**

There is every reason for New Yorkers to be dissatisfied with this second-rate educational system.

With Negro and Puerto Rican children constituting 41% of public school enrollment, we might expect to find about that percentage in each school. But there are 320 of 581 elementary schools 90% or more segregated and 70 of 136 junior high schools which are 85% or more segregated. Even on the junior high level where children travel to school, 55% of minority children attend schools which are 75% or more segregated.

The effect of segregated schools on Negro and Puerto Rican children can no longer be disputed. The Public Education Association in their 1956 study found that the arithmetic and reading achievement levels of minority group sixth graders were two years behind their white contemporaries; eighth graders were three years behind. More recent studies by Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, the Brooklyn Parents Worshop for Equality in New York City Schools, and the Urban League of Greater New York found that the achievement gap has widened.

In the last six years there has been a 102% increase of almost completely Negro and Puerto Rican schools in relation to the total number of schools. This increase can be only partly attributed to the 34.4% increase in the ratio of Negro and Puerto Rican children to the entire school population. The City administration through the City Planning Commission's placement of public housing in segregated areas is also to blame. But foremost responsible is the Board of Education, for:

1) **Allowing the City Planning Commission to select the sites for construction which, since June, 1959, produced 38 segregated schools out of a total of 45. Twenty of the 26 schools presently under construction are in segregated neighborhoods. Thirty of the 51 schools included in the 1963-64 Capital Budget for Advanced Planning and/or Site Selection will be in segregated neighborhoods.**

2) **Allowing gerrymandered school district lines which prevent integration.**

3) **Failing to come up with a positive plan for integration.**

CORE insists that the education of children in this city be greatly improved, that the basic underlying problems be attacked, and that every child be provided with a decent classroom situation so that he can get the maximum benefits from his education. We believe that this can be accomplished for the children of New York City (black and white) only if the kind of classroom situation is created where all children are integrated without regard to ability-level (as established by artificial tests), and where Negro, White, Puerto Rican, and other minority children begin going to school together in the early grades. To do this the class size must be significantly reduced so that each child can get the personal attention that he or she needs in order to make the educational experience most profitable to him. These programs must be begun immediately on the lower grade levals and where they can be implemented on the higher grades they should also be started this year.

To achieve quality, integrated education in our public schools the Board must develop and implement a dynamic, comprehensive program. The following points should be included in the overall plan:

I. *Timetable:* In an agreement between the Board of Education and the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools in the presence of the City Commission on Human Rights, the Board of Education obligated itself to submit a plan for the integration of public schools in New York. This plan must provide substantial integration in every district beginning with the school year of September, 1964. Until the Board presents this timetable as evidence that it is immediately and specifically confronting the task of integration, the civil rights groups of this city must continue to prepare for a boycott on February 3, 1964.

We firmly believe the basic responsibility for implementation rests with the Board of Education, not with local school boards. As a basis for consultation and in order to make clear to the public our position we are submitting what we consider to be the basic ingredients of an effective timetable, the details of which should be developed and approved jointly by the Board and representatives of the City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools with periodic progress reports presented to the Committee.

II. *Class Size:* In the last seven years average class sizes have increased in elementary and high schools. Integrated, heterogeneous classes of no more than 15 children aid in the full development of each child. If 1 master teacher and 2 assistants are used, then the maximum class size should not be over 30.

The number of classroom teacher's aides and clerical workers must be increased so that trained teachers can be freed and provide personal instruction and guidance.

Full utilization of available classroom space is necessary. Bussing may be necessary to insure proper use of existing facilities, so that every child will have a seat to sit in and so that class size can be reduced in highly populated areas.

III. *School Zones:* The present school zones must be withdrawn to maximize integration. A substantial number of schools can be integrated immediately by redrawing zone lines. The Princeton Plan must be used whenever possible to begin integration among the young children. (A Princeton Plan pairs two neighboring elementary schools so that all the Kindergatren to third grade teachers and children are in one school and all the 4th to 6th grade teachers and children are in the other.)

Junior high schools and high schools can be better integrated by changing the feeder patterns that determine which elementary schools send their students to the high schools. Most high school students and many of our junior high students already travel long distances. These students should be immediately integrated.

New school sites should be selected by the Board of Education (not the City Planning Commission) to provide for the maximum possible integration. Also, a less bureaucratic and less time consuming method for getting approval for construction of new schools must be worked out by the mayor. Many new schools are needed now.

In working out the details of all these proposals the Board of Education should work in cooperation with the City-Wide Committee for Integration to insure that the plan for Integration truly reflects the needs of the minority community.

IV. *Staff:* There should be significant improvements in the training, selection and promotion processes for teachers and supervisors.

The Board of Education should work closely with the Board of Higher Education to guarantee that there will be thousands of additional licensed teachers to effectuate a significant reduction in class size. Many of them should be Negro and Puerto Rican.

The Board should insure that the Board of Examiners no longer uses southern drawls or Spanish accents to exclude otherwise capable teachers.

There should be a significant increase in salary in order to provide the incentive for many more people to become teachers.

The Board should actively recruit teachers from every walk of life and ethnic grouping. This is most important at the level of promotion and selection of supervisors.

The Board should offer courses for those willing to become supervisors.

There should be in-service credit courses in Negro history, sociology and in the effects of discrimination on children in order to give teachers a better understanding of the role of minority groups in American life.

Courses in Spanish should be required for teachers in training and should be provided for regular teachers for in-service credit.

V. *Special Services and Staff:* At the present time there must be a significant increase in the number of specialized personnel: remedial reading teachers, guidance counselors, psychologists, etc. They should be assigned in sufficient numbers to meet the needs of the students of each school.

Some special services will also be required such as after-school study centers for those children who do not have the space at home to study in.

Guidance counselors should be required to acquaint minority students with the present needs and openings in the school system, and should encourage exploration of new openings and opportunities. They should also be required to take courses in Negro history, sociology and the effects of segregation on the personality. Specialist groups should be integrated with qualified personnel from minority groups.

VI. *Curriculum and Texts:* The Board of Education must keep its promise to revise curriculum and texts so as to accurately show the minority community in its current and historic role in American life.

VII. *Remedial Programs:* Generations of students have passed through the school system and were hindered in their full development by the bad quality of the education which they received. In order to correct these bad effects, there should be a full scale remedial program. This program should provide courses in all basic subjects and skills where needed. These classes should be conducted during the school day and should have special funds set aside for them. Teachers can be provided by training those who are available now. The students who are allowed to take the courses should be chosen on the basis of need and not on the basis of first come first serve.

VIII. *Scholarships:* Scholarships are badly needed and should be provided to children who are potential dropouts because of economic need. We must provide a real alternative for the student who wants to leave school to contribute to the family income.

IX. *School Board Representation:* The Board of Education is supposed to reflect the community it represents, therefore the need is felt for greater participation by Negro, Puerto Rican and other minority group leaders and for those who represent points of view other than the prevailing one. There should be membership on the Board of Education by those who believe in integration of the school system.

X. *Monetary Commitment:* We call upon the Mayor and Governor to cease avoiding their responsibilities to provide the Board of Education with funds ample to carry out the above programs.

Education

# STATE OF NEW YORK

No. 1226

# IN CONVENTION

June 12, 1967

Introduced by Mr. NORTON—read once and ordered printed and when printed, referred to the Committee on Education

A PROPOSITION

To amend article eleven of the constitution by adding thereto a new section, in relation to creating a temporary school district to provide more effective educational upgrading within economically deprived urban areas of more than four hundred thousand population

*The Delegates of the People of the State of New York, in Convention assembled, do propose as follows:*

Section 1. Article eleven of the constitution is hereby amended by adding thereto a new section, to be section four, to read as follows:

*§ 4. Within a territory containing one hundred thousand residents within a municipality of more than four hundred thousand residents, upon the petition of twenty-five hundred residents, the commissioner of education shall create a temporary school district as a part of the free education system of the state of New York.*

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old Constitution to be omitted.

*This temporary district shall be autonomous and have the same status as the then existing public school system of the affected municipality except that the school board for the temporary school district shall be elected by residents of the affected territory and the staff shall be appointed by that school board.*

*As this section is legislative in nature and to correct a temporary social dilemma, this section shall be effective for ten years. Within two years after the adoption of this section the temporary school district shall be immune from consolidation, annexation, or the like. After two years until the expiration of this section the commissioner, without referendum, may consolidate, annex, or the like, the school district to any other adjoining school district in the event that the commissioner deems that the social problems of the temporary school district have not been substantially corrected by the temporary school district. After ten years from the date of adoption of this section, the constitutional protection of this section shall cease, and the commissioner may at will annex, consolidate, or the like, the temporary school district with any adjoining school district. The legislature may enact legislation to carry out the intent of this section, however, in the event the legislature shall not act, the rules of the education department shall be binding except that certification of teachers may be waived by the temporary board of education as a requirement for hiring teachers.*

TO: VELMA HILL OR ALLAN HOFFMAN

A situation has developed at the Bronx High School of Science where some of the parents of the students at the High School re are refusing to sign absenses for their children as to the reason they were out last monday 2/3/64. Apparently, many of the parents did not want their children to participate in the boycott. Many of the students at Bronx High School of Science are wee worried that some of their fellow students will be expelled fr or suspended from school because the parents are either not writing the absense excuse or writing that they did not want their children to participate in the boycott.

A student from Bronx H.S. of Science called for Mrs. Isiah Robinson (AU 1-6333) and wants either of you to call her to state your opinion on tye the matter. If you receive any mis-direction from her you should contact a member of the Board of Education to see that these children are not suspended from school.

JoAnn Zimet

P.S. See me if this is not clear.

Call Thelma

Schools

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Robert Gore

## Syracuse School Board Is Picketed
## CORE Charges De Facto Segregation

Syracuse, N.Y., Aug 30: An issue that many Northerners have preferred to consider the particular headache of the South is being raised as a problem Syracusans must solve.

The Syracuse chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began picketing the Syracuse Board of Education over the issue of de facto segregation alleged by CORE to exist in the city school district. 19 Negroes and whites picketed the Board building. CORE chairman George Wiley announced that direct action, partially in the form of picketing will continue until responsible parties initiate decisive corrective action for ending school segregation.

### Picket Rockefeller

CORE also picketed a meeting of the Republican County Committee which was addressed by Governor Nelson Rockefeller. All members of the School Board are Republicans.

CORE decided to picket after the Board over a four-month period brushed aside repeated requests that it acknowledge its responsibility for the racial integration of the schools in its charge. During negotiations CORE asked the Board to recognize that de facto segregation may exist in Syracuse and establish a committee to study the school system and recommend possible action to achieve racial balance.

The Board has declined any action other than a resolution passed August 20 declaring willingness to cooperate with a "responsible committee to study the problems of community interrelation and tensions" if the Mayor should establish one.

More-More-More

# MEMO

File Education General

*From*
P. B. YOUNG
Public Relations

*To* FLOYD MCKISSICK

Floyd --

This is article we were discussing the other nite. As a practical matter, the big program that Joe Alsop advocates here is in conflict with his continued hawkish advocacy of the war in Vietnam.

Well, we're all sobering up these days. Even the hawks. Fissures are developing in the ice cap. Etc. I hope it is not too late.

pby Pete

Stewart's brother

# No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!

*by Joseph Alsop*

It is time to stop talking nonsense about Negro education. It is time to start dealing with the hard, cruel facts of the problem of the ghetto schools, which is in turn the very core of the race problem in the United States. Above all it is time to cease repeating, "End *de facto* segregation!" as though this virtuous incantation were a magical spell. For school desegregation must always be a central and essential goal; but sad experience has proved that desegregation is very far from being an instant remedy.

For any practical-minded man, who holds that putting an end to racial injustice is the highest and most urgent task of this country at this time, the foregoing are the only possible comments on Judge James Skelly Wright's much-publicized decision concerning the District of Columbia's schools. The school system of the capital is sordid and shameful, and Judge Wright's moral indignation is only too well founded, as *The New Republic's* Alexander M. Bickel pointed out in these pages two weeks ago. Yet this decision can even be described as wicked; for it is always wicked to hold out false hopes and offer fake panaceas to those in desperate need of hope and help. And that, in essence, is precisely what Judge Wright's decision has done to the people of Washington – a city which has gradually become no more than a gigantic Negro ghetto thinly concealed behind a pompous white federal façade.

In justice to Judge Wright, it must be said at once that his evident good intentions were by no means the only good features of his decision. His condemnation of the discriminatory "track system" was fully justified. His comparison between the District's school expenditure – near to the lowest per pupil of any big city in this country – and the District's police expenditure – the nation's highest *per capita* – was both pointed and valuable. It was useful to emphasize, too, that per-pupil outlays in the District's few remaining white and quasi-white schools exceed the outlays in the deep ghetto schools by over a third. But it must be noted also, in this connection, that Judge Wright was here unknowingly putting his finger on one of the greatest deficiences in the extremely deficient Coleman report (which seems to have influenced him greatly). For the Coleman report, as Samuel Bowles and Henry M. Levin have noted in an important paper, never tested its conclusions about "equal" education by exploring the widespread existence of differential, per pupil outlays *within* school districts, as here in Washington.

But all this sinks into insignificance, as compared with the main thrust of Judge Wright's decision, which was to put forward more desegregation as the solution for the ghetto school problem in Washington, and presumably, as the solution in all the other American big cities where the same problem is festering and growing more inflamed with every passing year. In Washington, to begin with, serious school desegregation is such an obvious impossibility that it is plain silly to talk about it. Officially, any school that is more than half Negro is defined as segregated. But in the District of Columbia, the primary and elementary schools are 93 percent Negro, and even the high schools are pushing up toward 90 percent. Therefore, total, forcible homogenization of the entire school system would still leave Washington with overwhelmingly segregated schools. Indeed, this kind of forcible homogenization would quite certainly result in even greater segregation; for the predictable consequence would be an increase in the Negro percentage in the primary and elementary schools from 93 percent to 98 or 99 percent.

*Unprepared* desegregation in a grossly underfinanced school system has in fact been one of the two main causes of this city's transformation into an urban super-ghetto – a kind of near-Watts on a metropolitan scale. Since the war, every one of the great urban centers above the Mason-Dixon line has received countless thousands of Negro immigrants from the South. From this cause alone, Washington's Negro population has grown very greatly; but Negro immigration has been only one aspect of the two-sided demographic movement that has now produced a city two-thirds Negro and one-third white. The other aspect, equally important, has been white emigration to the affluent suburbs. And the crucial role of the schools in this white emigration can in turn be clearly seen, if you merely look at those who have fled and those who have stayed behind. Those who have stayed behind num-

ber close to 250,000; yet this white population of about a quarter of a million includes only 13,000 children of school age! Of the District's 13,000 white children of school age, furthermore, rather more than 5,000 attend parochial or other private schools. The conclusion is inescapable that Washington's remaining white population is almost exclusively composed of (a) old people, (b) single people, (c) couples without children of school age, and (d) couples who can afford to send their children to parochial or private schools or who live in the few neighborhoods where the schools are still mainly white. No such demographic result as that shown above could conceivably have been produced in the normal course of events. It means, beyond question, that just about every white couple outside the above-listed categories has moved to the suburbs, at least as soon as it came time to send the children to school.

The available statistics are grossly inadequate, but enough is known to show that precisely the same kind of two-sided demographic movement is tending to produce much the same sort of result in a good many other American urban centers. Washington, which has been treated as an exceptional case, is merely an *advanced* case. The best figures I have got thus far are for last year. Taking the percentages of Negro children in the primary and elementary schools as the gauge, one can then show how far six other major cities have traveled to date, along the road that has made the nation's capital into a concealed super-ghetto. Here is the picture:

Baltimore, schools 64 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1954-55.

Chicago, schools 56 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1952-53.

Cleveland, schools 53 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1951-52.

Detroit, schools 57 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1953-54.

Philadelphia, schools 60 percent Negro, nearly equals Washington in 1954-55.

St. Louis, schools 64 percent Negro, equals Washington in 1954-55.

Two fundamental problems are revealed by these figures. The first is what may be called the progressive ghettoization of a whole series of America's great urban conglomerations. In the fairly near future, this phenomenon can too easily produce social and economic consequences that hardly bear thinking about. Ghetto city centers, from which even commerce, banking and industry will have fled to the fatly affluent white suburbs, are not an attractive prospect, either for the wretched ghetto-denizens, or for anyone else. But this is not the problem to which I have been trying to address myself. I have been trying to show, rather, that in almost all cases, the practical result of *unprepared* desegregation is *an enlarged ghetto with a greater number of segregated schools than there were in the first instance.* This has in truth been the experience in every major Northern city known to me. Furthermore, it has been the experience in a good many cases in which the ugly influence of racial prejudice can be effectively ruled out. In the first flush of civil rights enthusiasm, for example, the parents of a liberal-Jewish neighborhood in Brooklyn voted all but unanimously to pair their school with a nearby ghetto school. The New York Board of Education promised special support (which took the ludicrously inadequate form of a general patch-up of the school buildings). PS 7 and PS 8 were then merged, wholly on the motion of the white parents. But within a very short time, two segregated schools had come into being where there had been one before. The pairing caused school quality to go to Hell in a hack; and the white parents, seeing their children's education in jeopardy, either sent them to private schools or moved to the suburbs. And these were the very same parents, mind you, who had sponsored the pairing.

### *When the Burden Becomes Too Much*

This is only one item of evidence – there is a mass of it, for instance, in the supporting studies behind the Watts report – to show that school quality is a far more important factor than racial feeling, in this white flight from desegregated schools that has made such a mockery of the good intentions of people like Judge Wright. When a middle-class school receives a massive infusion of children of extremely deprived background – whether Puerto Rican, or Mexican-American, or Appalachian white, or Negro – there are only two possible results. Either the added burden of the disadvantaged, educationally retarded children becomes too much for the teaching staff, whereupon school quality promptly and shockingly deteriorates and middle-class emigration quickly begins. Or the local school authorities take all the special measures that are needed to maintain school quality, in which case – thus far an almost unheard-of case – there is an excellent chance that most of the emigration can be averted.

Nor is this the end of the grim story. If we are honest with ourselves, the overwhelming majority of the children of the ghettos are going to be educated exclusively in ghetto schools; and this is going to go on happening for many years to come, no matter how much poulticing and patching and court-ordering we

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JOSEPH ALSOP *is a syndicated columnist who lives in Washington, D. C. His most recent book is* From the Silent Earth.

may do. Free busing can and should be offered. Gerrymandered white school districts can and should be condemned (while due preparation is also made to maintain school quality). More integrated housing patterns can and should be promoted by every means possible. But these measures (strengthened, if you please, by every other measure you may happen to fancy) can never do more than fray the fringes of the ghetto school problem in cities with school populations 50 percent Negro and above. It is scandalous – it is indeed a bitter indictment of the large group in the American intellectual community that has concerned itself with the matter – that so few have been willing to face the distasteful, inescapable truth, which has been glaringly visible for years. The truth is that whatever else we may do, the problem of the ghetto schools must be mainly solved *inside the ghetto schools*, at any rate for a long time to come.

### *The Unique Non-Remedy*

As an example of the scandal, consider the recent Civil Rights Commission report on "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools." It shows that America's schools are just about as segregated as they ever were, despite all the court orders that have been issued since 1954, and all the attempts, more or less sincere, to comply with those court orders. It says nothing of the white emigration that has played such a huge role in making a nonsense of the court orders. Using evidence chosen with suspicious selectivity (and misusing it gravely at that, if the Philadelphia data are any guide), the report further seeks to discredit school improvement inside the ghettos. By implication, it takes the shocking though fashionable liberal educators' view once so bitterly but accurately summarized by Floyd McKissick in this journal's pages, that if you "put Negro with Negro, you get stupidity." And having established school desegregation as the unique remedy, the report finally proposes busing on a massive scale as the best means to secure desegregation. Yet the report is datelined Washington, where no amount of busing would make the school system anything but segregated – short of a constitutional amendment permitting forcible imposition of wholly different living and schooling patterns in the District, Maryland and Virginia. Are we then to conclude that more than 90,000 Negro schoolchildren in Washington are to be forever condemned to defeat and despair? Or are we to conclude that this report, like so many other very similar documents, is the product of the kind of self-serving reasoning that must too often be expected, alas, from virtuous academics with a personal vested interest in a badly researched theory?

The answer is, of course, that it is not only viciously heartless and socially disastrous, but also wholly needless, to accept the viewpoint of the Civil Rights Commission and Judge Wright. There is something arrogant, there is even something disgusting, in this strange view that ghetto children can never be rescued, can never be educated, unless they are subjected to the benign classroom influence of white middle-class children. Ghetto children have all the potential of any other children; but in their background of poverty and deprivation, they have a heavy handicap. What is needed, therefore, is to overcome the handicap, by those special measures I have already mentioned as useful and needful to prepare for school desegregation, wherever desegregation is feasible. This means taking a series of steps of the most ABC simplicity. First, the children's school experience must begin early, at least in pre-kindergarten. For the inability to speak common English, which afflicts so many children of the ghettos, can only be overcome by catching them very young. Second, they must be taught in small classes – not more than 15 in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten, and not more than 22 or so in grades one through six. Otherwise, *teaching* will cease and keeping order will become the sole aim. For ghetto children mainly come from homes wholly unoriented to learning and to books. Gaining and holding their learning-attention (which is the right way to maintain sound discipline) is therefore the most difficult feat for every teacher in every ghetto school. And only reduced classes permit good, average teachers to accomplish this feat. Third, a certain number of backup teachers are needed – one extra for each three or four classes – so that when Billy and Sally, Victor and Jane begin to fall behind, these laggards can be promptly gathered into still smaller classes, for more concentrated work until they catch up again. Fourth, all the obvious extras in the way of remedial reading, health care, psychiatric care, etc., also have to be provided. These are, in fact, the principal features of the More Effective Schools program, that has been under way in New York City for three years. One wonders why this program was not chosen for study by the authors of the Civil Rights Commission's report. Perhaps the answer is that in the More Effective Schools, all children have shown a very great average improvement, and those children who have begun in pre-kindergarten and continued on from there are actually performing, on average, *at grade level or above*. If this program had been chosen for analysis, it would have sadly undermined the thesis of the authors of the Civil Rights Commission report; but it is nonetheless quite wonderful news, which should be published in Mao-style Big Character Posters in the corridors of every university where educational theorists flourish.

That it should be news at all, is a considerable showup of the ways of thinking and working and dealing

with facts of all too many American white liberal intellectuals. In this instance, it goes without saying that properly prepared school desegregation is the ideal solution of the educational problem of America's Negro minority. It goes without saying, too, that wherever desegregation can be successfully accomplished, the moral and social duty to accomplish it must never be dodged or ducked, even if the needed preparations for successful desegregation are difficult, time-consuming and costly. But a good many of our liberal intellectuals never appear to have heard the rule, *"Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien"*; it never appears to occur to them, in fact, that exclusive pursuit of the ideal solution can prevent the practical solution; and few of them seem to have bothered to do the tedious homework, on urban demographic patterns, for instance, that would have shown them how far the ideal solution is out of reach for most ghetto children at present. Their performance would be less unadmirable, I must add, if they had been content to urge their ideal solution, despite its unreality for all but a small minority of ghetto children. But they have not been content. A good many of the liberal educators and sociologists have done everything possible to discredit and to block the practical solution of the educational problem of our Negro minority, which is radical school improvement inside the ghetto. These people seem to have taken the attitude, in fact, that if they could not get desegregation, nothing else would do – and to hell with the millions of Negro children who have little hope of entering integrated schools!

### *Quality on the Cheap*

This has been a main reason, one suspects, for the extraordinary belatedness and extreme paucity of the serious attempts to help these children, and for the almost universal failure to defend and support those attempts when they have been made. In New York in 1957, for instance, the Demonstration School Project produced excellent results at the high school level, at a cost of about $200 per pupil above the normal outlay. Whereupon the New York Board of Education, by an automatic reflex, tried to get the same results at about one-third the extra cost, in the Higher Horizons program, which was a flat bust. But did anyone protest the debasement of the Demonstration School Project into Higher Horizons? Almost no one did; and meanwhile a chorus of progressive educators has ever since been heard, proclaiming that Higher Horizons' wholly predictable failure was final proof of the uselessness of improved education in ghetto schools. In the same fashion, the More Effective Schools program, which has an extra per-pupil cost of about $430 a year, is beginning to be nibbled to death by the economy-ducks on the Board of Education; but no one has sprung to its defense except this writer and, far more importantly, the United Federation of Teachers, whose leaders largely devised the program. And this program, launched in 1964-65, is literally the first to produce clear test results showing that ghetto children can be given a fully adequate education in ghetto schools. For when the testers say that the children who were caught young enough by the More Effective Schools are performing, on average, *at grade level and above*, they merely mean that these children are performing just as well as white middle-class children. And this is the first case of complete victory over that terrible educational lag that is the curse of America's Negro minority.

For economic and social reasons, because of injustice and discrimination, above all, because of the circumstances in which this heedless, ruthless society condemns them to live, Negro children normally enter the first grade considerably behind white children; and worse still, they generally fall further and further behind, the longer they stay in school. On average, those who stay through high school are by then three and a half years below grade level, which means that the *average Negro high school graduate only has a slightly better than eighth grade education.* "Stay through high school" is in fact the right phrase, rather than "go through high school." Since the average is at the level of eighth-grade-plus, it is not surprising that the military draft tests have revealed a shockingly high proportion of functional illiterates, even among Negro high school graduates. Add the two-thirds and more of Negro boys and girls who drop out before finishing high school, and you have a frightening result.

Briefly, 400,000-plus eighteen-year-old Negroes are annually injected into this country's socio-economic bloodstream; but of these 400,000-plus, hardly 10 percent have the true equivalent of a normal white middle-class high-school education – which means no more than an ordinary *blue-collar education!* In other words, we annually add to the American body politic no less than 360,000 Negroes of both sexes who are wholly

COMING: *The no-longer silent welfare poor – by Richard Cloward & Frances Fox Piven*

unequipped to get or hold any job in which grossly deficient schooling is a handicap – and that means, more and more with every passing year, just about any job at all! If a malevolent and astute racist were asked to design a system guaranteed to prevent Negro achievement, to promote bitterness, frustration and violence, to perpetuate and even to intensify discrimination, this is the system that he would surely come up with. To reform this system, any outlay, any sacrifice, any effort, however great and however painful, is not merely a moral imperative; it is also a political and social imperative of the most pressing and urgent character. And the system is not going to be reformed, alas, by more desegregation orders.

### *What Will It All Cost?*

The outlays for adequate reform will be enormous indeed, when and if we make up our minds to pursue desegregation by all means possible, but also, and above all at this stage, to insure quality education in the ghetto schools that are beyond practical reach of early desegregation. The job can only be done by the federal government, for the cities and states are already overstrained; and it will cost billions – how many billions, no one has figured out, but certainly quite a number.

There are two points to make in this connection. First of all, anyone who discovered a reasonably reliable cancer cure, and then withheld it because of its expense, would be treated as a monster. And in effect, we are talking, here, about a social-political-economic cancer that is approaching the terminal stage. Secondly, however, the proof by the More Effective Schools that improved schools really can cure the cancer is by no means a proof that the MES program is the ideal cure. There may be other, better, perhaps cheaper ways to get comparable results. Since what is required is positive discrimination – by which I mean very much heavier investment per pupil in ghetto and other deprived neighborhoods – it is obvious that the discrimination should be no greater than is absolutely necessary. (In New York there is already resentment of the MES program, even within the ghettos, among parents of children whose neighborhood schools have not been included in the program – and since there are only 21 More Effective Schools, and expansion of the program has been halted by the duck-nibblers, that means, potentially, resentment by something like nine-tenths of the ghetto parents in New York.) Thus a systematic and unbiased effort should be inaugurated, to see whether comparable results can be attained in more economical ways. Such an effort should center in New York City, for the test-background of MES, though so brief, is unique and therefore essential for comparative purposes. Instead of unsystematic nibbling, such as the Board of Education has now begun, expansion of the MES program should clearly be resumed. A follow-on program should equally clearly be adopted, in particular in the relevant junior high schools. Otherwise many of the MES children will experience the kind of disheartening setback on entering jungle-junior-high, that the Head Start children have experienced when they have entered unimproved primary schools. But these supportive measures should also be combined with experiments to discover whether altering this or that expensive feature – using one back-up teacher for every four classes, instead of one for every three as at present, for example – will produce satisfactory results.

The only point on which there should be no compromise is the schoolchildren performing *at grade level.* And if even larger investments are shown to be required – for example, in recreational and para-education activities after normal schools hours, in the schools of the very most tragic neighborhoods – then there should be no nasty nonsense about this being "too expensive," to quote the mole-sighted new chairman of the New York Board of Education, Albert Giardino. When you are talking about cancer cures, "too expensive" is an impermissible phrase. And of course, in this systematic experimental effort, due attention should also be given to the other efforts of school improvement much more recently launched under Title I of the Education Act, which will surely be remembered as the greatest domestic achievement of the Johnson Administration. If one or another of these show, when the tests have all been made, that there is another, cheaper or better way to get the ghetto children to perform *at grade level,* that will be the system to back wholeheartedly.

In this business, there are only three rules. First, face the facts as they are, and deal with them as they are. Second, spend no more than is needed for the children to perform, on average, at grade level; for this is the outside limit of positive discrimination that other people are likely to tolerate. But, third, invest until it hurts cruelly, if need be, so that the average performance of the children of the ghettos reaches grade level or above; for there is no other cure for the cancer that threatens American urban life.

I am not so foolish as to suppose that the hoary, furtive vice of racial prejudice can be abruptly overcome by this long-range cure, any more than I suppose that *prepared* school desegregation can do more than greatly soften the effects of racial prejudice. But I submit, the white people of goodwill in America, and above all our well-intended liberal intellectuals, have been almost inconceivably unrealistic, flabbly-minded and lazy about learning the facts concerning this cardinal American problem. Take a minority differentiated

by skin color. Tolerate a national school system that gives nine-tenths of this minority an education very widely inferior to the normal education of blue collar workers, let alone persons of higher achievement. How, then, can you expect or hope for an end to discrimination and racial prejudice?

Or if you want the other side of the medal, look at the few areas in American life, in which prejudice and discrimination have been, if not absolutely banished, at least minimized in recent years to the point where there is no grave problem. Too few people recall that in the lifetimes of a good many of us, Marian Anderson and Joe Lewis were, in some sense, nine day wonders as well as precursors. And too few people are even aware that real integration of the armed services only began in the line in Korea. (I can still remember AWOL Negro soldiers from the segregated logistical units, and even from the unhappy 24th Regiment, coming up to the hottest parts of the line – one or two, or three or four, or even 10 or 12 a day – to ask whether there was any place for them in battalions in combat; and I remember, too, how they were warmly welcomed, though the battalion commanders always knew they were AWOL, simply because the line was stretched so thin in those first months of the war!) Yet in the arts – not just jazz, but all the arts and throughout show business – and sports and the armed services, discrimination has now been so largely overcome. And what has so largely overcome discrimination in these tragically few departments of our national life? Brilliant Negro achievements is the answer. And what has permitted this achievement in these special areas? Again, the answer is the relative easiness of achievement in these few areas, despite deficient schooling, for those with aptitude and ambition and courage.

*Moral Cart Before the Practical Horse*

Once again, I am not so foolish as to suppose that high achievement in every area of national life would be immediately guaranteed, even if every one of the 400,000-plus Negroes who become 18 each year were assured of a first-rate high school education, with the university to follow, of course, for the abler boys and girls. Prejudice is an ugly reality. The tentacles of custom, born of prejudice, are also ugly realities. Yet those same tentacles had the armed forces in their grip less than two decades ago, and had the world of sports in their grip hardly more than three decades ago. And what has lopped off the tentacles? Negro achievement, and nothing but Negro achievement. For no amount of enforced desegregation would have ended discrimination in the hard-bitten army and harder-bitten professional sports teams, if Negroes had not pegged even, and often much better than even, with their white fellow soldiers and fellow athletes. Yet in most areas of our national life, conspicuous Negro achievement is all but impossible, simply because so few American Negroes as yet receive normally decent schooling. Give them the needed education. At the outset, it may be, only seven in 20 will break through the barriers of prejudice and custom. But those few will surely inspire the next generation to say, "If *they* could do it, *we* can do it." And by the same token, white prejudice will surely be eroded, in every area where Negroes are enabled to achieve highly.

The truth is that in our approach to almost every aspect of the race problem – whether segregation, or discrimination, or Negro poverty, or whatever it may be – we have persistently been placing the moral cart before the practical horse. Education is the key to the whole problem, because education leads to jobs; jobs lead to achievement; and achievement reduces discrimination. That is the common-sense formula, which puts the horse ahead of the cart. And if we do not get the moral cart moving at long last – if we cannot provide good education and decent jobs for our Negro fellow citizens, and if these first steps do not begin to erode discrimination and open ever wider doors of opportunity – then this country can too soon become a place in which none will wish to live, who still care much about the things that America is supposed to stand for.

Some may say: "But if many white Americans have always cared so much about these things America is supposed to stand for, why this belated sense of urgency? Why did not Franklin Roosevelt, for instance, begin pressing for serious civil rights legislation nearly 40 years ago?" In the abstract, those who say this will be dead right. But the sad truth is that any national problem that is highly controversial, very difficult, yet possible to shove under the rug, invariably ends by getting shoved under the rug with extreme firmness. While the race problem in America was mainly a rural Southern problem, it could still be shoved under the rug. But in the last two decades and more, our race problem has more and more become a Northern urban problem, as well as a more and more urban problem even in the South, where the major cities show the same pattern of demographic change already traced above. In this new guise, the race problem cannot any longer be shoved under the rug. Justice must be done at last, or we must expect a gradual decline toward the sort of country that will choose a new President Verwoerd. Those are, literally, the choices before us. For my own part, I am confident that justice can and will be done, at no matter what cost to the budget and the taxpayer, if only we can manage to look at the problem in common-sense terms.

NSM **News-Observer**

Northern Student Movement

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# Boston School Boycott Is Huge Success

## *20,000 Stay Out; Tutees, Tutors Protest; NSM Staffer Calls It "Stimulating"*

Over 400 NSM tutees were among the 20,000 Boston school children who supported the school boycott on February 26. There are 90,000 students in the Boston school system.

Mrs. Sarah Ann Shaw, director of the NSM project and a member of the boycott coordinating committee, termed the protest "a stimulating success."

"The thirty-five freedom schools set up for the boycott were all filled to excess. We could have used another 10 or 15 schools.

In preparation for the boycott more than 70 NSM tutors from Harvard, Radcliffe, Simmons, Boston University, Brandeis, and Tufts canvassed the ghetto areas, selling freedom booklets and boycott buttons. Money raised through these efforts were contributed to the support of the boycott.

A week before the demonstration NSM and other campus civil rights groups staged a rally at Boston University to raise additional funds for the boycott. Featured at the rally were two of the Roxbury Freedom Choirs, whose membership includes many NSM tutees.

The boycott was called to protest against the school board's refusal to acknowledge or correct alleged de facto school segregation.

One of the leaflets used in the boycott, prepared by Father John Harmon and Packard Manse, said, "Racially segregated education is a moral evil."

It also stated that "If the white man continues to resist integration, he is accepting his own moral suicide."

One member of the Boston school board is presently urging that the board take action against the leadership of the boycott.

# DEP Worker Arrested On Charges Resulting From Boycott Activities

A Detroit Education Project field secretary, Barry Kalish, was arrested on the complaint of the father of a high school girl who participated in a Barbour Community Student Movement (BCSM) picket line called against a Detroit supermarket.

The warrant specifically charges that Kalish had induced the girl to participate against the wishes of her father in the NAACP inagurated demonstration.

On Tuesday, February 4, a picket line was thrown up around an East Side Detroit Market, under the auspices of the NAACP. The demonstration was called to protest the refusal of the supermarket to stop selling Wilson's milk.

On the first day of picketing at the market a BCSM member was arrested after he threatened to file a complaint against a policeman who had struck him in the face. Nine other BCSM members were arrested after they sat in front of the police car to protest this first arrest. One of these students was adaughter of the complainant.

The students, ranging in age from 12 to 15, were first taken to the local precinct and later transfered to the Juvenile Detention Home where they were illegally detained

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# *BAYOU Working With Action Group To Develop East Baltimore Leadership*

The Baltimore NSM Project has stepped up its program of community organization in the last two months, according to Eric Craven, Director of Baltimore Area Youth Opportunities Unlimited (BAYOU).

The program is centered in the Shutter Street area of the East Baltimore ghetto. It is designed both to test methods of community mobilization and to stimulate the growth of radical leadership in this depressed community.

Since BAYOU was founded last summer, it has concentrated on two phases of community development -- the first, a vigorous tutorial, ten curricular seminars, and clubs. This was designed to supplement the deficient city sponsored educational and recreational facilities. The second was to familiarize the community with the existence of BAYOU and gain acceptance.

### Organizing Protest in Four Block Area Over Garbage

Last summer, there was an attempt to organize the people around the "chicken water" issue. "Chicken water" was the foul-smelling accumulation of a poultry by-product around a processing plant in the neighborhood. The residents carried jars of "chicken water" into the Mayor's office to protest the Sanitation Department's failure to remedy this health hazard.

While the protest was successful, the lack of a continuing and militant local leadership prevented the application of effective pressure on the city to meet other needs of the neighborhood.

BAYOU began its program to nurture community leadership prepared to make real demands on the public and private interest groups by surveying the resources of the neighborhood around the Monument--Aisquith Street a-

They passed out leaflets and spoke to tenants about specific grievances. Two blocks on Shutter Street, comprising about 60 buildings with perhaps 800 tenants, were the first to respond. According to Eric Craven, these blocks were already partially organized under the auspices of the Shutter Street Block Association.

The East Baltimore Action Group, composed of tenants, block association leaders, and organizers from BAYOU have been mobilizing the community to protest the dumping of garbage into the alley behind Madison Street and the back yards of Shutter Street homes. EBAG demanded that landlords and the city government erect fences in the alley and yards to prevent the dumping. They are circulating a petition which so far has reached over 200 people.

EBAG hopes that the community will become militant enough to reach a state of permanent political awareness. EBAG believes that only when the East Baltimore movement becomes self-sustaining, will the ghetto be assured effective participation in the democratic process.

# *Baltimore Ghetto Students Demand Improved School, Hold Lunchroom Boycott*

One-third of the 2400 member student body of Dunbar High School in Baltimore, Maryland refused to eat in the school cafeteria last Monday (March 1st) in protest over the quality of the food. The boycott was led by members of a group called BENY (Better Education for Negro Youth).

On the same day a delegation of ten students from BENY presented a list of demands to Dunbar principal, Robert Diggs. The group asked for better books, better heating system, better food, new typewriters for business classes, more and better teachers, and improved curricula.

They were told by the principal that the main problem was lack of money to provide new facilities and supplies. Two new high schools have been built in white areas in Baltimore within the last year.

The membership of BENY has threatened to take further action if the principal does not show a responsiveness to their demands.

During the previous week Mr. Diggs had forbidden members of BENY to distribute literature in the schools, critizing conditions.

BENY was formed a month ago by NSM tutees at Dunbar who were concerned with improving the conditions.

Help keep NSM in the rent strike. Buy a rent strike button. Contribution one dollar.

# A Vehicle For Freedom?

**William Strickland**
**Executive Director**

This cannot, claim to be an editorial. It is more a collection of personal musings. Musings on the school boycotts, and what they seem to mean, and the kind of reaction they have engendered.

What I want to suggest is that Negroes have been excluded for so long from the American society, that their most natural impulse is to seek to be let in. People, black and white alike, have come to feel that freedom is synonymous with the joining together of their estranged worlds. Consequently, one of the demands of the boycotts has been to integrate the schools.

But does integrating the schools per se really create the desired effect of improving the schools? How in fact are the schools to be integrated? In New York City, only 1% of white parents have so far availed themselves of the open transfer school policy. This means that the anticipated integration is, in reality, going only one way. And all those buses thought to be the vehicles for academic freedom are only transporting black children out of Harlem -- and not very many black children at that- into white schools. The school situation of Harlem, however, remains the same, as does the plight of all those kids who are now left behind.

Bussing, then is largely a ceremonial remedy. The problem of Harlem cannot be dealt with by diverting our attention outside of Harlem.

The absence of a white child in a classroom means essentially one thing: that classroom is probably located in a segregated school. And that segregated school is probably located in a segregated neighborhood. And segregated neighborhoods are usually gerrymandered, but are always powerless in the sense of their ability, relative to other neighborhoods, to have their needs met. It is because democracy does not extend into the ghetto that the ghetto must scream in order to be heard.

Let us be honest with one another. As soon as we begin talking about a total solution for slum schools, we are talking about money. Large sums of money. We can then begin to see why boycotts are necessary. They are necessary to overcome the combination of traditions and fears and vested interests that have permitted the schools in Harlem and the South Side and Roxbury to endure in their current inadequacy. Most of the controversies about boycotts are diversionary. All of the hue and cry about personalities is a reductio ad hominem which ought not engage the attention of reasonable men. For the issue is not the pros and cons of boycotts, not the personalities involved, but why there was a need for a boycott in the first place.

One other reason is also, tacitly, put forth for integrating the schools: that if white children are brought into the inferior schools of the inner city, then their parents will demand that those schools be brought up to standard. This seems to me to reveal a paradox. It is seen as permissible for white parents to protest conditions affecting their children --and it is further implied that their protesting will be successful -- while it is seen as presumptuous or "radical" for black parents to indulge in similar behavior. What is unfortunate about this view is that it is not concerned with introducing into the ghetto, the kinds of assistances that would lead to an awareness of one's rights which would forever preclude the need for outsiders

The NSM News-Observer is a publication of the Northern Student Movement, 73 Morningside Drive, New York, New York.
The editors are Charles Turner, Rust Gilbert, and Sam Leiken(college news).

Sure I'd like to play ball after school, but my bus leaves at 3:10.

to speak for the aggrieved.

Boycotts then have the possibility of fulfilling two functions. They can shake up the existing structure so that it is possible to effect change, and they can also provide the opportunity for organizing people so that their sense of civil responsibility will last beyond one single issue -- will, hopefully, last their entire life.

One cannot transport people to freedom. In the final analysis freedom must be achieved in the areas of need, themselves, in the areas where it has never been realized. By this measure, busing fails.

## Across the Nation

Feb. 3--Jackson, Miss.: Four youths hit by police gunfire at SNCC rally. The demonstration was called to protest police brutality.

Feb. 8--Chapel Hill, N.C.: Ninety-five demonstrators arrested during protests over segregated facilities. The arrests bring the number arrested in civil rights demonstrations to 350 in the last three months.

Feb. 10--Selma, Ala.: Two leaders of of the Selma voter registration drive have qualified as candidates for the March 17 Democratic primary. They are the first colored to seek public office in Selma since Reconstruction.

Feb. 25--Chicago, Ill.: 175,000 Chicago students stayed out of school during Chicago's second school boycott during the last six months.

Feb. 26-- Princess Anne, Md.: Fifty-Seven Maryland State College students required hospitilization after they were attacked by police during demonstrations against segregated facilities in the college town.

# A Basis for Change

By Elsie Chandler

Since graduating from Wisconsin in January, I've been working as research director for the Harlem Action Group, an NSM affiliate.

HAG is currently working with the rent strikes, and beginning the initiation of a self-sustaining, community based organization, geared to political action.

My time has been spent mainly in compiling background material to help organizers know what persons and groups they can rely on for support and against which interest groups to direct their attacks.

Through this experience research has lost the sterile, academic quality which it had in college. I no longer feel as if I am thinking and reading in a vacuum, or gathering knowledge for its own sake. The information collected is not directed toward papers which are soon forgotten but rather toward programs that can bring change in lives and living condition. And in the process, I am changing too

I am learning much more from the people I work with and from walking the streets of Harlem, than I will ever learn from my specific job.

I have not been intellectually surprised by anything I've seen. I have read and known for a long time about economic exploitation and its manifestations. But reading about it and being surrounded by it are different. So different that I am still suffering from the emotional shock.

Yesterday, for example, I sat in our apartment-office (with the rat hole in the middle of the floor, and roaches, and no heat, and cracks in

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The New Student

# Stayed on Freedom

**Peter Countryman**

In the last few years, American students have forged for themselves an increasingly significant role in the movement towards democracy and freedom. The development of this role can be seen clearly in the participation of students in the "civil rights" movement in both the North and South.

One of the most surprising elements of this commitment is that it represents a deviation from traditional student activism and implies a rejection of the concept "student" as this society has defined it. We are not interested in what social change students as students can bring about; we are not interested in mobilizing great masses of students to demand as students that certain social changes occur. We are interested in how students as citizens can be effective in working with other citizens to realize the depth and breadth of positive social change we all need. This is not because we have, it seems, forever lost our student identities; we are now "citizens who study".

Why is this? Why have students committed themselves to fulltime political activities which do not even focus on the student world as the center for social change.

I would point to three elements within the university which lead to the roaming of her students. First, the university is paternalistic: it refused young people the dignity and growth inherent in the taking of responsibility for the major decisions in one's life and the life of one's community. The result is a thwarting of the democratic desire to participate in the shaping of one's social environment. Though he has few material discomforts, the similarity between the college student's position and that of the ghetto residents is still there.

Related to this is the university's failure to present the student with the stimulus and opportunity to be creative in his personal and political life. He is equipped to work within the existing structures and to utilize conventional methods in his work. He is taught to understand what is, but not to develop what could or should be; therefore, the potential of the human mind to discover new means to new ways of life becomes drowned in the pressure to absorb old analyses of existing institutions.

Finally, and perhaps most important, is the illusory quality of the student's live. Within the university he has little interpersonal responsibility, he deals with other people in almost totally intellectual terms, he is not faced with the need to respond to rapid change; in short, he is perpetually engaged in either experimentation or preparation. Analysis per se, in this world, becomes an end, rather than a means used to implement personal responsibility and a commitment to values.

These three deficiencies present the individual with a vague but fundamental decision: either he must submit to the lethargy of an uncreative privatism or he must grab onto an alternative situation within which he as an individual has power bears responsibility and deals with the coarse fiber of human life--and thus begins to sense his value as a human being. It is as such an alternative that NSM's program and that of SNCC have taken on extreme importance for the American students.

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# NSM Views the New York School Boycott

## Boycott, Movement from Below

By Andrea Cousins -Harlem Education Project

February third marked the biggest civil rights demonstration in this nation's history. More than half-a-million school children and eight per cent of the city's teaching force boycotted more than 400 of the city's schools. Their demand was "integrated quality education for all."

Although the boycott was a success, there are several misconceptions that the public media helped to perpetuate up to and even after the boycott.

The first of these was that the crowds that participated in the demonstrations in front of the Board of Education and the parents who kept their children out of school were "whipped up"by the angry,"irresponsible" civil rights leadership. This observer, after attending half-a-dozen meetings in the Harlem public schools, is convinced that the parents themselves supported by teachers and members of the local school board, were those most indignant about the school experience of their children. The Harlem Parents Committee, one of several groups which coordinated protest activity, is itself made up of local Harlem citizens.

At one PTA meeting of an integrated school on the fringe of Harlem, a white member of the local school board discussed the need for quality smaller classes, better teacher training and curricula which would recognize the multi-racial character of the American population as well as the physical integration of white and non-white students. She shared the platform with the superintendent of Harlem schools, who was unsuccessful in assuring the assemblage of parents that Harlem schools were "inadequate" but not "inferior."

At this particular meeting one mother stood up to say to the superintendent-"I work from 9 to 5. From 7 to 9 every night I help my little girl with reading. She does O.K.with me, but school doesn't seem to help her any. I'm going to break my back to see that she doesn't fall years behind in reading like the rest of the kids. She comes home. and says to me, "Mama, why am I in school? What am I supposed to tell her." The audience murmured warmly, and another woman stood up to say "My child never even learned how to write and now he's in the third grade."

A white mother added "One day a Negro substitute teacher spent the day teaching my son's class. When he camw home, he said, "Mrs. Wilson was absent, so she sent her maid instead." She then turned to the audience and said "Is this the way we want our children to grow up looking at the world." The audience sat in stunned silence. The superintendent did not reply.

No elected politician, including Adam Clayton Powell, came forward to support the boycott until after its completion. Neither did any political or economic institution give substantial aid of any kind. The boycott organization was made up primarily of laymen and was self-supporting.

The second and more pervasive misconception, fostered largely by the press, was that the civil rights groups were pressing merely for integration through cross busing. The New York Times, for example, editorialized on the misdirected nature of the boycott demands. Funds should be spent on teachers, it argued not bus-drivers.

Thelma Johnson, a spolesman from the Harlem Parents Committee, would be the first to agree.The primary aim of the boycott, she stated, would not be the dislocation of children from their own neighborhoods. Cross-busing was in fact the primary solution offered by the Board of Education, rather than by civil rights groups.

It was precisely this type of solution which brought the latter to refuse,the "desegregation plan" which the Board had offered. The plan,described by the Committee as "design with proposals" rather than a genuine program for thorough integration, dealt with only 30 of 144 NewYork schools in question. It did not substantially confront the need to rezone school districts, to build new schools accessible to a number of different communities, or to broadly alter the"feeder pattern"of school populations,eg, have all children attend first through third grades in one neighborhood,and fourth through sixth in another.

In short the Board of Education did not meet its own stated objectives: that of attacking the problems logistically, with definite application to all those students now attending segregated schools.

The City-Wide Committee for Integrated Schools is well-aware that its alternatives to the present educational system will only be realized when the State Legislature and the Board

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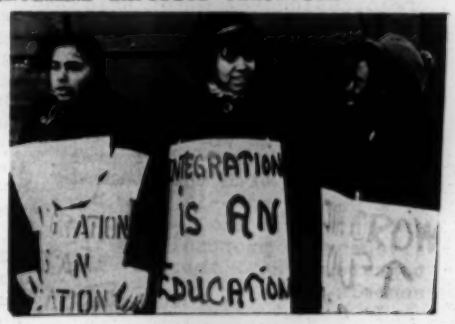
## *Boycott, A Prod*

By Dan Schechter
Former NSM Communications Director

The boycott was not the act of a few wilful extremists. All of the civil rights organizations in New York, including the Urban League and NAACP, both hardly noted for their radicalism, participated in the effort. Why? Did they want to---as some New York papers suggest--- seek publicity for themselves while showing callous disregard for the education of New York's children? I think not. The boycott was the culmination of years of attempts to get the Board of Education committed to a real program for integration and better education for Negro and Pueto Rican Youth.

Last spring and summer, the civil rights groups demanded to sit down to talk about integration and educational improvement, but the "enlightened" Board of Education had little time for such meetings. Demonstrators went to jail this summer in an effort to dramatize the Board's apparent lack of programatic concern with their demands. Finally -- and only when a September boycott was proposed -- did the Board sit down with civil rights leaders and agree, in writing to submit a timetable for integration on Dec.1. The Board then broke its pledge. In the meantime, Board President Donovan (nationally known for his concern about freedom-- in Cuba) was making inflammatory statements against the leaders of the City-wide Committee. In this climate, a new boycott was planned to dramatize the dissatisfaction of New York's Negro and Puerto Rican community with separate AND inferior education




Yielding to this pressure in mid-January,the Board,with great fanfare, attempted to put the brakes on the growing boycott movement by announcing its program for integrating New York City.

While the Board's program might appear "reasonable" to some,it is inadequate. The Board's plan is to "Princeton Plan" some 30 city schools [There are over 165 schools in New York with more than a 90 percent non-white student body.]Not only does this plan not even pretend to deal with the problem of hard core slum-segregated schools, it is silent about increasing the number of Negro and Puer-

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## *News-Observer,* A Statement:

Beginning with this issue, the NSM News Observer will feature articles of analysis as well as specific news stories. These articles will be devoted to analysis of specific events and issues that are involved in the movement for freedom.

We welcome comments from our readers.As many as possible will be printed.

## *Publications Available from NSM*

| | |
|---|---|
| Our Invisible Poor | Dwight MacDonald |
| The Stereo Type | Dore Schary |
| The City and The Negro | Charles Silberman |
| With Our Minds Stayed On Freedom | Peter Countryman |
| Not Like Other Children | Bernard Asbell |
| Reorganization of the Casbah | Nicholas Von Hoffman |
| Negro in America Today | Look Magazine |
| Segregation--Two Edged Sword | Time Magazine |
| Poverty as a Separate Culture | Michael Harrington |

The above reprints are available for the mailing costs of 10¢ per copy.

Tutorials: A Strategy for Educational Reform Mark Chesler 50¢

# NSM, SDS, to Sponsor Conference In April on Community Organization

The Northern Student Movement and the Economic Research and Action Project of the Students for a Democratic Society will co-sponsor a conference at Ann Arbor, Michigan on April 10,11,and 12. The conference will be entitled "Community Organizing for Economic Issues"

The purpose of the conference is to bring together people who are involved or potentially involved in organizing efforts. Discussion will center around the need and methods of organizing around ecomic issues.

Participants in the conference, primarily, students and young adults, will come from NSM, SDS, CORE, SNCC, peace groups, reform and liberal groups within the Democratic Party, and other community organization groups

Conference sessions will deal both with the development of economic programs national and local in scope and with the methodology necessary for the implementation of such programs.

The latter will be dealt with through case studies and their discussion in workshops. There will also be workshop discussion of possible future programs by those people who are working in a particular area.

It is hoped that people interested in working on summer projects with the sponsoring organization will attend.

## *Harpur Sends NSM $225.00, Assists HAG*

The Harpur College Civil Rights Club has raised $225 to aid the NSM field secretaries working on the rent strike.

In the short period of two days over 300 rent strike buttons were sold by Harpur students at tables set up in the cafeteria.

Late in February thirty Harpur students spent their semester break working with NSM in New York. While some of the group worked with the national staff, the majority participated in field work with the Harlem Action Group.

The initial phase of their activity was to leaflet the west Harlem area both to publicize the March on Albany and to gain familiarity with the area.

The students then undertook a survey of the entire HAG district, using the knowledge they gained from the previous work, to compile a comprehensive map detailing the physical condition of the HAG area.

## *Boycott, A Prod*

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to Rican teachers in the system (the board doesn't hire teachers with Spanish or Southern accents), revising textbools which write the Negro out of history, or selecting construction sites so as to further school integration. The board's plan has been attacked by many organizations--many of which advanced plans of their own. The American Jewish Congress, for example, by applying the board's own criteria, found some 83 schools could be paired for integration purposes. Only now--after the boycott and with the threat of a second one--is the board showing a real responsiveness to proposals to integrate and improve the schools.

I do not like the prospect of busing children across New York. Although paired schools are no more than 1+1/2 to 2±1/2 miles apart. Yet, housing segregation is so institutionalized (and profitable) that one can't expect the ghetto resident to wait for the ghetto to whither away. As Prof. Paul Breines pointed out: "Busing of white children is not really the issue. However, let the white parent who quite justifiably does not wish to send his child to a miserable Harlem school ask if the Negro parent whose child presently attends this school wants his child to be there."

While teaching in a Freedom School during the boycott--a most educational experience for both myself and the children--several Harlem youths told me that they had seen rats and roaches in their classrooms. Perhaps all parents ought to demand an immediate expenditure in whatever amounts (quality) education should not be "prohibitive" in this, the wealchiest nation in the world to improve all the schools, especially those in blighted areas.

Nearly 400,000 school children and 3,000 teachers stayed out of school on Feb. 3rd. The strategy underlying the boycott was that a real expenditure of funds and a meaningful and substantive program for better schools would only be forthcoming if enough people made the demand.

White people and their institutions don't seem to act until threatened and pressured.

Official New York reacted to the boycott in fear. More anxious to preserve order than to insure justice, concerned more with stability than with change, official New York, through its press and "responsible" organizations, sought first to institutionalize the conflict and in failing to do so, to discredit the boycott. What to Board of Education President Donovan was a "fizzle" proved to be the largest demonstration in New York's history.

Bayard Rustin, to whom its success is largely owed, said "The boycott and the rent strikes give fair warning that the civil rights revolution has reached out of the South and is now at our own doors....I think we are on the threshold of a new political movement--and I dont mean in the party sense-that is going to change the face of New York in housing, in jobs, and in schools." As the coalition of progressive forces begins to solidify its sizable grass roots constituency around a militant and fundamental program, the governmental establishment will be forced to become more responsive to human needs.

## From Below

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of Education have no choice but to enact them. It is a fact that the Legislature itself does not consider New York City Schools to be one of its prime interests. But a protest like the February 3rd boycott has claried the issue and revealed the broad base of its support.

The highest percentages of school absences occurred in Puerto Rican and Negro neighborhoods--a fact which suggests new possibilities of alignment on other issues, in addition to that of education. In this case Harlem was the spearhead of a protest which drew the self interest and support of whites. Long-range demands and programs would involve a broadening of this interest and support. The day that half-a-million children "stayed out for freedom" was no simple day of protest; it was a sharp indication of a new political awareness, one in which the lines are drawn with clarity and power

### Basis for Change

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the walls) listening to some men from the neighborhood who had come in to volunteer as organizers. They were talking about this so-called free country.

"I'm a contradiction in the system," one said, and went on to explain that when people talk about freedom and democracy, he knows that it doesn't apply to him.

Good "campus radical" that I am, I smiled and nodded my head. But then he turned to me and said "You college kids who mean right, you're going to have a hard time here. You mean right, but people are going to look at you like you're the enemy. And you are the enemy. But you mean right?"

I mean right. What is that? It makes me angry to see rat holes. I don't feel very altruistic; most of the time I feel excited, frightened, happy, anxious, and tired.

I am an alien in Harlem. But because I come from the outside, I can offer different skills and insights which can be useful in fighting a common battle. And it is a common battle, for I feel my freedom is contingent upon fighting against conditions that allow landlords to charge $34.00 per week for a rat ridden, tenement apartment. While we are fighting together against our common enemy, we are learning from each other, and in the process, our respect and knowledge of each other and ourselves is deepening.

## *DEP Arrest*

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until 3:00 a.m. the following morning. They were not fed, nor were their parents informed of their arrest by police or court authorities.

Kalish was arrested two days later. The police had gone to the parents of making accusations that Kalish had "brainwashed" the students in the civil rights section. They also implied that Kalish was a Communist and that he had sexual motivations for his involvement with the movement.

Concerned community parents are trying to persuade the complainant to withdraw his charges.

A further development has been the formation of a group of Barbour Community adult into their own organization. They will take political action toward the resolution of school and police problems in additon to providing support for BCMS.

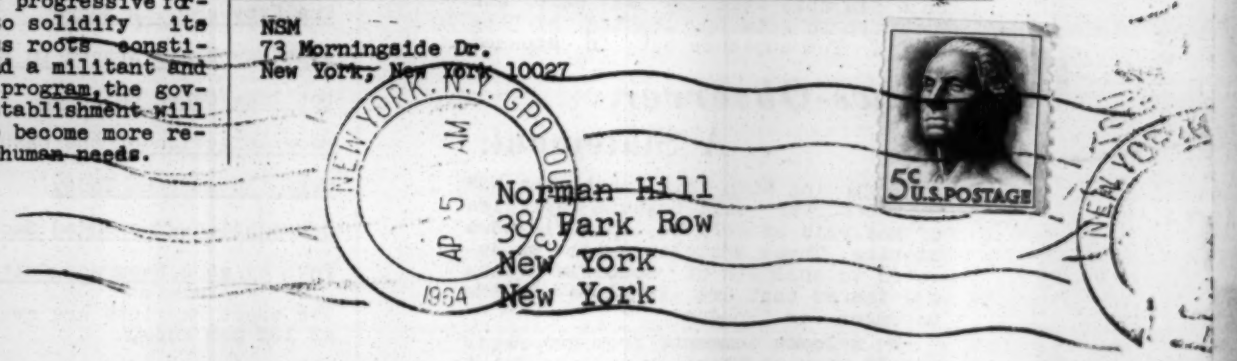
BCMS began originally as a school club while Kalish was a teacher at Barbour Junior High School. It later developed into an outside activity and has expanded to include students from other Detroit high and junior high schools. The group has been involved in a successful direct action campaign against a local barber shop in addition to picketing.

The students have now started weekly Sunday night workshops on police brutality, school problems (textbooks, teacher attitudes, etc.) and job discrimination.

The DEP coordinator, Frank Joyce, expressed great concern that Kalish's conviction, should it occur, would set an extremely dangerous precedent, perhaps, severely curtailing DEP's work with young people. The matter is scheduled to go to trial on March 17.

## HELP WANTED

NSM is seeking a house in the New York area to be used as a training and research center. Anyone who can aid in such a venture should contact the NSM central office.



THE JEWISH COMMUNITY FEDERATION OF CLEVELAND

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February 10, 1964

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: CRC's AND SOME OTHERS

FROM: SIDNEY Z. VINCENT

SUBJECT - THE CLEVELAND SCHOOL CRISIS

The agreement seemingly reached this week (I'll explain the "seemingly" later) between the Cleveland School Board and the various protesting groups provides an opportunity for a review of the explosive recent events here, while they are still fresh.

It's been quite a shocker to us. We have bragged (at least our public relations fellows have) that we were "The best location in the nation" in human relations or (I did) that a pervasive blandness in our civic life explained the absence of overt friction. Now, in the reaction to the sudden violence, some lamenters bracket us with Birmingham and Hattiesburg. Both the brags and the laments are patently wrong and this review is an attempt in the midst of the events to begin to assess what took place, why it occurred, the role various groups played, the degree to which our experience is peculiar to Cleveland and the degree to which it is universal, and the meaning for our work in the future.

Some assignment!

First, the facts:

For years, the Cleveland public school system has transported students by bus from overcrowded schools to schools where classrooms were available. In all such cases, the rule has been to preserve such "transported" classes as units, members of the sending schools, who simply occupied space in the receiving school. In this way, numerous administrative difficulties were avoided. And in any event, all these arrangements were temporary and were ended as soon as new schools were erected in the crowded areas.

It is important to note that this policy was established long before there was any problem of race. Many of the arrangements involved all white students, at both the sending and the receiving schools - the whole problem was one of physical accommodation.

The present crisis really began with the formation a year ago of the

United Freedom Movement, a loosely organized structure called into being originally by the N.A.A.C.P. to coordinate the efforts of all those seeking freedom of opportunity. Events have moved so fast that there has been no time to adopt a constitution, by-laws or even a statement of purpose, so it is difficult to state exactly who belongs and who does not belong to the U.F.M. Technically, its ultimate body is a (completely undefined) membership, which varies from a handful when things are calm to huge mass gatherings of thousands when the heat is on.

The decisions are usually taken, however, in a Steering Committee made up of two representatives designated by a variety of organizations, most of them colored, but including also the Catholic Interracial Council, the Church Federation (Protestant), the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Federation, the ACLU, and similar groups.

The power, however, has increasingly been assumed by the more militant groups and the "respectable" organizations have either stopped attending at all or have played an unimportant role and have directed their efforts to other channels.

Even in the Negro community, only those organizations and individuals ready to lay it on the line for direct action of increasing intensity retain standing and influence. The point has now been reached where your credentials are demanded ("Were you on the picket line?" "Were you arrested?" "Did you get slugged?") if your position is to carry weight. The old guard, respected Negro leadership are out of the play - both the ministers and the political leaders. (There are 11 Negro city councilmen out of 33, numerous judges, one federal district attorney, and a good sprinkling of others.) CORE representatives, a number of local newly emergent groups, and hitherto unknown individuals (most of them quite young) have in large part taken over, although NAACP, which has grown vastly more militant, remains the leader. Inner-city white Protestant ministers, intellectuals from the universities and selected intergroup professionals were also deeply involved in the inner group. Meetings are sprawling, free swinging, intensely emotional and spontaneous.

During the summer, the U.F.M. Commission on Education expressed to the Cleveland School Board its unhappiness with the de facto segregation of the transported classes at the receiving schools. A lengthy series of conferences ensued, on a fairly friendly basis.

The U.F.M. position was clear and simple: Segregation is segregation; end it.

The School Board's position was, and remains, unclear. They not only had their traditional policy on transportation, but Cleveland's demography raised a new difficulty. The most serious overcrowding was in Hazeldell school, a neighborhood into which Negroes had only recently moved in great numbers. The three schools with empty classrooms (two to three miles away) were all in overwhelmingly Italian neighborhoods. They have been tight little nationality islands for decades, proud of their traditions, suspicious of all outsiders (and certainly Negroes), highly resistant to any kind of change. (Two years ago, one

of these neighborhoods had successfully and almost violently beaten back efforts by the Universities, their neighbors, to expand into "their" territory.)

A highly placed administrator of the school system, in the summer of 1961, aware of this history, had assured the receiving schools, in advance of the first "transportation", that classroom space was sought, not integration. Perhaps most important, five of the seven School Board members were at that time West Siders. (Now, six are). Clevelanders know what this means. All but one per cent of Cleveland's Negroes live on the East Side, and the West Side has been traditionally hostile to them. The direct political pressures on the Board members from their constituencies (as well as in most cases their own attitudes) are certainly not in the direction of integration.

Nevertheless, after prolonged negotiation, with a crisis brewing and pickets on the march outside the Administration Building, the School Board and the U.F.M. reached a seven point agreement on October 1, 1963, that averted trouble at that time.

The crucial point in the agreement was a School Board statement that "fullest possible incorporation consistent with sound educational procedures" would be instituted in the second semester, starting January, 1964. The superintendent further recommended that "diffusion" of students from the sending schools would be undertaken at once, providing various limited kinds of mixing of classes and students: some combined reading classes, classes combined for television lessons, some band and choir groups, etc.

Incidents occurred, and dissatisfaction grew that far less diffusion was being accomplished than had been promised, but both sides were awaiting the second semester, to find out what "fullest possible incorporation" meant, and how much of a block was implied in the "consistent with sound educational procedures" phrase. (Highly reminiscent of the double face of the Balfour Declaration, looking with favor on a Jewish homeland but promising nothing would be done to prejudice the rights of the Arabs. Compromises of this kind, designed to break an impasse by promising both sides what they want, have built-in trouble for the future.)

The most significant event of the period from September to January was the School Board election in November. At that time, the outstanding proponent (almost the symbol) of the drive for integration, was defeated, the only incumbent to fail of re-election. He is a white East Sider. Even worse, an analysis of the vote showed clearly that he had done no better in the Negro wards, despite his fine record, than hostile West Side candidates. The Negro vote went overwhelmingly, on a "plunking" basis, for the lone Negro candidate, just appointed to fill a vacancy, and with no time to establish a record. He won - and so did two West Siders.

There is no doubt that the majority of the School Board interpreted this result to mean "go slow on integration" - a policy highly attractive to them anyway. The superintendent (a first-rate, decent fellow; Jewish) was obviously given instructions to make haste slowly.

In mid January the new semester began, a "diffusion" plan was announced, providing for what the schools claimed was about 50% of total integration, with some contacts for all kids. The U.F.M. claimed it was more like 10% integration. They therefore rejected the plan as a reneging on the October promise.

By this time, the receiving school parents were equally aroused. Their newly established organization, the Collinwood Improvement Association, claimed the School Board had broken its promise to them. They had welcomed, they said, the bussed-in classes, they would accept any kid - colored or white - who lived in the area, (and a few have lived there) but resented being singled out for "experimentation" and were fearful that the incorporation of a number of pupils as large or larger than their whole school population would lower the educational standards for their kids. (This was the respectable line, the unofficial expression was hardly that understanding. It consisted of bitter references to all kinds of turmoil and incidents that "they" had brought into their formerly peaceful schools.)

At least as articulate was the Hazeldell Parents Association, with an indignation born of a list of abuses and exclusions their children had suffered, and a conviction that the stigma of any kind of separation, for whatever reason, had to be ended. And they particularly resented, as did much of the community, the remarks of the School Board president in a telecast, strongly implying the inferiority of Negro students.

The fat was now deep in the fire. An adamant and highly conservative school board feeling justified by the election results; aroused parents and communities on both sides; an unhappy school administration caught in the middle and trying desperately to mediate its way out of the crisis by suggesting progressively more but still limited diffusion that satisfied no one.

The fateful week of January 27 arrived. On Monday afternoon, the School Board at its weekly meeting reaffirmed its policy of progressive diffusion and reiterated it would not yield to "pressure".

On Tuesday, the Hazeldell parents (Negro) and the U.F.M. picketed the School Administration Building, while Collinwood mothers descended en masse on Brett school (white) to protest against the menaced diffusion.

On Wednesday, the U.F.M. instituted a picket line at Brett school. They were joined by a large group of Protestant ministers, many prominent, led by the Presbyterian office of Religion and Race. Disorders spread throughout the day. The pickets were jostled and pushed off the sidewalk, insulted and threatened. The police department tried to control events largely through plain clothesmen, on the announced assumption that uniforms would heighten tension. The diocese refused to join the picketing at the schools, and a rabbinical conference also declined. Both felt that picketing should take place at the Administration Building, and not at neighborhood schools, where children were directly involved in the tension and where no decision would in any case be forthcoming.

Thursday brought a far worse situation. The U.F.M. announced, as part

of its program of escalating direct action, that it would switch its picketing to Murray Hill school, in the very heart of Little Italy, the most isolated and "roughest" section of the city as far as integration is concerned.

The police shifted tactics, partly because Murray Hill spelled violence and partly because of the outpouring of criticism of the Mayor and the Police Department for not controlling the situation the previous day.

Uniformed police were on hand in quantity. But they were totally unable (some felt unwilling) to handle the situation. Numerous hoodlums were on hand early in the morning to "receive" the pickets. Murder would almost certainly have ensued had they arrived.

They had assembled at a nearby lot, awaiting instructions to proceed, pending the outcome of another one of the unending conferences that were being held. In early afternoon, at the exhortation of their leaders, they disbanded, just before a gang arrived looking for them.

The Murray Hill gang vented its frustration on any likely object - Negroes who happened to drive through the neighborhood, a few parents who came to the school worried about the trouble, newsmen, even the police. Car windows were smashed, photographers and Negroes were pummeled as the riff-raff of the community raged all day long. The mood was so ugly that even the priests of the neighborhood, greatly respected there, were ignored and reviled when they went into the crowd pleading for order. Not a single arrest was made and the only two rioters carted off to the police station were released.

The police Commissioner's explanation was that their first duty was to protect life. He pointed to the fact no one was seriously hurt. Arrests would only have raised feelings, he claimed. The Mayor, now feeling the full force of outraged criticism at the chaos, angrily turned on the ministers and others for precipitating the crisis by picketing at schools.

Friday, a sit-in at Schools Headquarters was begun, continuing through the weekend.

The whole city was in turmoil. Nothing but the school crisis was in the papers or on radio and TV. There was a deluge of statements, suggestions, offers to mediate, conferences, more conferences, petitions, calls for federal intervention, unending negotiations. But there was no single leader around whom all this fragmented activity could cluster.

Perhaps the action which came closest was a simple three point program developed by a high status organization called PACE (Plan for Action by Citizens in Education), an educational, not a civil rights organization. From the standpoint of education it declared:

1. Any kind of segregation is bad education.
2. The Board should so declare and announce absolute integration by September.

3. This semester, it should seek to achieve full integration except where the educational process might clearly be impaired because of certain technical and administrative difficulties.

All three religious groups swung vigorously behind the statement. So did NAIRO, the NASW, Kiwanis, The Citizens League, labor, and many other groups. The papers hailed it. A settlement seemed at hand.

But at its weekly meeting Monday, the Board worked out a different and confusing (and once again, "final") statement after hours of conference. It was rejected by the U.F.M. and the sit ins recommenced.

But this time with a difference. The CORE group was clearly in the ascendance and on Tuesday morning they moved to an "active" type of sit in. They refused to allow the School Superintendent and other administrators into their offices, locked a cleaning woman into a rest room, deliberately violated the fire ordinance, and prevented all elevator movement. They were seeking to be arrested and to test the police, they later stated. (Matters were not helped by the discovery that a number of old line, well known Communists had joined their ranks.)

The police ordered them to leave. They refused. One policeman, confronted by a solid barricade of prone bodies, stepped on one of them, his foot was "removed" and he fell. The reaction was immediate. The sit ins were roughly dragged down three flights of stairs, some violence certainly took place, and 22 were arrested and charged.

The Community Relations Board called a meeting that afternoon (Tuesday, February 4) at which all sides were present and after eight hours came up with the following formulation accepted by the representatives (not the membership) of all groups. It is this formulation that represents the basis for the present uneasy truce. It reads in full:

> "We, the members of the Cleveland Board of Education, hereby affirm our policy of establishing and maintaining a full and uniform standard of education for all children in the city of Cleveland.
>
> Every child will be entitled to participate in every student activity offered by the school he attends.
>
> The board will terminate the transportation classes as soon as possible, with whatever means the board has available and deems advisable.
>
> We hereby direct the superintendent forthwith that all pupils being transported from schools due to overcrowding shall be incorporated in the school organization as though they were in the local school district, and the pupils records and other necessary data will be forwarded to the receiving schools.
>
> The administration is hereby charged to use all appropriate possible techniques to achieve this end forthwith."

On Wednesday night, before a jam-packed, hymn singing, wildly excited throng, the U.F.M. won approval of the Board action and called off its program of escalating boycotts of the school, scheduled to begin immediately. It was not easy, however, since in the Steering Committee there was great reluctance to accept paragraph three. Approval was won only by coupling it with a letter, announcing that any kind of resegregation would be considered an abrogation of the understanding, and demanding a continuing review by U.F.M. of progress made, to start in two weeks.

The Collinwood Association met in a "no reporters" session and neither approved nor rejected the plan. Trouble can certainly break out again at any moment. Rumors and reports of schoolboy race fights in half a dozen schools came on Thursday and the entire town remains in seething tension.

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This report has attempted no detailed description of the role of the Jewish community or its professional staff. Bear in mind that Cleveland, as I have so often reported, is almost literally a city without Jews; we do not know of a single Jewish youngster who graduated from a Cleveland public school last June, so complete is the movement to the suburbs.

There was nevertheless a good deal of Jewish involvement. On the formal level, the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Community Federation (our CRC) made public statements at various stages of events, a number of the rabbis were actively involved in public debates (particularly a brilliant television presentation by Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld on a City Club key telecast.)

Far more took place behind the scenes. Irving Levine of the American Jewish Committee has from its formation been a key figure in the U.F.M. and as chairman of the local NAIRO chapter. Alan Kandel and I took responsibility for the work with the religious groups, with PACE (where I serve as chairman of the Intergroup Relations Committee) and with the Community Relations Board, whose Jewish members were decisive in finally winning the truce. These were certainly the groups whose efforts together finally secured an agreement. Indeed, I think the total but largely unpublicized Jewish involvement was indispensable to whatever progress was made.

Nevertheless, the Jewish "presence" in the whole explosive issue was not publicly prominent and our CRC will at its next meeting assess the role we played.

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Here are some other observations:

1. Efficient and unbiased police operation is crucial, and its lack was largely responsible for protest turning into disorder.

2. The lack of leadership by a weak mayor deprived the city of

a rallying point. His defense was that in Ohio, school districts are completely independent from the city, but when the battle moved to the streets, that defense totally disappeared.

3. Political action is crucial, and the failure of the Negro community to exert itself intelligently on School Board elections was a disaster.

4. The withdrawal from the city not only of Jews but of an overwhelming number of other leaders deprives the School Board (and many other Cleveland institutions) of desperately needed responsible candidates for public office, and makes for the election of mediocrites. It also tends to neutralize the pressure that can be exerted by many liberal, but suburban groups.

5. The role of the papers and the TV was helpful on the editorial page and harmful on the news pages. Their positions were on the whole intelligent and constructive in their editorial comment, but the enormous playing up of the conflict added to the fever, particularly as the heady taste of publicity encouraged everyone to try to get into the act.

6, The business community (and almost the entire "power structure") remained totally silent, despite repeated attempts to enlist their aid. Its suburban orientation certainly helped produce this negative role. The vacuum left by their lack of leadership is another key to understanding the situation.

7. The Catholic church, recently emerging vigorously from its traditional isolation, increasingly withdrew from the struggle as an ally of the U.F.M. as the thrust for direct action moved toward defiance of the law. To some extent, the same observation holds for the other two religious groups.

8. Within the Negro community, almost all the old line leaders faded into the background and were severely critized by the activists. Particularly inept were the Negro ministers, who played almost no role, seemed out of date when they spoke, and at the last moment tried desperately to recapture some leadership. With one exception, the leaders were laymen and there was very little of the "Christian" in this movement.

9. The activists were in substantial measure unknowns, some of whom have displayed real leadership ability. The role of the Negro parents was real "grass roots" with a healthy emphasis on good education. There is some talk of the emergence of a "Negro community", which has certainly not existed heretofore. I would doubt this; the strongly disparate elements in the U.F.M. are held together only in crisis, when external pressures are at their peak. It remains to be seen whether in the showdown at election time, the new element can successfully challenge the traditional leadership.

10. Racism is rising. Even the most faithful white members of CORE, who were literally ready to give their lives, were made to feel at times of greatest tension that no white man can be trusted.

11. Significant sections of the U.F.M. consciously desire trouble and unrest. They have in effect quit on the normal process of negotiation and view turmoil as a necessary condition to smash the smugness that engulfs our Northern cities. Their followers are not so sophisticated; they are stirred into wild joy at anything that upsets the white man.

12. Although responsible (and even brilliant) leaders of the U.F.M. were able to retain, with difficulty, the fundamental decision making power, they did it only within limits prescribed by the militants. No voice of moderation could be effectively raised. No question could be raised as to where all this action was headed, or how great a price should be paid or what the relationship to the total good of the community might be, or the wisdom or lack of it of lawlessness. Questions could only be effectively raised as to how much could be gained by one course as opposed to another, with a prevading bias in the direction of militance.

13. The community as a whole comes out of the experience favorably disposed toward the fundamental U.F.M. case (integration of the transported school children), unsympathetic to the school picketing, outraged at the final lawlessness of the militant groups, but highly critical of police ineptness.

14. A case could be made that some progress has been made in dispelling the cloud of "good will" that has characterized this city, thus making necessary a confrontation of real issues. But there can be no doubt that militance on all fronts has dangerously escalated. The blood of the Negro community is up and so is that of substantial sections of the white community. Both groups now talk in terms of a coming showdown and it will be a job of the first order to prevent it -- in Cleveland or anywhere else.

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Program

MEMO

TO: NATIONAL OFFICE STAFF
FROM: ALLAN HOFFMAN
RE: CLEVELAND CORE SITUATION

This morning I received a call from Ruth Turner of Cleveland CORE. She gave me the following information regarding the Cleveland, Ohio, Board of Education agreement with Cleveland CORE.

1. In Spetember, there was an agreement reached that this semester (beginning 2/3) the "transportation classes" would be integrated. These "transportation classes" were whole classes of Negroes who were bussed from overcrowded schools to white under-utilized ones. These children are segregated by class from the rest of the school:
   a) they go to lunch at a different time;
   b) they go to the rest rooms at a different time;
   c) they leave school for home at a different time.

2. A campaign was started last week with the following incidents:
   Tues. 1/28: picketing at the offices of the Board of Education.
   Wed. 1/29: picketing of 2 schools. There were 250-300 people involved with no police protection despite a violent mob.
   Thurs. 1/30: there were pickets in an Italian neighborhood, again there was a violent mob, breaking windows and turning over cars.
   Fri. - Sun. 1/31-2/2: a sit-in was held at the Board of Education. 60 people were involved originally with 16 staying through the whole time. A mass rally on Sunday night.
   Mon. 2/3: a meeting of the Board was held. 500 pickets from the Negro community were present and tried to attend the meeting. A sit-in was held outside and the Board denied that any promises had been made following the September talks, and blamed the demonstrators for the outbreaks of violence.
   After the Board meeting, they offered to integrate in September (1963) and to stop "transportation classes." 60 sat in overnight.
   Tues. 2/4: The sit-ins became obstructive -- stopped elevators, blocked doors, stairways. There was police brutality with the demonstrators being kicked around and thrown down stairs.
   Wed. 2/5 a.m.: Demonstration was held at Police Headquarters. A mass rally was held the same night with an executive meeting being held to evaluate the new agreement or statement. The decision was to be made last night. The statement said that "We will integrate transportation classes now." There will also be consideration of a Board statement to the effect that "every attempt will be made to end transportation classes," the group fears this means that the Negro kids will be distributed back into ghetto school.

Ruth Turner can be reached at #216 791-4998 (Cleveland CORE office)

School Integ

May 7, 1962

Mr. Louis Smith, Chairman
Philadelphia CORE
3530 North 23rd Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Lou:

Beryl Collins called our office this past weekend asking if we had any information about progress in integration of New York City public schools and he mentioned that you were having a meeting soon with the Philadelphia Board of Education.

Enclosed is the following material which I hope will be of some help in your situation. Please keep us informed. We are very interested in the progress our chapters make in this area.

Sincerely,

Norman Hill
Assistant to the Director
PROGRAM DEPARTMENT

NH/ss
Enc.

Schools

Sat., July 14, 1962 The Philadelphia Tribune

# CORE Charges Midtown Realtor With Bias, Stages Sit-In

## Soldier Barred From Renting Juniper St. Apt.

### Protestors Claim They've Gotten The 'Run-Around'

By C. LESTER FULLER and HENRY T. BENJAMIN

The Philadelphia Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) staged a one and one-half hour "sit-in" Wednesday at the Allen Brothers real estate office, 16th and Lombard sts., to rotest alleged bias on the part of the realtor to lease an apartment to a soldier stationed at the Frankford Arsenal here.

Staging the protest were CORE members Edward Hollander, Lillian Mirmak and John Curran, Jo-Ann Lessner, Joseph Smith, and Benjamin Jones. Lou Smith, chairman of Philadelphia's CORE, was not present.

**FOUR HOUR SIT-IN**

The demonstration, which followed a four-hour sit-in Tuesday night at the apartment, 317 s. Juniper st., brought a number of Policemen to the scene, including Police Inspector Frank Rizzo. Also present was Terry Chisholm, supervisor of housing, Commission on Human Relations.

Said CORE member JoAnn Lesser "We came here to have a negotiating session with Mr. Allen (James Allen, Jr.), but we have been given the 'run-around.' Three times he denied he was Mr. Allen."

The realtor refused comment when approached by Tribune reporters. "You will have to see the boss and he's out," Allen said.

**SOLDIER IS OBJECT**

Object of the protest is Randolph Crossfield, an Army specialist stationed at the Frankford Arsenal who has been attempting to rent the Juniper st. apartment. Crossfield's references are reported to be "excellent." He wants the apartment because he is getting married within a few weeks.

According to Chisholm, three people formerly lived in the Juniper st. apartment, including Crossfield. The lease, Chisholm explained, was terminated after Crossfield had lived in the apartment for awhile.

The two white tenants left and Crossfield sought to have the lease changed over in his name," Chisholm said. Crossfield was told to vacate the premises which he did. He came back and applied for the apartment with no apparent success. The filing of a complaint with the Commission on Human Relations followed.

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from the CORE-LATOR, published by National CORE - - JUNE, 1962

**WIN FAIR JOB POLICY AT PHILADELPHIA HOTELS**

**By Louis Smith**

As a result of threatened CORE action, Philadelphia's hotels have adopted a fair employment policy.

For this policy to be a success, qualified Negroes must apply to the hotels and then report to the Employment Division of the Commission on Human Relations, so that accurate tabulations of progress can be made. The Employment Division has informed CORE that the hotels are currently requesting personnel to fill the categories of waiter, waitress, clerk and elevator operator.

Previously, the hotels hired whites only in these categories. The Commission so stated in its April, 1961 report. As a consequence an initial agreement was reached between the Commission and the Hotel Association but many of the hotels declined to observe it.

One violator of the agreement was the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. The Philadelphia Fellowship Commission was planning to hold its annual banquet there at which its civil rights award would be presented to Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Our CORE group protested to the Fellowship Commission, to Robert Kennedy and to Gustav Amsterdam, chairman of the Board of Bankers Security Corporation and a leading influence in the Hotel Association. The protest made clear that we would have to picket if the banquet were held at a hotel with a discriminatory job policy.

Amsterdam responded by promising negotiation of a new and more effective agreement on job policy between the Commission on Human Relations and the Hotel Association. This was confirmed by the Commission and the new job policy resulted.

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THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER,
THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 11, 1962

# CORE Asks Total School Integration

## But Wetter Calls Policy 'Positive'

The Board of Education has no "well-defined plan" for total integration of the public school system, Stanley C. Diamond, a member of the executive committee of the Philadelphia Chapter, Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), charged before the board Wednesday.

Diamond made the allegation as the board held public hearing on its $38 million capital improvement program. The CORE representative was one of two speakers appearing before the board.

**DEFENDED BY WETTER**

The position of the board on integration was defended by Dr. Allen H. Wetter, superintendent of schools and newly proclaimed chief executive officer of the school system. Dr. Wetter said the board has had a "positive integration program for years."

Diamond said that during a previous discussion with Dr. Wetter, his group formed the opinion that the "school board does not fully accept the integration of our school system as a desirable, civic and educational goal. . .and declines to accept responsibility for the situation at hand."

**PROGRESS POLICY GOAL**

"We urge the board to adopt as an active and important aim of its endeavor a policy of deliberate and planned integration in the school system," Diamond said. "We wish the board to recognize that a segregated education is one in which democratic principles cannot be effectively taught to members of either the minority or majority groups. . ."

Dr. Wetter, in answering Diamond, said that CORE "had certified no specific steps for integration but merely called for integration in general."

The other speaker, George Hutt, of 1241 N. Conestoga st., urged the alleviation of overcrowding in schools in the area of 52d st. and Haverford, Columbia and Girard aves. Hutt did not represent any specific organization, but rather the residents of the area.

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CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

PHILADELPHIA CORE
3649 LANCASTER AVE.
PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

Schools

OCT 17 1962

TESTIMONY GIVEN TO THE PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF EDUCATION
ON SUBJECT OF SCHOOL BUILDING PROPOSALS
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1962
BY STANLEY C. DIAMOND ON BEHALF OF
PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER OF THE CONGRESS ON RACIAL EQUALITY

The Congress of Racial Equality, represented at this hearing by its Philadelphia Chapter, has, as its basic goal, the securing of complete equality of opportunity for people of all races and creeds in this country. Because we are concerned lest inequities exist or shall come to exist in the educational opportunities in Philadelphia schools for the children of Negroes or other national minority groups, we appear today to express our desire to cooperate with the Board of Education and offer long term assistance to you in helping to fulfill this goal, and to propose several items which we feel would make a contribution to the realization of such a goal in our city. Insofar as the school building plan, now under consideration as the subject of this hearing, effects the question of racial composition of our schools and has implications for the quality of the education given to Negroes and other minorities, as well as the white children in Philadelphia, we are interested in its design.

The members of our chapter of CORE do not have the background which would enable us to put forth specific suggestions as to the location of a given school. Even though among our several hundred members, there are many teachers, none of these claims to have the comprehensive view of the city's educational structure to be able to make proposals of this nature, and even were they to attempt this, they should be sorely limited by the lack of facilities at their disposal and the lack of sources of information necessary to fulfill such a task. We are not here to tell you what we think

you should do. We are here to indicate to you our concerns and to urge you to share them with us in thought and action.

If we seem awkward in our appearance before you today, it is primarily because we did not anticipate this kind of hearing when we indicated our desire to express ourselves to the Board. We expected, instead, that the several groups which desired to testify would do so in concert; that we would have the opportunity to hear what other groups with the same concerns but with greater experience and resources in this area would say, and possibly participate in the give and take of an open discussion. This would have enabled us to become more aware of the problems that exist, both from the Board's point of view and that of the groups testifying. We would then have been better prepared to contribute toward positive developments in respect to our goal. This setting does not provide that opportunity. Our first recommendation to the Board, then, is that just such a hearing be arranged before the building plan becomes a fait accompli. We would willingly and happily return to this room to participate in an open discussion involving those groups which have and are going to testify before you during these weeks. We believe that this would be to our mutual advantage.

We should like to elaborate on the matter of limitation of facilities and resources. We are certain that this is something which most, if not all, of the groups which have represented themselves before you face as a problem. Even close cooperation among them is not likely to answer this difficulty. It is hard to evaluate and contribute to something which is not fully understood, about which details as well as overviews are certainly

missing, about which even its designers may be occasionally uncertain as to the effect and results of their design. The kind of information which is necessary to do a proper job in evaluating a school system is indeed complex, varied and often subjectively deduced (for statistics are not the only kind of data required). We realize that it would necessitate a team of skilled men in every field of education, with a generous endowment of time and finances, to accomplish such a task. Even if there were the possibility of assembling such a group in our city, possibly even from our own public school system, it is unlikely that the requisite objectivity would be present. We feel that no group in this city is in a position to make definitive statements about our school system without the type of information we describe; we feel that the School Board is severely handicapped in making decisions or reaching conclusions in the absence of such a study. We, therefore, urge that the School Board seek out and assemble such a group of learned, capable, and objective men, support them with cooperation and provide them with necessary finances to do this job. Only then are we likely to know where we are.

Such a study is only a means to knowing where we are, however. It is up to us to decide where we are going. Philadelphia CORE hopes that the School Board wishes to move in the direction of a successfully integrated and educationally rich school system in our city. In our one contact with a representative of the Board this year, we were not satisfied that integration was in fact a goal of the school system. To the contrary, Dr. Wetter indicated to us that the schools were becoming desegregated in faculty and

student body ( a matter which we found somewhat debatable), but that this was a product of circumstance rather than intent. If we interpreted the essence of our discussion with Dr. Wetter correctly, the School Board does not fully accept the integration of our school system as a desirable civic and educational goal, has no well defined plan to cause it to progress, and declines to accept responsibility for the situation at hand. If this be a incorrect inference from the interview which we had, we would be most happy to have Board inform us accordingly and instruct its school officials as to the real policy. If we were not mistaken, however, we would like to urge the Board to reconsider its position. We feel most strongly that no large city in today's America can any longer remain color blind in the field of education. The housing patterns and the employment patterns are such that this posture is no longer the appropriate one to provide the most beneficial results where integrated education is concerned. A lasse faire approach to this problem can result only in the solidification of an already undesirable pattern which is forming. We urge the Board to <u>adopt, as an active and important aim of its endeavors, the policy of deliberate and planned integration in the school system. We wish the Board to recognize that a segregated education is one in which democratic principles cannot be effectively taught to the members of either the minority or majority groups represented in it</u>. In accordance with this, we would like to see the Board direct the men in charge of the school system to carry out policies forwarding integration in a vigorous and forthright manner and consider these as imperatives in any comprehensive plan which may be designed.

Since there are already groups in the city which are concerned with racial questions both in the school system and otherwise, we would like to make one further recommendation. It is our feeling that there should be a close liaison between the School Board and other public and independent agencies in the city. We think specifically of the City Planning Commission and the Commission on Human Relations. The latter is rather well equipped to evaluate, at least tentatively, the implications of School Board proposals where they might have an effect on minority groups in the city. The City Planning Commission and the School Board should most certainly be in close contact at even the preliminary stages of any building plans the Board designs. We would like to see the Board make greater use of these two agencies as consultative agents than seems to have been the case in past years. Even more direct aid of this nature could be provided to the Board of Education by the formation of a citizen's advisory group on questions of race and religion in the schools. Such a group could be easily formed of representatives of various public and independent agencies in the city. The citizens of Philadelphia who care about these matters would always be kept informed and, reciprocally, the Board would be continually apprised of the feelings and wishes of these citizens. If there were promise of formal consultation on the part of the Board, civic agencies would be only too happy to take the responsibility for the formation of such an advisory group.

In summary then, the Philadelphia Chapter of CORE comes to you to express its interest in what you are doing, to offer its help and advice in any way that it can, and to urge that you undertake actively the difficult task of adding integration to the many worthwhile goals of the Philadelphia School System.

Schools

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1963 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JAN 21 1963

CORE LABELS TATE'S EMANCIPATION STATUE "EMPTY GESTURE" - CALLS FOR "DEEDS NOT WORDS"

In a letter to Mayor Tate, the Chairman of Philadelphia CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) denounced the plans for a statue to commemorate the Emancipation Proclamation as an "empty gesture in a futile attempt to win Negro votes." Louis S. Smith said the statue will do "absolutely nothing to advance equal rights for Negroes and other minority groups." Smith called on the Mayor to take "positive steps toward ending racial discrimination and segregation.

In announcing his plans for the statue, Tate proposed that it be financed with the pennies of school children. CORE demanded to know how he could "possibly ask the school children to contribute to such a statue when the Board of Education and the Superintendent of Schools consistently maintain that they have no obligation to promote integration in Philadelphia's segregated school system"

The civil rights group said that it had expected the Mayor to assume some responsibility and exert some effort "to assist in the struggle to achieve equal opportunities for Negroes." CORE challenged Tate to take meaningful measures "to combat the rampant discrimination in housing and employment."

The direct action organization maintained that the statue to Emancipation is meaningless to the half million Negroes in Philadelphia who "remain, in fact, second class citizens." CORE urged Tate to drop the plans for the statue and offered to meet with him to help "achieve full equality for all citizens of Philadelphia."

Copies of the letter were sent to George Schermer, Executive Director of the Commission on Human Relations and Dr. Alan Wetter, Superintendent of Schools, who recently announced plans to collect the pupils' pennies in the schools.

# # # # # #

END

Note: A copy of the letter will be sent on request.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

PHILADELPHIA CORE • 3649 LANCASTER AVE. • PHILADELPHIA 4, PENNA.

E-Rem.

Memorandum to
The President

Subject:

**A Plan of Action**

**For Remedial Education**

(A follow-up on my memorandum
of October 16, 1964.)

From James Farmer
November 21, 1964

In my previous memo to you (October 16, 1964) I suggested that CORE believes that it is possible, working with other organizations and private citizens, to provide literacy skills for a million Americans in an eighteen month period with an investment of $30,000,000. I stressed the fact that CORE is an organization of volunteers, who are accepted and trusted within the communities most in need. Further, I stated that it is possible to perform this task in whatever buildings and facilities are available, using non-teachers to instruct with the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program, developed by Dr. Myron Woolman of the Institute of Educational Research in Washington.

The fact that millions of Americans see the fruits of our rich, productive society and yet cannot taste those fruits is a violation of the right of all citizens to equal opportunity. Moreover, these millions of economically and socially disfranchised Americans represent an unstable and potentially explosive force within our society. From the point of view of simple justice, economic growth, and social stability, we must attack this problem with all available resources. The social advances made possible by the Civil Rights Act and the promise in the Economic Opportunities Act are like a menu presented to long-hungry diners. These legislative acts must be followed by something tangible or the very hopes they raise will stimulate further disillusionment and resentment. The problem infects every American community and action must be taken wherever the problem exists.

In considering the issue, I am convinced that CORE has only begun to make its contribution. We must help the disadvantaged develop literacy and job skills and a concommitant confidence in their future as Americans.

I have a deep conviction that CORE must participate actively at the community level, lending support to these important programs as they begin to function within our deprived communities. The dropouts, illiterates and the unemployed cannot be helped by law, buildings, money or good intentions. They distrust officials and schools, in whatever guise they appear, and they can only be brought into full and active participation in our society by people they trust using methods of training which are suited to their needs. Above all, there must be mutual confidence between the people who operate the programs and those to whom the training is given.

The prime fact of the war on poverty is that the trainee must not only enlist but actively participate if he is to learn. Learning, as you know, is a personal matter and requires both confidence in the teacher and a willingness to invest oneself in the process sufficiently to succeed. I am convinced that the next step is for organizations such as CORE to move forward into the national arena and if this important step is to succeed, to act as a catalyst for simplifying and accelerating the process of education and training.

Further, it is necessary for organizations such as CORE not only to participate in community education, but also to assist in developing the new educational methods and techniques required for community-action education, as contrasted with public education, which, to date, has been ineffective in coping with the problems rampant in our deprived communities.

While it is the responsibility of the schools to educate, it is our obligation to supplement that education where necessary and to reach those who have failed to respond to the schools. No one can reach the youth on the streets in quite the same manner as another youth or an adult who has come from the same background and environment. CORE feels strongly that the Negro protest organizations along with individual churches, local unions, social clubs and community groups have a unique role to play in motivating and educating those Americans who remain functionally illiterate. Our record shows that we have had astonishing success in motivating and training the very population that is most in need of inspiration, most in need of enrichment, most in need of literacy skills, most in need of jobs. We do not propose a program for non-whites alone. We propose to begin a campaign in which volunteers of all ages, backgrounds and races will be able to offer a unique learning experience to hundreds of thousands and even millions of disadvantaged and underprivileged persons.

We have in the field the structure for putting into effect a large scale literacy program. We have the methodology. With the proper funding we will be in a position to effect substantial literacy programs throughout the rural South and in hundreds of cities and towns. Through coordination of the efforts of private agencies and with the assistance of the federal government we believe we can make great strides toward the elimination of illiteracy in this great nation.

Our objective is to teach people to read and thus provide them with the underpinning required to go on to further educational and employment levels. But we have an even greater objective. Negroes and other members of depressed minority groups have been taught to reject their own potential. Those on the bottom have for their own self-protection become apathetic and lethargic: to try to advance is to be beaten down. Thus, millions of Americans have chosen to accept their inferior status. The militant civil rights campaigns of the past decade have awakened the sleeping aspirations of many of these sullen millions. For the first time we have brought the spark of

life into whole communities. While we have provided the awakening, we must now shift our programs so that we may provide the tools to translate these new-found aspirations into reality.

The ingredients necessary for the successful implementation of a literacy program which can provide reading skills and motivation for further growth are:

1. A population receptive to the idea of learning and self-advancement.
2. A technology which can provide the ability to advance reading skills at a substantial rate and which also has built-in self-motivating factors.
3. A large group of persons able to act as instructors.
4. A structure able to administer and supervise the program.
5. Community facilities available for implementing the program over a long period of time.
6. Funds.

Population

There is no need to dwell on the need or the receptivity of a large population. The statistical evidence is overwhelming. This has also been dealt with here and in the earlier memorandum.

Technology

The method developed by Dr. Myron Woolman appears to hold the best possibility for success. It is a programmed approach which has been designed for use by relatively untrained personnel. It incorporates the learning by teaching approach. The content of the reading material can be tailored to meet the peculiar requirements of the southern Negro child and adult, the ghettoized high school dropout or the Appalachian white, and it allows the student to advance as rapidly as his own capabilities permit. CORE has observed the method in operation in the field. Our staff was amazed at the interest, involvement, discipline

and motivation of both instructors and students.

Others who have studied Progressive Choice in practice attest to its striking ability to stimulate and hold the learner. Students almost unanimously ask to spend longer hours on the program than time permits. They take tremendous pride in their accomplishments and in their successes. We are thoroughly convinced that Accelerated Progressive Choice offers the best opportunity for non-teachers to reach and teach the educationally and socially deprived.

Instructors

Many volunteer Literacy Instructors will be drawn from the dropout or potential dropout population itself. Retired teachers, housewives, student volunteers, church members and workers can also become volunteer Literacy Instructors.

The initial cadre of instructors will come from the active membership of the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the churches. In many cases the instructors will recruit their own students. As students progress in the method they themselves will instruct others just entering the program. With CORE's extensive experience in the utilization of volunteers we will be able to recruit an ever-expanding number of instructors who will have wider and wider outreach.

We have observed student helpers on the junior high school level giving instruction in this method in a public school in North Carolina. It was startling to see that the student helpers were as effective in teaching as were the teachers. If 8th graders are able to teach reading to other 8th graders it becomes obvious that the number of potential teachers is limitless and that the demands of the Woolman method on the instructor do not preclude using youngsters themselves under supervision to teach others. A number of CORE chapters in New York are somewhat acquainted with the literacy program and many of our high school members have come to us asking when they can begin to implement the program in their schools and through their chapters. With the small amount of publicity there has been on the literacy program my office has been flooded with offers of professional assistance, with volunteers who want to become instructors and with inquiries from communities wanting to know when they can begin the program.

Structure

I propose that a Center for Research in Community-Action Education be established in an appropriate university setting. Preliminary discussions have already been carried on with two universities and this proposal has met with initial positive responses. The university would receive and account for funds from all sources, public and private. The Center's sole initial function would be to research, develop and execute the literacy program on a national scale. This aspect of the Center's work shall be referred to as Phase 1.

The Center will require four operational arms: Research, Development, Planning and Community Action. Under Phase 1 the functions of these departments would be:

a. Research Arm: To develop theory and perform experimentation directed to improving the efficiency of the processes of human learning, with emphasis on narrowing the gap between human potential and performance.

b. Development Arm: To design and produce educational materials specific to the requirements for Community-Action Education Programs.

c. Planning Arm: To coordinate the professional, educational governmental, and organizational resources to facilitate work done in the field. Further it would operate as a resource for the other three arms in the Center.

d. The Community Action Arm: This arm would do the work of going out into the communities to carry out the plan of action and use the materials developed through the research and development arms. It would also evaluate and make recommendations for change in the methods of implementation employed by the cooperating agencies.

I further propose, however, that the scope of the University Center eventually be expanded into Phase II. In this second phase the Center should broaden its program to include all aspects of quality, integrated education. For example, Phase II should be concerned with sharply reducing the proportion of dropouts and increasing the ability of students to learn.

The functions of the four departments under Phase II would be expanded to include the following:

a. Research Arm: Research in the whole area of school integration, and other research appropriate to developing quality education within the public schools.

b. Development Arm: Development of proposals at the request of school systems and local organizations for achievment of quality, integrated education, and development of materials and textbooks toward this end.

c. Planning Arm: Communication and coordination of the work being done by community action groups, boards of education, governmental agencies, and various experimental projects. Planning and expediting the transition from community-action education to public school education inasmuch as the success of Phase II will progressively render Phase I unnecessary.

d. Community Action Arm: Act in a consultative capacity to school boards, school supervisors and community groups to assist in the solution of educational and training problems arising from intergroup tensions or desegregation.

It should be pointed out that the expanded scope (Phase II) of the Center is independent of and not a requisite for the national reading program (Phase I). A financial commitment to Phase I implies no such commitment or endorsement of the projected second phase.

Community Facilities

In addition to the University Center which would serve as the research administrative, and supervisory headquarters for the literacy development program, certain community resources will be required. It has been indicated that the body of instructors will be a prime resource provided by the community. Places in which to teach also will be necessary. Church basements, lodges, clubrooms, union halls, plant facilities and community centers will be ideal. In fact, the logic of the program indicates that the more the quarters are unlike a typical school setting, the better.

Funds

The educational crisis facing America requires a massive effort on the part of volunteer agencies. Only the federal government can support such an effort on the scale which is imperative. However, on a large scale the average cost of developing an eighth grade reading level in students beginning near point zero can be less than $50. This low cost will be possible due to the use of volunteer instructors and free facilities.

In most cases the cost to a community or agency desiring to undertake the literacy program should consist solely of the investment of time and energy. The materials, research and supervisory staff would be paid for by the funds made available by the federal government. I am in the process of preparing a budget which will be available shortly.

THE PROGRAM OF ACTION

I would suggest that we begin implementation of the literacy program in Philadelphia or Washington, D.C. We should move next to Pittsburgh and New York City. After that we should expand into the South and as rapidly as possible spread to cities across the nation.

At the beginning we would use the network of CORE chapters, NAACP, Urban League, SNCC and SCLC units and Freedom Schools which already have expressed an interest in the project as the nucleus for implementation. These groups are uniquely equipped to move into this type of community program rapidly and effectively and without necessitating new and elaborate community machinery. But we shall by no means limit participation to civil rights organizations. Already, one of America's major industries has approached CORE about the possibilities of putting the reading method into effect among the workers in its plants.

The Center at the outset will develop facilities to train Literacy Instructors both on its own premises and in the field. In any given city we would start with a cadre of between twenty and fifty Literacy Instructor Trainees. They can be trained as Literacy Instructors in from twenty-five to forty hours of instruction depending upon the number of hours they have available and on their own motivational and educational level. At the end of their training period they will be fully equipped to: 1) instruct in the Accelerated Progressive Choice method, 2) recruit their own students, 3) secure their own facilities in which to carry on their instruction if necessary, and 4) maintain all appropriate records.

As Literacy Instructors they will work largely within their own neighborhoods with students of compatible backgrounds with whom they readily can establish rapport. Each Instructor will be able to teach up to twelve persons in a group. Depending upon their initial level the students can become student-Instructors within a period of 30 to 150 hours of instruction and many of them are expected, at the end of 250 to 300 hours of instruction, to be fully qualified as literacy instructors without having gone through cadre training.

The Community Action arm of the University Center will also develop a large staff of Community Reading Program Consultants whose function will be to investigate, develop and supervise new agencies which can serve as fruitful local instruments for this aspect of the War Against Poverty. Working under the Program Consultants will be teams of paid staff members drawn from the ranks of the Literacy Instructors, who will check on each local Instructor and provide him with methods for continually improving his effectiveness.

Coordinated and planned from the Center, largely utilizing the already existing structures of national and regional organizations, and drawing upon local initiative, the nation-wide literacy program can be functional in a surprisingly short period of time and with an extremely low per capita expense.

I believe that this welding of research, development, and planning to community action represents a major new force in the War on Poverty and the struggle for equality in our nation. This program is, as you know, very much a part of my deepest convictions and I would participate personally and actively in the Center to insure its viability. I intend to seek, and am confident of gaining, the support of all civil rights groups, as well as unions, churches, the business community, and the general public in this task.

Within the framework of a Research Center such as the one outlined, a target on the order of one million literacy trainees appears both practical and feasible. This Center is a vehicle which has not existed to this time, because there was no public requirement to combine research, development and community action. Now, it seems to me, it is a necessary development to help insure the success of the War on Poverty. It utilizes many forces and combines them into a synchronous and functional system.

This new kind of war demands its own special weapons. The Center for Research in Community-Action Education will be a vital addition to our nation's arsenal in prosecuting this war - against poverty and for social justice.

George

Meeting of the Research Advisory Committee, October 14, 1965. Present: Mike Miller, Frank Riessman, Mr. Berhrstock, Mrs. Freedman, Henry Schwartzchild, Herbert Gans, Eric Polisar, Ray Brown, Faith Seidenberg, and from CORE Dr. George Wiley, Robert Curvin, Mike Lesser, and Alan Gartner

Wiley reported on a meeting he had earlier in the day with Carl Holman of the Civil Rights Commission. Holman indicated that there had been a recent(within the previous 48 hours) shuffling of responsibilities re. the Novemebr White House Conference. Holman, Beryl Bernhard, Hy Lewis, Norman Hill, Hal Fleming and Ed Bailey,and others have been pulled in from various agencies to work on the Conference. Major policy are being cleared through Lee White. At present the plan is to have the November conference be a "planning conference", with the major formal conference in the spring. Exactly what was meant by a "planning conference" was not clear, and apparently the whole thing is "up for grabs". Whitney Young and Bayard Rustin have already sent memos on proposed format for the November conference; John Morsell is expected to send one too. Holman invited CORE to do likewise. (Later in the meeting Gartner was assignes to prepare a draft of such a memo for CORE.) There has been considerable "flak" about the conference in general and about focusing on the "Moynihan" Report in particular.

Turning attention to the "Moynihan " Report, Miller suggested three levels of analysis: 1) a critique of the date-- to what extent is the Negro family in fact "strained"?
2) what are the effects of family "strain" ?
3) what · program of action is appropriate?
There were a number of comments about level 1: Miller noted that when one holds income constant, whites are worse off then Negroes for many social dislocation indices. Also, it was pointed out that it was dishonest to graph ADC cases with unemployment rate without controlling for population; Mrs. Freedman indicated that she was getting figures with a recalculation of this information. ( After the meeting Curvin suggested that the thought new ADC cases among whites were at a higher rate than among Negroes. Also, he will prepare a paper on welfare practices.) Also, Gans reported that at a meeting at COMMONWEAL last night Moynihan was backing-off from that table. Mrs. Freedman, who has made an item analysis of the material presented in the Report, noted that there were 34 major items in the Report which are related to 22 tables. Of these, unemployment is seen as a variable four times, and income classes three times. The bulk of the data, she indicated, used white: non-white comparisons, and comparison within the Negro population. Riessman noted that some indicies of social pathology (e.g. sucide rate) were lower for Negroes.

Riessman and others (Gan's COMMONWEAL article was read by many during the course of the meeting and generally concurred with) criticized the Moynihan emphasis on the family, noting that rather than being a determining casual factor it was an "adaptive" reaction.

Berhrstock suggested that Moynihan's data led to conclusions opposite from those he reached and he characterized Moynihan's movement away from his conclusions as an instance of "coitus interruptus". He also pointed out the bias of the so-called "normal" family concept.

Gans, in a generally agreed upon point, said that the family was an "adaptive mechanism", an adaption to economic conditions. He also pointed out that there was no real data on the impact of a matriarchal family. Riessman referred to a Howard University study of 10(now 70) hard-core" youngsters who when given jobs immediately, with training built into the job, have remained on the program; this was contrasted with high drop-out rates for various training programs with the possibility of jobs held over into the future.

It was also agreed that while the Moynihan emphasis on the pathology of the Negro family was a seductive analysis which was to be rejected, the problem was more than economic, with certain social and psychological issues remaining. Wiley indicated CORE's assent to the analysis of the Moynihan Report, and noted CORE's criticism of various administration programs (viz. the anti-poverty program) also shared the charge of dealing with surface problems without treatment of the structural issues. The question, he said, was how one both exposed the error of the analysis and forced a change of course.

Riessman urged that we concern ourselves with new programs, making specific proposals. He suggested the CORE's position paper "engage" the psychology of the Moynihan Report and the emphasis on pre-school programs, and then go on with new program suggestions. He noted that there will be an unanticipated $8 billion tax gain (presumably for the fiscal year?) and this money could employ approximately 2 million persons in non-professional service jobs. Several people pointed out the emphasis on symtomatic treatment in administration proposals, and Mrs. Freedman emphasized the pattern of establishing parallel institutions(viz "Project Headstart") rather than seeking to change present institutions. The Gans incorporation of Riessman's non-professional jobs as a course of action, along with decent income guarantees, the elimination of discrimination, and an increase of social services(especially housing) was generally accepted.

Advantages of non-professional jobs are:

1) direct impact of money spent, as a higher percentage of the money goes into salaries for the poor than is case in other programs;

2) more exciting jobs;

3) affect a higher percentages of Negroes;

4) not raise problems with unions such as would be true with public works programs;

5) increases in public service occupations are the wave of the future.

The need for jobs as the critical variable was summarized by Gans with the mot, "The family that works together, stays together."

In addition to the emphasis on non-professeional jobs, some discussion was held around the need for training as a component of the job experience, rather than separating first training then jobs. This latter has been the practice in the anti-poverty program and has left many people with training but no new job. We need to push for increased emphasis on on-the-job training programs.

It was the general consensus that we seek to make the November conference a serious matter, and then see what, if anything, happens re. a future conference in the Spring. The CORE paper should, it was suggested, discuss both problems of enforcement of present laws, and new directions. Polisar dissentented from the emphasis on "flashy" new programs, and stressed the need to devote energy and pressure to getting present laws, whose passage was hard fought for, implemented. In expressing the need for new directions, Mrs. Freedman characterized the present anti-poverty programs as "counter-revolutionary, "following a "cool-it" strategy.

In regards to suggestions for the November conference, we will seek to make a real conference, not with single set speeches but with panels and workshops, as a wasy to compel administration persons to remain for more than their own presentation. A theme could well be the Johnsonian, "To fulfill these rights." The CORE paper, in light of the fact that the November conference is being called a planning one, should be suggestive rather than inclusive; the presentation of papers and the holding of discussions at the November conference should then be followed by the assignment to staff persons of research and the development of more formulated papers for the spring conference. The question of invitees to the November conference was raised but not discussed. (Subsequent to the meeting, Wiley stated CORE"s concern in this area as: 1) that CORE representatives be there, along with representatives of the other civil rights groups; 2) that people from the academic community such as those present at the meeting be invited; and 3) that "grass-roots" people be invited, both those who have gained public stature such as Mrs. Hamer and those less well known.)

The next meeting was scheduled for 6 p.m., October 28, at the CORE office. Prior to that meeting Gartner will distribute to the participants a draft of a paper pulling together the discussion and other materials which will be sent to him. All present were also invited to a meeting specifically on the anti-poverty program, to be held at the CORE office at 6 p.m., October 21.

Meeting of the Research Advisory Committee, 21 October 1965
Present: Brown, Berg, Freedman, Miller, Kurland, Riessman, Jewett, Shrank, Rosen, and from CORE Farmer, Wiley, Haley, Dennis, Rachlin, Gartner.

Mr. Farmer informed the group that at a meeting held that afternoon of the Committee of United Civil Rights Leaders (CUCRL) with the staff for the White House Conference, the November conference would be a planning session, with no substantive matters to be discussed nor with position papers presented. The meeting, to be limited to 50 participants, would be to identify and raise the issues and develop the program for the spring meeting. CORE was to nominate three representatives for the November meeting.

The rest of the meeting was devoted to the anti-poverty program. Mrs. Freedman sought to express what she suggested might be a group consensus about the present anti-poverty program by describing it as one which is essentially limited to the rehabilitation or manipulation of individuals, seeking to make them fit better into a (adequately) functioning social system. This being so, there was relatively little if any concern in the program with such matters as the creation of new jobs.

Some tangential discussion indicated no major disagreement with Mr. Freedman's statement but Mr. Kurland (sitting in for Mr. Boggs) emphasized the flexibility of the statute, viz. the CAP allows almost any of the activities provided by all other federal statutes except for general education. The problem, he suggested, was the limited construction given to the statute by the OEO.

A discussion of the Job Corps indicated a general feeling that it was a program which essentially "creamed off" a group of kids who could survive a year in a camp. Mr. Berg suggested that the major achievement was that it removed the youth from the unemployment statistics for a year. There was general agreement about the failure of the Job Corps programs to provide for employment generation following the training; as yet, there has been no group which has completed the entire year's training. It was noted that the Job Corps was one of the anti-poverty programs most remote from CORE, and therefore one which ought not be of major concern to the group at this point.

A continuation of the Jobs Corps discussion along with some tangential discussion of the Neighborhood Youth Corps emphasized the groups concern that job provision was a critical factor. This was roughly formulated as no training without jobs -- it is best to provide jobs with training built in. And no jobs without training -- every effort should be made to assure that jobs were not of the "dead-end" variety.

At several points in the meeting there was discussion of the development of non-professional jobs as an important area of expansion for the anti-poverty program. Mrs. Freedman related a St. Louis incident where a number of women were trained as non-professionals only to find that the Civil Service board stated that there was no job category for "community aides." Mr. Riessman emphasized the very considerable potentialities for increased non-professional jobs with the implementation of the Medicare bill. Mr. Haley emphasized the importance of jobs for men. This was generally agreed upon, and it was noted by Mr. Riessman that in his program in New York they were able to attract men having decided to do so. There were three components of such a decision to attract men: how one structured the demands of the job; the building in of advancement potential into the position; adequate wages.

Mr. Kurland noted that the pressure from Mayors in regard to the anti-poverty program had produced increased timidity in OEO. He also suggested the reduced effectiveness of pressure on OEO for change and indicated that it had better be applied to the White House. Several persons indicated that the anti-poverty program grew out of a response to the civil rights movement and that that movement ought to have jurisdiction over the program but it had not exerted itself to make that claim. Mr. Farmer indicated a general sense that the civil rights groups ought to make such a claim, while noting, at least initially, that the civil rights groups had some concern about being coopted by the anti-poverty program and staffs.

It was agreed that two items would be given major attention at the next meeting: first, the issue of control -- as stated in item 4 of Mike Miller's memo to the group; and second, the issue of job creation both in regard to non-professionals and public works. Frank Riessman agreed to develop a "check-list" to be used by chapters in assessing the need for non-professionals in their community as well as some proposals for strategy in getting such a program accepted. Ray Brown agreed to make some assessment of the impact of a public works program on job creation for Negroes. Mike Miller agreed to work up a fuller explanation of the control models (Cloward, Alinsky, Organization of the poor, and board representation). The next meeting of the anti-poverty group is scheduled for Wednesday, 11 November, 6 pm, at the CORE office.

The next meeting of the group working on the White House conference paper is Thursday, 28 November, 6 pm, at the CORE office. It was suggested that following the work on the White House conference, the next task for that group might be the development of material for a CORE presentation at the Joint Economic hearing on the President's Economic Report in January.

CABLE: "UAW DETROIT"

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OCT 22 1965

October 20, 1965

Dr. George Wiley
Assoc. National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Dr. Wiley:

I will not be in New York on the 21st, but I would like to help CORE. I am in New York irregularly, but almost always on weekends and I hope you'll call on me if you can think of ways that I might help out.

You can reach my wife (Patricia) on Ext. 3841, SP 7-2000 and she generally knows my schedule.

Sincerely,

Brendan Sexton

Brendan Sexton, Director
Leadership Studies Center

BS:hm
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2 East 91st Street

November 3, 1965

Dr. George A. Wiley
Research Advisory Committee
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Dr. Wiley:

I am awfully sorry that I have been unable to attend the meetings of this committee, particularly as they relate to the plans for the White House Conference. I have read the minutes which you have been sending me.

I am dismayed that Frank Reissman's non-professional career line is seemingly becoming a panacea. I am dismayed that CORE seems willing to participate in a conference dealing with the Negro without first insisting that the Negro community set the agenda. I am further dismayed that the Negro family - private and ethnic - has become a matter for public action.

I have read Bill Ryan's, Herb Gans, and Mr. Payton's (Protestant Council) analyses of the Moynihan Report and find it unthinkable that a document with that kind of philosophy will be allowed to become the focal piece for discussion. Gans, Ryan and Payton have ably questioned the validity of the Moynihan Report. I am further concerned that the conference is being called, not at the wishes of the Negro community, but at the behest of the President.

What I am saying is that I am tired of coalitions of imbalance, delineation of the problems and identification of the cracks while the Negro leadership fails to focus on the development and proliferation of its own communal institutions. If the White House Conference is being called to establish machinery to give parity to the Negro for a historical inequity by insisting ~~that~~ enabling the Negro community to develop and run its own organizations, then it will have served a good purpose. Unless the White House Conference ~~runs~~ runs out of philosophy of cultural pluralism, it predestines the Negro to continue to chase integration tokenism and to await a change in the hearts of whites.

Finally, with the kind of grass root upheaval that the anti-poverty prpgram has unleashed (San Francisco, Newark, etc.) I can't imagine the legitimate leaders of the black ghetto every knowing that the Conference took place - or feeling that the White House Conference speaks for them - concrete proposals or not. In the last analysis, if the Negro is denied the right to participate in his own uplift, then, he will continue to be obligated to others for his salvation to an unusual degree.

I'll try to make the first meeting that I can. Please keep me on the mailing list.

Sincerely,

Preston R. Wilcox
Assistant Professor of Social Work

PRW/aws

Minutes of the Research Advisory Committee. November 4, 1965

Present: Miller, Brown, Reissman, Rosen, and from CORE Lombard, Wiley and Gartner.

The meeting was spent going over the latest draft of the CORE paper for the White House Conference. Some discussion was held on the matter of whether the opening, with the emphasis on the old work "tokenism" was good. It was proposed that some of the material used in the Farmer press conference on the November 2nd election on Negro political independence could well be "plugged-into" the opening.

Simner Rosen raised the relevancy of the later sections on housing, schools, etc., to the earlier economic analysis. It was pointed out that CORE did not wholly subscribe to the economic analysis and felt that concern with the other matters was necessary. Suggestions were made to make the pivot of the presentation the lack of significant success with the various governmental programs. Also, it was suggested that the cross-class and cross-race benefits of the programs be stressed.

A point was made as to the inefficiency of present programs, wherein little investment was made which brought even less return. On the other hand, if greater investment were made in social programs, then even more significant gains could be made and there would not be less future bills to pay.

There was some consensus around making the main thrust of the paper issue of participation and legal rights, talking about the alienation of the Negro community, its sense of powerlessness and lack of representation.

No further meeting was called of this committee. The next meeting of the group working on the anti-poverty program will be on Tuesday, November 9th, 6 p.m. at the CORE office.

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To: G. Wiley Research Comm

FR: A B Page

Received call From
Mr. Bob Schrank - 10-14-65

Mr Schrank will not be able to attend the meeting scheduled for Thursday, October 21st. However, he is willing to meet on Any day except Thursdays and mondays. you can reach him at OR7-0400

Preston Wilcox
GR6-6300

Same message

[redacted]

Research

PRELIMINARY DRAFT

# A COMPARISON OF TWO SOCIAL ACTION APPROACHES: SAUL ALINSKY AND THE NEW STUDENT LEFT*

by

Frank Riessman, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Department of Psychiatry
Albert Einstein College of Medicine

Co-Director, Neighborhood Service Center Program
(Sponsored by Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services)

September 1965

Currently, social action has a high place on the national agenda. The notion of organizing the poor in their own behalf has support both within the system, in federally supported community action anti-poverty programs; and outside the system, in the militant conflict-centered approach of Saul Alinsky and the new neighborhood based models of the Students for Democratic Society.

This article has two purposes: the first is to highlight some comparisons between the two major social action approaches being developed "outside of the system". The second goal is to indicate some lines of possible relationship between developments taking place outside the system and those occuring within the governmental system. Our underlying hypothesis is that both the intra-government and extra-government developments may profit from conscious consideration of each other.

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* The student left includes: SDS (The Students for Democratic Society), NSM (The Northern Students Movement) and SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). See "The Student Left - Revolt Without Dogma" by Jack Newfield, Nation, May 10, 1965.

| THE NEW LEFT | THE ALINSKY MODEL* |
|---|---|
| **Target Groups** | |
| The manifest target includes all of the poor; operationally, this is likely to be the alienated poor and those that have a militant potential. | The organization of poor communities including all classes and religious groups within these communities; operationally, this is likely to consist mainly of the poor with the militant potential and the activist clergy. |
| **Goals** | |
| "participatory democracy - the notion that everyone must have a voice in all the decisions that affect his life...community organization of the very poor so that they may have a chance to participate...the humanistic concept that you organize to change individual values rather than the institutions of society. Together they are summarized in the button, the student organizer where in Newark: Let the people decide." (Jack Newfield in the Village Voice, August 5, 1965) | The emphasis is on local gains whether in relation to housing violations, consumer fraud, etc. The second objective is to develop the power of the poor and associated dignity (some sociotherapeutic overtones). |
| The goals are broad, including an emphasis on citizen's rights, overcoming of the impotence of the poor, developing new kinds of human relationships through participatory democracy (including a strong accent on sociotherapeutic benefits) and an ethical unity of means and ends. More specifically, there is concern for carrying through, at a local level, the national civil rights legislative gains. | |
| **Methods** | |
| Beginning with neighborhood based organization moving toward consolidation (community becoming movement). | The emphasis is on organization, carefully selected tactics oriented toward achieving local victories by stressing conflict (rub raw the sores of discontent). The issues that are selected are based upon the possibility of victory and a wide range of tactics are utilized (e.g. boycotts, sit-downs, picketing landlords). Voter registration campaigns stress "vote for power", rather than traditional citizen appeals. |
| Participatory democracy as a means (a new style of organization) as well as an end. The emphasis is on moral rightness not feasibility (But under some circumstances this moral emphasis is strategically effective). | |
| "Counter-community" groups or | |

* See Frank Riessman's, "The Alinsky Model of Social Action: Tactics Without Strategy", Trans-action, September 1965.

| THE NEW LEFT | THE ALINSKY MODEL |
|---|---|

## Methods (Cont'd)

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| "parallel structures" such as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Freedom Schools, cooperatives representing "new styles of organization stressing...local self-determination...working out coherent, alternative social mores and organizations and an alternative radical politics (hopefully and eventually including a confederation of independent parties..." (Norman Fruchter, in Studies on the Left)<br><br>There are different emphases and new developments occuring among the New Left ranging from non-violent revolution to coalition politics. (See Max and Ireland, New York Viewpoint, Summer 1965) | Ruthless, tough posture; ethical means debunked. Concern for building long-term local organization but no long run strategy or ideology. No plan to consolidate local groups with national movement. |

## Philosophic Roots

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|---|---|
| Camus, Paul Goodman, Democratic Socialism (League for Industrial Democracy is the sponsor of SDS); American grass roots participation themes, anti-big leaders, strongly idealistic, ethical and humanistic. Romantic, extremely "positive" view of the poor. Strongly anti-middle class and anti-people over thirty. Opposed to traditional left ideological disputes. | Influenced by old CIO organizing days and left tactics; Machiavielli for the poor, anti-idealist, strong pragmatic emphasis, anti-intellectualism, radical posture, Alinsky cult -- hardly any reference to writers, ideologists other than Alinsky. Emphasis on getting the job done; lack of concern for ethical means. The involvement of the church has brought none of the religious precepts. There is no idealization of the poor (poor slobs without power) who require the outside organizer. Non-communist, non-socialist. |

Differences Between Alinsky and the New Left

There are a number of specific differences with regard to different emphases on tactics, groups appealed to, traditions and philosophic roots. But the major difference relates to the powerful, moral, principled, non-compromising orientation of the New Left. This is in marked contrast to the far more pragmatic, ruthless, tactics-oriented focus of Alinsky. To some extent, as sections of the New Left move toward coalition politics, this difference is reduced. But the basic ethos of SNCC, SDS, the Northern Student Movement is essentially focused on idealistic principles and positions which are supported even when this is not tactically or organizationally wise. Thus the New Left will take a strong position on peace in Viet Nam even when this position has little national appeal. Alinsky eschews international policy questions and sticks to issues and grievances that can be utilized in mounting a successful local campaign. He is much more concerned with local success and stable organization and will rarely, if ever, espouse a position which is unpopular with the people he wants to organize and influence. The New Left supported by youthful zeal and positive idealism has no such limitations in the causes it espouses. Surprisingly under certain circumstances, principledness becomes pragmatically successful (the tactics of principledness) and many of the objectives of the New Left have been won. The unrelenting, uncompromising, dedicated, vivid demands of the New Left even in the peace area have received surprising national attention and the Berkeley rebellion has provided a model for college youth to imitate throughout the nation as evidenced by the recent vote of the National Student Assembly.

Another difference relates to Alinsky's stress on power and organization in contrast to the New Left which repudiates power and instead emphasizes acting together reciprocally.*

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* Differences within the New Left regarding the role of traditional organization are reflected in the exchange between Victor Rabinowitz and Norman Fruchter in "An Exchange on SNCC", Studies on the Left

Similarities and Implications

Both Alinsky and the New Left have much in common. They both function outside of the governmental and professional systems. They both appeal to the alienated poor, stress citizen's rights. Both have a "now" emphasis, begin from below, are neighborhood based. They stress American grass roots traditions, feel that the poor require an outside organizational force to organize them, stress militant appeals and direct action. Both have been stimulated by the effectiveness of the civil rights movement and the new anti-poverty trend of the federal government with its concern for the involvement of the poor. Both approaches have received a very positive press and have captured the imagination of increasing numbers of people across the land. Neither has a well developed long range strategy nor any analysis of new developments taking place in the society. Neither has any significant program on a national scale with regard to housing, employment, welfare, drug addiction.

Both emphasize the value of conflict in developing movement in the society. Both completely deprecate developments taking place within the system such as the anti-poverty movement. Both reject movements from "above" and have strong anti-authority and anti-leadership biases, frequently identifying all leadership with irrational leadership and authoritarianism. Both serve a valuable role as critics of dangers associated with new developments taking place within the system.* Alinsky as the "gadfly" of the anti-poverty war raises fundamental criticisms regarding the use of "a green wave of dollars to kill those militant independent leaders of the poor, buying them off." (Newsweek, September 13, 1965) He notes that "the new federal charter will not foster what its mainstream critics most fear: an authentic social revolution." (The question is, has Alinsky been fostering a similar social revolution in the thirty years of his existence?)

Both the students and Alinsky are essentially anti-ideological, although each has developed some primitive new ideology. Both want the poor to have a say, a voice in the things that affect them. Neither program has developed much thinking or strategy for the emergence of a movement — although SDS is planning to consolidate the local neighborhood groups at some later point. Recently Alinsky by dint of his developing national reputation and press, has developed a wave of imitation, so that in cities throughout the United States that believe themselves to be riot prone (Rochester, Detroit, and St. Louis) there are arising new Alinsky programs. Both seem to have a zero sum concept of power; that is, they believe there is a limited pool of power. For there to be an increase in power among the poor there must be a decrease in power among other groups. This is more explicitly formulated in the Alinsky model.

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* Alinsky and sections of the Student Left are supporting the demand put forth by Richard Cloward in New York for an increased distribution of poverty funds to local anti-poverty groups rather than through the various city halls. This is an important demand because as Cloward notes (Nation, July 1965), these local groups can develop new sources of power through the distribution of funds and services and new ethnic poor constituencies can be developed. To some degree the Office of Economic Opportunity may be responsive to some of these demands.

Neither approach seems to have much perspective regarding the forces that have brought each to national attention. (The tools of the sociology of knowledge have not been utilized by them). Hence Alinsky rarely discusses the significance of the anti-poverty movement in powering his present development. Nor does he appear to fully recognize the significance of the civil rights movement in developing his present national image. In a larger context, neither recognizes the significant context of a highly affluent society that is apparently able to tolerate considerably more "radicalism". Why radicals should receive such a good press is a question that does not seem to have arisen for the new radicals.*

Perhaps even more important is the failure to consider the potential relevance for radical social action of major trends in the larger society: automation and the new role of education; urbanism and the decline of the local political club; the new acceptance in the business community of Keynsian approaches and the growth of the gross national product; the impact of increased centralization and the important counter-bureaucratic trends among the populace; the failure of traditional psychotherapeutic approaches for the alienated low income populations and the concomitant interest in new forms of sociotherapy for the poor; the many significant cleavages within the establishment and the fact that there are many establishments; the increased role of the federal government in dealing with manifold urban problems and the new potential alliance of the federal government and the cities; the decline of the cold war and the possibility of rapid completion of the New Deal (through the alliance and support of the Administration by a Congress that supports its policies far beyond the support Roosevelt and Truman ever received). And finally, the new possibilities opened up on the domestic scene by actual and potential programs in education, civil rights, recreation, anti-poverty, mental health, health and housing. Actually both Alinsky and the New Left are unconsciously moving into the openings provided by the civil rights success and its reflection in the widespread federal legislation which may go considerably beyond the civil rights impetus. (This legislation is only the beginning and suggests that large scale national programs may be achievable by demands from below but these demands need not necessarily be neighborhood based).**

Both approaches seem to have lingering leftovers from psychology and radicalism of the thirties (most surprising for the young Left!). Thus the notion that all gains for the have-nots must be achieved at the expense of the haves and that these gains must be achieved by making the haves uncomfortable. There is little understanding of how developments within the system (see above) can be utilized by movements functioning outside of the system. The fact that the anti-poverty community action programs may be organizing segments of the poor that neither Alinsky nor the Student Left reaches is not looked upon favorably, even though these segments of less militant, less

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* Alinsky in particular has received glowing praise in Harper's, Look, the New York Times, the Saturday Evening Post, Fortune, etc.

** The Civil Rights movement did not really start from the neighborhood, although it may have eventually spread into local areas.

active, less vocal poor may provide a later source of support for Alinsky and the student movement. Nor is there realization that the nonprofessional human service jobs being modeled by the anti-poverty program can be utilized as a wedge for demanding millions of these jobs and careers for the poor rather than the old style public works (which still remains a major demand among sections of the Left). The possibility that affluent 20th Century American capitalism might be able to produce millions of such careers for the poor is not envisioned by the Student Left nor by Alinsky. The new federal anti-poverty focus on providing more adequate services to the poor and expediting service delivery through employing large numbers of new nonprofessional manpower, recruited from among the poor, provides the possibility of important anti-bureaucratic breakthroughs in service delivery. Significant potential alliances with the outside groups such as Alinsky and the New Left are possible here, particularly with the latter prodding the former to achieve their avowed objectives more effectively. There is actually a great concern both within the system and outside it for a humanizing of bureaucracy, limiting bureaucratic discretion, and guaranteeing the voice of the recipients of service, guarding their dignity and rights; moreover, the improved service for the poor does not seem to come at the expense of taking anything away from the rich. This will perhaps be most striking in the field of education where the whole current trend indicates greatly increased funding for so-called "slum" school areas.

Other hangovers from the thirties are reflected in Alinsky's radical posturing (I am a professional radical), his tough guy, smart alecky imitations of John L. Lewis (this is war) and the vague socialism of the New Left in which the socialist principles are not particularly attuned to new developments in American society. Their theoretic armamentarium relies on fairly vague traditional socialism in the economic and political areas. It is in the action arena where non-violent revolution concepts have emerged that the New Left is truly new.

Finally, both programs are fundamentally concerned with what might be called citizen's rights, vis-a-vis non-humane bureaucracy. A citizen's rights party could incorporate many of the demands of both the Alinsky group and the New Left and probably could bring in developments taking place among Welfare Rights' groups throughout the country, groups such as Jobs and Income Now, the Organization for Black Power, the civil rights groups, the local independent anti-poverty groups such as MEND and HARYOU in New York. All these groups are concerned with a new type of social justice: citizen's rights in relation to increasingly centralized bureaucratic structures in welfare, education and protection (police).

## The Relationship of the Inside and the Outside

There are many potentially fruitful lines of relationship between those forces working within the governmental structure and the outside social activists. Each group has its own focus and its own blinders, but certain overall goals which may be held in common may provide a source of unity or at least interchange of ideas and perspective. Thus professionals concerned with involving the poor in the anti-poverty programs have much to learn from the participatory

democracy concepts of the New Left -- even though these concepts cannot be fully applied within the system. Moreover, the uncompromising principledness of the student movement provides a valuable object lesson for those of us who live more pragmatically within the system.

Professionals also have much to learn from the brilliant tactics of Alinsky. His approach to voter registration campaigns "vote for power", rather than citizen "duty" appeals is likely to be much more effective with large sections of the poor and the minority groups.

To the extent that the outsiders are effective in their demands for the poor, they move the center of gravity further to the "left" and thus provide the insiders with more leverage in mediating the demands of the poor with the traditional agencies and power structures. This is most evident in the example of the rent strike which has recently become completely legal in New York State, whereas at one time it was a special militant tactic principally available to groups outside the system. The outsider's success with the rent strike had much to do with the current legitimation of this tactic. The present effectiveness of the Civil Rights movement in San Francisco in gaining considerable control on the city-wide anti-poverty board in that city will undoubtedly provide greater flexibility for groups committed to the poor and working within the system. As we indicated above, the criticisms of Cloward, Alinsky and Adam Clayton Powell have been highly influential in raising questions regarding the representatives of the poor in the anti-poverty programs in the large urban centers.

The groups outside of the system also can deal with much more touchy areas in their criticism of the bureaucracies. Thus Welfare Rights associations can be formed, and groups concerned with police protection and police brutality can be developed more fully outside of the system. Since the insiders need to mediate between agencies such as the police and the Welfare Department and the poor, they cannot adopt as militant a stance with regard to these agencies. Moreover, the outside groups can pay much more attention to having the large number of people who have a legal right to public assistance, receive it.

Perhaps more important, groups outside the system can provide the clout necessary for winning the programs that might be developed in housing, jobs (new careers for the poor), education, urban development and citizen's rights.

The militant social actionists can also begin to organize the poor that had previously been unavailable to them; that is, those sections of the poor who are at present far removed from militant direct action appeals. As community action programs within the system organize this more inactive poor and move them along to more advanced forms of organization, they provide a new recruitment pool for the groups functioning outside the system.

People working within the system are probably more alert to and cognizant about developments taking place within the society that provide new openings for demands by the activists functioning on the outside. Thus the possibility of a demand for millions of

nonprofessional new careers for the poor (rather than public works) should provide an important arena of cooperation for the two forces, the insiders and the outsiders. Similarly, in education, where the President supported by federal monies is providing the ground for major new changes in the educational system.

In education, the significant program developed by CORE for a national literacy campaign is highly relevant to the educational breakthrough and the new monies available for educating the poor. The program represents an attempt to integrate groups functioning outside the system, such as CORE and the forces it represents, with legislative changes developing within the system through the anti-poverty act and the new education laws.

Only through communication by at least some segments of the forces operating outside and inside can new vital programs and demands be developed and social action strategy combined with other strategies of change, such as neighborhood law firms; anti-poverty community action programs; legislation, e.g. the community mental health act; ideology, e.g. Harrington's The Other America, etc. There is a real need to think through the relationship of different types of strategy of change. These include social action from below, legislation which may reflect the demands of the social action and provide new openings for further demands, the use of new types of manpower such as the poor themselves (nonprofessionals), the new role of negotiators, conciliators and expediters.

In conclusion then, it would seem that the social actionists functioning outside of the system and the various social planners functioning within the system have much to gain from mutual contact and exploration. From this union a much more rounded meaningful strategy of change may emerge together with the necessary theoretic base. It is in this context that the analysis of the two most significant developments in the social action area outside the system have been presented and compared.

#

Alan George?

# RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF MAN

162 East 78 Street
New York 21, New York

LEhigh 5-8448
*cable address:* STUDYMAN New York

I don't want to go.

OCT - 9 1965

October 11, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are inviting you to participate in a small working conference co-sponsored by the National Institutes of Mental Health, and the American Orthopsychiatric Association. The conference is designed to bring together a selected group of experts and community leaders to explore how existing knowledge of group process can be used effectively to facilitate essential interracial communication in our communities. A two day working session has been planned at the Holiday House, in Yonkers, New York, starting with dinner on Friday evening, December 9th, 1965, with a closing luncheon session on Sunday, December 11th.

The conference has been called in the recognition that many kinds of action, educational as well as economic, psychological as well as political, are necessary to carry out integration at the community level. We are especially concerned with rapidly changing patterns of interracial relationships following in the wake of the civil rights movement. There is a clear need to evolve methods for initiating and improving communications among groups which have been socially and psychologically separated, a need to get people talking to each other, as people. The conference will focus upon ways and means of establishing such dialogue, based on the following premises:

1) Some of the psychological problems of integration can be overcome by actual integration at the grass roots level through face to face communication.

2) This process can be facilitated by group discussion techniques, to help understand the way men look at each other.

3) Where there is readiness for social interaction, professional resources can be drawn upon to assist in removing the barriers of "they" and "we" and in establishing relationships based on personal attributes rather than stereotypes.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF MAN

October 11, 1965

4) Discussion groups can be developed by community organizations, such as P.T.A.'s, Trade Unions, Industry, Neighborhood Houses, civic clubs, religious groups, and the like. Some local discussion groups are already in existence in a few areas and can contribute their experience.

5) The need exists for a national program to develop and encourage interracial communications at the community level, drawing on existing knowledge of community organization and of group process.

We hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation to participate in the conference and contribute your background knowledge and ideas to the sessions. Conference funds are available for accommodations for the participants and the reporting and distribution of materials. Travel funds are limited, however, and we would consequently appreciate it very much if it is at all possible for your organization to provide your travel to the conference.

Please indicate your acceptance on the enclosed card. We will appreciate any suggestions you may have about the conference and look forward to your active participation.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Vera Rubin

VERA RUBIN, Ph.D.
Director, RISM

Chairman, Committee on
Minority Group Problems
American Orthopsychiatric Assoc.

VR/rt

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Research

REVISED COPY

# IT'S TIME FOR A MOON-SHOT IN EDUCATION

A proposal for a revolution in the education of the disadvantaged child....and all children.

by

Frank Riessman, Ph.D.
Associate Professor,
Department of Psychiatry*
Albert Einstein College of Medicine

October 1965

* Address: Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services
333 Southern Boulevard
Bronx, New York 10454

In the past several years, enormous interest has been expressed concerning the education of the disadvantaged, inner-city child. Programs developing in various cities throughout the United States have met with varying success:

.... In Flint, Michigan disadvantaged sixth grade youngsters with reading difficulties helped fourth grade children who had reading problems and amazingly, the performance of both groups went up!

.... The employment of the poor themselves as assistant teachers and parent education coordinators appears to be successful in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

.... Negro Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Sam Sheppard has quickly brought youngsters up to grade level in St. Louis with special motivational appeals to parents and youngsters and a new "listening" approach to teachers.

.... Special teacher preparation developed at Hunter College in New York appears to aid teachers in "slum" areas.

.... New approaches have overcome illiteracy in adults with surprising speed in the Army.

.... Programmed learning has had some marked effects on dropouts in New York and prisoners in Alabama whose level of intellectual functioning was quite low.*

.... Montessorian techniques have achieved results in Los Angeles and Mount Vernon; imaginative hip lessons combined with role playing have proved exciting in Syracuse; team teaching has worked in Pittsburgh; new readers have improved reading levels of educationally deprived youngsters in Detroit.

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* Non-graded classes, multiple periods, use of imaginative game-like techniques, to name just a few other approaches, have also shown considerable potential. Even New York's pioneering Higher Horizons was effective with low income youngsters until it became badly watered down as it was diffused throughout the New York school system.

But in spite of all this, the goals for the disadvantaged child still remain surprisingly low. In essence, most of the programs still talk about bringing the deprived child up to grade level as though this were some lofty, marvelous objective. Actually, a subtle pessimism runs through much of the discussion of the education of the poor. Perhaps it is time to consider not the piecemeal use of this technique here and that technique there, but the combination of a variety of approaches that seem to work on both a practical and theoretic basis. The present pessimism, whether unconscious or not, is really based upon the failure to produce consistent dramatic improvements in adolescents, dropouts and adults on a large, well-publicized scale. Thus there has been a retreat from this potentially exciting objective and all the eggs are being put in the pre-school basket.

For over two years, I have been predicting that whatever good results are achieved in the pre-school programs, will come to naught unless the schools themselves are changed to respond to the disadvantaged youngsters. It is easy enough to get pre-school improvement. Deutsch, Strodbeck, Grey and others have all rather readily produced this improvement. The problem is keeping this improvement -- preventing "fall-back". Martin Deutsch, the extremely honest and thoughtful advocate of pre-school approaches, has recently stated that these improvements drop away quite rapidly when the children are returned to the traditional school program in the traditional school. He has actually observed this in the children from his program. Similarly, in Ypsilanti, Michigan Dr. David Weikart produced sharp rises in the average IQ's of deprived children through special pre-school experimental programs. But when these children entered the traditional kindergarten, their scores declined.*

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* In light of Deutsch's and Weikart's findings with regard to the non-lasting effects of pre-school stimulation in the traditional framework, the present hoopla over Operation Headstart and its supposed success is highly questionable. It has been said that improvements have been achieved through Operation Headstart and that the evaluation studies being conducted will show this. I do not doubt it; but it is far too early to determine how enduring these improvements will be. As S. M. Miller states:

> "Pre-school programs should not be used as a substitute for interventions at later stages of the school life-cycle. The best guess today is that interventions at the later stages can be effective without interventions at the early, but that interventions at the early stages without intervention at the later will have very limited payoff." (See S. M. Miller, "Educational Strategies", Syracuse University, unpublished.)

Thus the pre-school panacea may be a distraction from the main arena which must be the schools themselves and must develop a rounded, intensive program combining what we have been learning in many areas of the country, aiming for the moon; that is, aiming, not to bring children up to grade level, but for dramatic powerful improvement in large numbers of disadvantaged youngsters. If such a program were to bring youngsters up to grade level, it should be considered a failure.

The present period combines strong demands of the Civil Rights movement for quality integrated education, with tremendous financial support from the Federal Government plus a "Great Education President". In this climate it would seem that a revolutionary breakthrough in the education of the poor can now be planned, as a first step in revitalizing our public schools and winning back the middle classes who have fled to the private schools. It is truly time to aim for the moon and not accept improvement up to grade level.

What, then, should be the ingredients for our projected revolution in education? Should we combine all the various features that have worked in a kind of potpourri? Or should we rather selectively choose approaches based on a meaningful theoretic analysis which offers an explanation in a coherent fashion of why they have worked. Obviously, I prefer the latter approach; not only because it may be less expensive, but because it is more scientifically enonomical and meaningful.

I would now like to propose the outlines of such a program, but I hasten to add that there are a great many other equally good rounded plans that might be experimented with simultaneously.

The teaching personnel for the program should be drawn from the ranks of young new teachers. We do not want to rob the many excellent experienced teachers currently functioning in the system from their much needed roles and the newer teachers might be more open to experimenting with the innovative teaching technology that would be a central feature of the program. Some of the approaches developed in Hunter College's Teacher Training Program might be adapted.

The new program could be placed within the framework of the developing educational parks or educational complexes which would allow for economic utilization of a great variety of new techniques and facilities (educational TV, programmed learning, team teaching, etc.) under one roof. While this may be a good idea, it is not a necessary one for our moonshot.

## The New Manpower

Perhaps the major complaint in the schools today is the large classes that each teacher must manage. The ratio of students to teachers is frequently greater than thirty to one. New manpower to assist the badly overworked teacher is the paramount need of the day. Where can it be found?

The utilization of large numbers of people drawn from the ranks of the poor themselves, so called nonprofessionals, to serve as teacher assistants, teacher aides, parent-teacher coordinators and the like may be the answer.

Currently in the classroom there is but one designated role -- teacher. Incorporated in that role are a great number of diverse functions -- the teacher is an educator, but he is also a clerk, a custodian, an operator of audio-visual equipment, and an audio-version of a printed book. In many slum schools the impression gained is that the teacher is part lion tamer and part warehouseman. The latter roles must be eliminated and many of the others can be assumed by less qualified personnel.

The use of this new kind of nonprofessional manpower would serve a number of positive functions:

1) it would free teachers from the many nonprofessional tasks they now perform, e.g. taking attendance, helping children on with their boots, tying children's shoelaces, running moving picture projectors, taking youngsters on trips, etc. The new Teacher Aides would take over many of these tasks freeing teachers for their basic professional assignment, teaching and teaching creatively.

2) The nonprofessionals (especially males), drawn from the ranks of the poor, would serve as excellent role models for the disadvantaged youngsters in the schools; the youngsters would see that it is possible that people like themselves drawn from their own neighborhood can "make it" in the system.

3) Communication between the trained nonprofessional and the disadvantaged youngster would probably be good because the nonprofessional drawn from the neighborhood speaks the language of the poor and understands his peers. Many of the advantages of peer learning or learning from people at the same level would be utilized.

4) The atmosphere of the school will be quite different and many of the management problems that are anticipated in the urban, newly integrated schools, might be dissipated.*

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* The tremendous shortage of school personnel, predicted for the next decade, might be drastically reduced through the employment of one million nonprofessionals in the schools. For a more detailed description of how nonprofessionals could serve the school, see New Careers for the Poor, by Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, Free Press, 1965, Chapter 4. It is axiomatic that teachers would have to be trained and assisted in utilizing the nonprofessionals.

It goes without saying that the use of aides would not be imposed upon teachers. In fact, teachers' associations and unions should participate in the entire planning for the use of nonprofessionals, and guarantees should be introduced to insure that no aide infringes on professional domain by engaging in actual teaching or other professional functions.

Probably the best way to introduce nonprofessionals into the system, is to ask teachers to volunteer to accept an aide to assist them. The teachers who select themselves can then define the tasks on which they would like nonprofessional assistance. (They may also receive consultation on this from the program planners.) It is quite likely that if the aides are really helpful, the program will contagiously spread and other teachers will request nonprofessional assistants for their classrooms. In this way the idea can be institutionalized with the full cooperation of the professional staff and the new professional-nonprofessional team can be built on a solid foundation.

Teachers not only need new manpower to assist them in the classroom; they need a new approach as well.

Too often nowadays, teachers are being asked to act like psychologists (understand the underlying emotional conflicts of the child); like sociologists (appreciate the environment and culture of the deprived); like prison guards (keep order and prevent violence); like substitute parents (love the children); like ministers (impart the right values).

It is time that teachers concentrated on teaching and develop and apply that art and science to the utmost. It is toward this objective that the following techniques are directed.

But before turning to the techniques themselves, a word about basic classroom strategy.

## Basic Classroom Strategy

Everything the teacher says and does in the classroom should be related to learning. He should repeat over and over and over again: "I am here to teach and you are here to learn". This should be expressed in the teacher's every action and should be related to every rule and value.

Thus all rules related to punctuality, aggression, etc. should be strictly oriented toward their usefulness in relation to learning. (e.g. "We can't conduct a class if children fight, come late, walk around, etc!") This is not a minister informing children about values -- that fighting is "bad". It is rather a teacher conducting a class.

## Techniques and Goals

The emphasis on teaching technology is very important in the entire effort. Teachers cannot be expected to become sociologists or psychologists and acquire an intensive understanding of the psychology vs culture of the poor. Rather, they must come to simply understand something about how the techniques they are utilizing are related to the style and strength of the poor but the emphasis must be on the techniques themselves. As teachers successfully utilize these techniques, their confidence will improve and their motivation will be enhanced. Our accent, therefore, is on giving the teachers what they want, namely know-how.

The techniques to be employed should be based fundamentally on the goals one is striving for with the disadvantaged. I do not have the goal of simply producing a carbon copy of the middle-class child.* To aim for this middle-class replica is not only inappropriate in principle but actually not easily achievable in practice. The disadvantaged child will probably resist this objective and to the extent that he acquieses, will become a poor edition of the middle-class youngster -- a very faded carbon copy. My objective, therefore, is to build on the strengths of the inner-city child, not to deny them or suppress them, but rather to utilize them as the key to developing, for example, language and interest in language. But my concern for building on the strengths of the disadvantaged child is not simply so that he can be more efficiently brought into the mainstream of American life; rather I want also to have him bring into this mainstream some of his characteristics: his style, his pep, his vitality, his demand that the school not be boring and dull, his rich feeling for metaphor and colorful language.

In another area one group of disadvantaged people in America, the Negro people, have made an enormous contribution to the mainstream of American life through their articulate non-compromising demands for integration "now". These people have brought a new morality to American life as a whole. To the extent that we are beginning to move toward integration through law and practice we are beginning to hold our heads up high and feel again like democratic, ethical, human Americans. This is what one minority disadvantaged group has given us in another area of life. In education, likewise, the mainstream of American life can profit from what the various groups among the poor can bring to the school system both in terms of the demands made upon the system that it be peppier, livelier, more vital, more down-to-earth, more real and in the style and interests brought to the school. This style will enable the school to become far less bookish and will enable it to utilize a great variety of styles -- an action style, a physical style, a visual style -- far more than the over-utilized and over-emphasized reading-lecture styles traditionally in vogue.

The techniques that I will discuss are uniquely related to these goals and to the belief that there is a positive style in the disadvantaged which can be utilized to the great benefit of all classes. But if this goal is not accepted, the techniques can still be utilized with varying degrees of effectiveness. Thus the reader can go on even if he does not accept the overall objective.

## The Dialect Game

The best way to illustrate the relationship of the teaching technology I am advocating and the goals being put forth is to take a look at one very simple technique which I learned from a teacher who evolved it out of her own practice. I call it the dialect game.

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* The real question for those who want to "middle classize" the disadvantaged child, relates to which middle class and which middle class goals and values -- the professional upper middle class; the anti-intellectual lower middle class; the new hip class that has adopted much of the speech and some of the manners of various disadvantaged subcultures; the progressive student left, etc. Furthermore, isn't it possible that the disadvantaged youngster will selectively choose those middle class characteristics that at least articulate with some of his own traditions and feelings?

One day a youngster said to this teacher, "Do you hear that boid outside the window?" and the teacher responded, "That's not a boid, it's a bird." Following the old joke, the youngster replied, "He choips just like a boid." It is fairly clear that this way of teaching the youngster the standard pronunciations of words might not only be unsuccessful in its avowed objective, but might, in addition, produce cognitive confusion about the object itself.

The teacher thereupon decided that it would be very easy to teach youngsters the standard pronunciations if they would not be required to reject their own dialects, their slang, their hip language. So she decided to play a game taking any word at random and asking the youngsters how it would be said in their language and how it should be said in the standard language. The youngsters, as well as the teacher, found this game very exciting and both learned a great deal. They now were learning the new words as they might learn a foreign language and they were discovering that their own language was perfectly acceptable and merely had to be used in the proper circumstances — in their discussions with friends, family, and on the street. While for formal purposes, another language was appropriate and was being taught in the school. But something else happened in this situation. The youngsters began to become very much interested in language as such; e.g. in discussing the hip word "cool", it was decided that words like "calm" and "collected" and the advanced word "nonchalant" were fairly appropriate synonyms. However, it was also noted that these words were not perfect equivalents of "cool" and thus, indirectly, language nuances were taught. Youngsters began to understand why we use certain foreign words that are not completely translatable, i.e. "coup d'etat", because they have special connotations or overtones in their original language which our language could not duplicate.

They learned something else, too. They learned that their own language was not something negative to be denied or suppressed, but that actually many of their words had nuances and meanings which had not been fully acquired in the standard language and that therefore the slang and hip words had been adopted by the larger culture. So today "jazz", "cooling it", "copping out" and many, many other rich colorful words are in accepted usage in the English language in conversation, etc. This is building on their positives, not rejecting them and bringing their strengths and interests into the mainstream of our life.

There are a number of other simple adaptations of this dialect game. Recently in tutoring a disadvantaged high school student in English, I employed a hiptionary in a completely systematic and formal fashion. The first and rather immediate result was that the student learned a great many new English word definitions for the "hip" words with which she was long familiar:

| Hip Word* | Definition |
|---|---|
| "bug" | to disturb, bother, annoy |
| "cop out" | to avoid conflict by running away, not considered admirable or honorably accepted |

* The words in this list were taken from a hiptionary entitled, "The Other Language" developed by Anthony Romeo at Mobilization for Youth, January 1962, unpublished.

| Hip Word | Definition |
|---|---|
| "cool it" | to be quiet, peaceful, tranquil |
| "far out" | not comprehendable |
| "weak" | inadequate, inappropriate |

Words such as "tranquil", "inappropriate", etc. were not known by this youngster, but through use of the hip "word game" she quickly became familiar with them and derived great pleasure from a new found use of various "big" words.

Another interesting illustration is furnished by the problem of teaching English to Puerto Rican and Mexican children entering our school systems in New York, California and other parts of the country. The typical tendency is to force these youngsters not to speak any of their mother tongue, namely Spanish, but rather to insist that they speak only English, on the supposition that this would be the best way of their acquiring the English language. While this may be a perfectly acceptable way of teaching language to an adult in certain contexts, when it is associated in the child with rejection of his minority culture (something he experiences quite frequently), he is not likely to be an apt pupil in the new language. Furthermore, he is constantly in the inferior position of having to acquire this language while the remainder of the youngsters in the class already know it. The dialect game can be utilized beautifully to reverse the whole procedure. Instead of emphasizing the need for the Spanish children to learn English, the situation can be reversed for part of the day; and the Spanish children can be instructed to teach Spanish to the American children. In other words, both languages become important in the class. The English children have an apportunity to learn a foreign language, presumably a positive benefit when that language is French or Latin, and the Spanish children can be placed temporarily in the position of some superiority through helping others. In addition, of course, in order for the Puerto Rican youngster to teach Spanish to the American child, the Puerto Rican child must be able to communicate to some extent in English and in the very process of teaching the foreign language, he must acquire more English in order to communicate (unless he arbitrarily insists that only Spanish be spoken when he is instructing!).

Thus the dialect game which can be utilized by anyone as a gimmick or an auxiliary technique in teaching, takes on considerable depth when seen in the context of two cultures, two languages functioning alongside of each other, both being respected, both affecting each other with no conde scension toward the minority culture.

## The Helper Principle: Learning Through Teaching

Another fascinating approach to the expansion of classroom learning is to be found in Lippitt's intriguing "peer learning" experiments which demonstrate that youngsters in the sixth grade can be helpful in teaching younger children -- and can benefit themselves from playing the teacher role.

At the recent White House Conference on Education, Professor Jerrold Zaccharias proposed that we have students teach as a major avenue for improving their own learning and Montessorians have long utilized children to help other children learn in the classroom.

Mobilization For Youth has used homework helpers with a fair amount of success, in that the recipients of the help showed some measurable academic improvement. It may be that even more significant changes are taking place in the high school youngsters who are being used as tutors. Not only is it possible that their school performance is improving, but as a result of their new role these youngsters may begin to perceive the possibility of embarking on a teaching career.

A connected issue worthy of mention is that in the new situations in the schools, where (hopefully) integration will be taking place, youngsters coming from segregated backgrounds will need help in catching up, in terms of reading skills and the like. It is generally argued that the white middle-class children who do not need this extra assistance will suffer. Their parents want these youngsters to be in a class with advanced pupils and not to be "held back" by youngsters who are behind.

However, in terms of the helper principle, it may very well be that the more advanced youngsters can benefit in new ways from playing a teaching role. Not all fast, bright youngster like to be in a class with similar children. We have been led to believe that if one is fast and bright he will want to be with others who are fast and bright and this will act as a stimulus to his growth. It does for some people, but for others it most certainly does not. Some people find they do better in a group in which there is a great range of ability, in which they can stand out more, and, finally -- and this is the point of the helper principle -- in situations in which they can help other youngsters in the classroom. In other words, some children develop intellectually not by being challenged by someone ahead of them, but by helping somebody behind them, by being put into the tutor-helper role.

As any teacher can report, there is nothing like learning through teaching. By having to explain something to someone else, one's attention is focused more sharply.

The helper principle may be especially valuable for disadvantaged youngsters because in their informal out-of-school learning, they tend to learn much more from each other, from their brothers and sisters, than from their parents reading them a book or answering their questions. They are essentially peer learners by style and experience.

## Capturing the Action Style Through Role Playing

Role playing can be used, as Professor Senesch observes, to teach arithmetic and economics (by "playing" store); to teach history by acting out, for example, George Washington signing the Constitution; even language can be taught by acting out words (in fact, the game "In the Manner of the Adverb" consists of "doing" the adverb -- e.g. walking quickly, writing quickly, etc.

Role playing has long been popular with disadvantaged youngsters. This appears to be so because the technique is very congenial with the low income person's style: physical (action oriented, doing rather than only talking); down to earth, concrete, problem directed; externally oriented rather than introspective; group centered; game-like rather than test oriented; easy, informal in tempo. In essence, disadvantaged youngsters tend to work out mental problems best when they can do things physically (whether it be through role playing, dance, taking a trip, etc.).

A Route to Verbalization. In role playing sessions it has been observed that the verbal performance of deprived children is markedly improved in the discussion period following the session. When talking about some action they have seen, deprived children are apparently able to verbalize much more fully. Typically, they do not verbalize well in response to words alone. They express themselves more readily when reacting to things they can see and do. Words as stimuli are not sufficient for them as a rule. Ask a youngster who comes from a disadvantaged background what he doesn't like about school or the teacher and you will get an abbreviated, inarticulate reply. But have a group of these youngsters act out a school scene in which someone plays the teacher and you will discover a stream of verbal consciousness that is almost impossible to shut off.*

We cannot detail here all the various techniques and approaches that might be utilized in our moon directed program of education for the poor. Scope magazine presents a great variety of games and approaches suited to the "action" style of these yonngsters.

Any of the following might be important "extras" to be added depending upon the style, interests and abilities of the teachers involved in the program:

1. The "organics" approach of Sylvia Ashton Warner (The Teacher). This should be especially valuable in utilizing the interests and strengths of the youngsters, and guard against their being "acted upon" (the current trend in many of the "compensatory" programs designed for disadvantaged who are supposedly "deficit" ridden).

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* Role playing has been utilized to some extent in the schools but there has been little awareness of its special potential for connecting with the style of the disadvantaged and as a crucial avenue for developing their verbalization. Its use may serve a very different function for middle class children; it may force them to be more concrete and reduce some of their over intellectualization tendencies. Teachers should be aware of these different potential uses of role playing.

2. A "modified" curriculum, developed by Gail Donovan in Boston, which stimulated vastly increased interest in literature among poor youngsters.

3. Use of the dance as a method for developing concepts and language as developed by Claire Schmais in Washington, D.C.

4. Jensen's techniques for developing "verbal mediators" (silent speech, so to speak) in problem solving.

## Blueprint for a Revolution

Piecemeal approaches to the improvement of the education of the poor have provided many exciting experiments and some definite gains in learning. The time is now ripe for an all out attack, integrating our best knowledge in an effort to produce truly large, enduring improvements in the learning of disadvantaged youngsters at all ages. This requires leadership, new techniques and new manpower.

In order to fly to the moon in educating the poor the following are proposed:

1. Nonprofessional teacher aides, recruited from among the poor themselves, to assist teachers so that they can more fully play their professional roles as teachers. This auxiliary manpower can also provide excellent male role models for educationally deprived youngsters.

2. Young teachers who would be trained in the use of teaching techniques (e.g. the dialect game, the helper principle, role playing, etc.) attuned to the styles and strengths of disadvantaged children. The positives must come first and around these positives we can begin to correct the limitations of the child in relation to reading, school know-how, language skills, etc. If the teacher expects more, he will get more if his positive expectations are built on an understanding of why he is using the exciting new technologies.

3. In-service Teacher Institutes using trained Master Teachers to introduce knowledge and techniques related to immediate classroom problems. An attempt should be made to have teachers use techniques that fit not only the style of the children, but their own style and interests as well (style match).

   Full participation of the trainees should be intensively solicited with regard to encouraging them to formulate their needs, how they see their problems, and their suggestions for meeting these problems. Hence, small teacher meetings should be organized to discuss (and role play practice) ways of meeting classroom difficulties. In this context, the trainers would offer for discussion, techniques that have evolved elsewhere. A group or team approach would be a central feature in the training with a strong emphasis on building esprit de corps.

4. New urban readers and other appropriate curriculum materials and especially the new teaching machines (programmed learning). Readers that have been developed in Detroit by Follett Publishing Company and in New York by Bank Street College, and published

by MacMillan should be included in the program. These readers incorporate disadvantaged people and themes in a more representative view of urban life and the research in Detroit indicates that all youngsters read better with these readers, not only disadvantaged children -- that they laugh more and feel that the stories are more interesting and lively.

The new literacy techniques, Words in Color published by the Encyclopedia Britannica and Woolman's Progressive Accelerated Technique are achieving dramatic rapid results with non-literate adults and we would suggest that they become integrated in the proposed program.

5. New administrative arrangements such as team teaching, multiple periods, nongraded classes, educational parks, intensive extra school programs (during summers, weekends, and after school hours). These extra school programs can introduce specialists into the school, such as artists, dancers, musicians to develop the artistic talents of the youngsters. Tutors could be brought in here also and special uses of programmed learning and educational TV could be planned.

6. Special parent-teacher groups, led by nonprofessional parent education coordinators, directed toward developing full, genuine two-way communication between the parents and the schools. Parents could be involved as important supportive elements in the program. They should be used to back up the role of a school that really wants to teach the child and they should be listened to attentively by the school and by the nonprofessional parent-education coordinators who mediate between them and the school. They should not be asked, however, to read to the children or to do homework with them or any tasks which the find essentially uncongenial. They can function to check-up on the homework as Sheppard has had them do in St. Louis and to work in a unified way with the school encouraging the child to learn, to attend punctually, to do his homework, etc.

7. Finally, what is needed for our moonshot is an astronaut -- an exciting committed educational leader. Fortunately there are a number of such qualified individuals potentially availabel: George Brain, who did such a fine job in the Baltimore school system; Daniel Schreiber, whose charismatic leadership first brought Higher Horizons to national attention; Samuel Sheppard whose experiment in St. Louis has been perhaps the most outstanding in the United States -- just to name a few possibilities. This type of leader will "expect more" and he will get more. He must be flexible enough to permit and encourage the needed innovative classroom arrangements.

The essence of the proposal is directed toward the teacher and what he wants and needs -- namely, assistance in the classroom. He will get this from the nonprofessional manpower and from techniques that work. Through his improved functioning -- from success -- will come the heightening of the teacher's motivation and the teacher is the key to the disadvantaged child and the revolution in education.

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THE THIRD YEAR:
PROGRAM OF THE INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES 1965-1966

The research, project and seminar program for the academic year 1965-1966 will continue to include high government officials, judges, diplomats, students and Fellows of the Institute. It will attempt to fulfill a number of purposes:

1. Individual research and social invention of the Fellows
2. Analyzing of the policy process
3. Presentation of new ideas to the government and other policy-shaping institutions of the society, and showing how they can be implemented
4. Setting forth to the academic, governmental, and policy-shaping communities problems and remedies for study in statecraft and public policy

1. FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Arthur Waskow is engaged in a study of the problems of achieving and preserving a disarmed world despite the persistence of intense international conflict. His study will consider various conceptions of national interest and methods for achieving it in a warless world. Richard Barnet is studying the evolution of the American postwar ideology of "responsibility": i.e., how the U.S. policy of intervention developed and what its implications are for the future.

In connection with these projects, a seminar will be held on "U.S. Relations with the Developing Countries" which will consider what alternative policies the U.S. might take with respect to revolution, civil war, subversion, etc. Arthur Lall, formerly Indian Ambassador to the Geneva Disarmament Conference and a principal participant in the Laos Conference of 1961 and presently Professor of Public Law at Columbia University and Visiting Fellow of the Institute will direct the seminar with the assistance of Barnet and Waskow. The seminar will meet in the Fall as a discussion group among Fellows of the Institute, members of the State Department and White House, and representatives of foreign embassies to discuss aspects of their problem. In January the Seminar will be run primarily for Congressmen and their assistants. Experts on aspects of the AID, military assistance and other programs relevant to U.S. relations with the "developing world," both governmental and non-governmental, will be invited to address the seminar.

The Institute will also conduct four additional seminars on particular aspects of foreign policy. It will continue for the third year a seminar for Congressional Assistants on Defense and Disarmament. Various experts in and out of government will again discuss the problems and possibilities of disarmament and arms control as an alternative basis of national security.

Arthur Lall will also conduct a Seminar on International Negotiations. This seminar will consider the possibilities of using various machinery of diplomacy and international organization to deal with specific international disputes. The seminar, which will include diplomats and former diplomats, will evaluate some hypotheses on negotiation developed by Professor Lall in his forthcoming book. Professor Kenneth Boulding and Marcus Raskin will also assist in the direction of the seminar.

Professor Boulding, Professor of Economics and co-director of the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan, has also been appointed a Visiting Fellow for 1965-66. He will lead a seminar devoted to conflict theory. These discussions, which will be held monthly, are designed to acquaint Fellows of the Institute and invited participants from the government with the work on conflict theory now being carried on in the universities and to determine what applicability such theory may have for the solution of practical problems in international relations.

Harvey Perloff, Associate Fellow of the Institute and Director of Resources for the Future, Inc., will lead the seminar on Economic Development in Latin America with the assistance of Jack Heller, Associate Fellow. The seminar, which has met over the past year from time to time, will meet regularly to discuss conceptions of regional integration politics and economic planning developed by Dr. Perloff. Members of the OAS, AID, Congressmen and non-governmental observors of Latin American politics will participate.

The Military Establishment. (Bernard Fall, Marcus Raskin, Don Michael, Arthur Waskow, et. al.) Although there are several people at the Institute who have worked closely with the military establishment on strategic problems of arms control and the budget, the military establishment as a political and sociological phenomena has not been analyzed critically or with clarity. The Institute during 1965-66 intends to take advantage of the number of groups in Washington who can help in describing how the military views the American society, what its views its functions as being, and how it sets the limit of debate and policy in the national security area. This seminar will take up the question of accountability of the military structure and whether or not the last twenty years has seen the rise of a National Security State in which basic policy decisions of the society are made outside the political arena.

2. EDUCATION

Christopher Jencks is completing a study (with David Riesman) of changes in higher education in the United States during the past generation, The Academic Revolution. Marcus Raskin is working on a study of possible ways to broaden the meaning of "education" in American society, including the possibility of "sabbati-

cals" to enable citizens to return to school or other educational opportunities once every seven years. Some of these ideas will be discussed in a seminar on Education to be run by Congressman John Brademas, Jencks and Raskin. This seminar will be comprised of members of the House Education and Labor Committee and the Bureau of the Budget and will consider possible new directions for federal education policy.

In cooperation with the School of Criminology of the University of California and the California Department of Corrections, the Institute (principally Kotler, Jencks and Raskin) will continue its planning of a Prison College. The College, which will be located outside the prison walls, will be part of the California university system. The Institute will help plan the curriculum and structure of the proposed institution and will convene a panel of educators and correction specialists to advise on the project and to consider its possible application to other parts of the country.

Christopher Jencks and Marcus Raskin will continue their work with the Antioch College study of the Future of the Liberal Arts College. They are preparing papers on the public policy aspects of the liberal arts college to society.

The Institute will hold a conference which will bring together leading university deans and college presidents to consider changing the standards of admission to universities and colleges for individuals from deprived and segregated areas. This conference will examine present standards undergirding American university and college admission requirements which may be either unrealistic or unfair to particular groups and will recommend possible changes.

3. <u>COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION</u>

Milton Kotler is continuing to develop the theory of neighborhood foundations--incorporated, self-governing legal entities established in cities to undertake local projects. He will be developing the theory of the relationship between such self-governing units, outside professionals, and government, and will assist in the implementation of the neighborhood foundation concept in several cities. A Conference on Charters for neighborhood foundations is planned for the Fall. This conference of lawyers, persons interested in community organization, representatives of the Internal Revenue Service and the Office of Economic Opportunity, sociologists, church organizations will consider model charters from several viewpoints. Kotler is working on a study of the basic concept and its possible application to a series of specific projects such as a Neighborhood Zoo, a Neighborhood Academy, and a Neighborhood Ombudsman.

Donald Michael will be continuing his analysis of organizations responsible for planning and implementing the Poverty Program. In particular, he will continue to assist the United Plan-

ning Organization to plan its planning program. This activity provides a laboratory for studying the processes of institutional change and decision making under the pressures of social change. He is also conducting a seminar-game at UPO for UPO field and in-house personnel, aimed at improving field programs and at delineating research, evaluation, and long-range planning areas. In addition, he is working on the general problem of the nature of and criteria for humanistic decision making in an increasingly complex, technologized, and rationalized society.

4. THE FEDERAL ROLE IN THE NEW SOUTH

The South, including Southern Appalachia, is the most underdeveloped region of the nation. Robb Burlage, Visiting Fellow of the Institute, will undertake a social and economic analysis of the problems of the New South. He will examine some of the new forces in the South, including the Democratic Coalition in Texas, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, and the Republican Party. This study of political forces will relate to rural reconstruction and the impact of federal programs in the South. In connection with this project, he will lead a seminar of assistants to Southern Senators and Congressmen, which will discuss a series of specific problems dealing with the administration of present federal programs and the possibility of new programs.

5. RURAL REDEVELOPMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION (Robb Burlage, Visiting Fellow)

General trends of American population have been toward the cities. This, as is argued, has led to overcrowding, slums, etc., while the towns and farms of the United States have become ghostly and impoverished. This seminar will attempt to see whether there are ways to rebuild small towns in the U.S. and whether subsistence farming can be put forth as a useful alternative to working in industry or in the service occupations.

6. LAW AND SOCIAL CONFLICT WORKSHOP

The Institute has begun a study of the state of the law in critical areas of social conflict to determine what the possibilities are for developing the law to deal with major social crises. Richard Barnet is undertaking a study of the law of housing, particularly with regard to the rights of tenants. This study will deal not only with the common law and the way landlord and tenant relations are actually dealt with in the courts, but also the possible approaches to legislative reform. In connection with this project the Institute will hold a seminar of Washington lawyers and social scientists concerned with housing conditions to consider various legal and political strategies for dealing with the major problems in landlord and tenant law. The seminar will support and assist action groups interested in making test cases in the area of housing on the basis of various legal theories considered in the seminar. New legal theories about property, damages, and other legal relationships as they relate to critical social problems will be considered. Princeton University Press has requested a book on the papers of the seminar.

7. YOUTH AND POLITICS

Arthur Waskow is engaged in a study of youth in American politics. In connection with his study, a seminar will be held to discuss the impact of generational differences on American politics, the relationship of new political forces to older ideologies, and particularly, the role of political action in the academic community. Jencks, Waskow, Raskin, Burlage, and Kotler will participate.

8. THE ADMINISTRATION OF MEDICAL CARE

Robb Burlage will complete his preliminary study of the administration of hospital care, with particular reference to the Trussell Plan in New York. He will continue his analysis of the role of the federal government in developing medical care through an intensive study of the Appalachian Hospital system. In this connection, he and Dr. Richard Kissick of the Office of the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare will conduct a seminar on federal policy towards hospital development, which will include Washington hospital administrators and federal officials concerned with hospital care. The seminar will evaluate various parts of the country and will consider the possible role of the federal government in their planning and implementation.

OTHER SEMINARS, CONFERENCES, AND PROGRAMS

In addition to seminars related to the principal research interests of the Fellows some additional seminars may be given by Associate Fellows. Robert Eichholz has been appointed Senior Associate Fellow of the Institute. He will undertake to integrate the Associate Fellows' work more closely with that of the other Fellows of the Institute. Paul Goodman is planning a seminar on the use of language and rhetoric by the government in the national security area. He will analyze some of the problems of meaning in official documents and consider some of the reasons why modes of communication have developed as they have. The Institute will invite Charles Osgood, Professor of Psyche-linguistics at the University of Illinois and a group of his students to participate in the seminar-study.

The Institute has been discussing with the Jewish Theological Seminary the possibility of holding a joint conference on Ethics and Foreign Policy. The purpose of the conference is to consider how it might be possible to make the administration of foreign policy more responsive to ethical norms. It would consider whether it is possible to obtain agreement on a hierarchy of values in foreign policy, and if so, what is the interrelationship of morality and politics in the conduct of statecraft.

The Institute is also considering holding expert hearings on critical public policy problems. We are considering the

feasibility of constituting a board of experts in a particular area, and calling witnesses which will involve scholars from associated universities.

UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATIONS

Antioch College, the University of California at Berkeley, Cornell University, the University of Illinois, and Reed College are now Associated Universities. We hope to have students from these institutions during the next academic year. It is hoped that students would work part-time in government offices related to their research interest and spend the rest of the time in a tutorial relationship with one of the Fellows of the Institute. The Fellows will also be lecturing at the Associated Universities. In addition, the Institute and the Universities will be cooperating on projects as we are now doing with the University of California (Prison College) and with Antioch (Future of the Liberal Arts College Project).

STUDENTS

During 1965-1966 the Institute hopes to meet its needs and those of the society by developing its student program. On a full-time basis there will be 20 students from Associated Universities and other universities at the Institute. The Institute has embarked on a program to receive scholarship aid for its students. In the past, students received pay for half-time work in a government or policy-shaping organization. During the 1965-1966 year the Institute intends to place most of the students in Congressional offices but to be able to provide funds for them so that the Congressman or Senator will not have to pay. This program will cost approximately $30,000, based on 20 students. If the money cannot be raised, the students will find their own jobs with Institute help.

STUDENT SEMINARS

Students of the Institute will be required to attend a seminar once a week which will meet for two hours. Problems of their work and research will be discussed. Lectures from time to time will also be given at these seminars by Fellows of the Institute and papers will be presented by the students to the seminar. If the Institute has more than 15 students the seminar will be divided into two sessions.

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES

Seminar on "The United States and Revolution in the Non-Industrial World

For the past 20 years, the event or the possibility of "revolution" has been a major political reality to the wretched and the comfortable of the earth. The reality has been no less real because its meaning has been unclear: for the term "revolution" has been applied to processes and events of widely varying intensities and depths, occurring under various auspices and with various forms and goals. On the one hand, in the non-industrial world--stretching from China eastward across South Asia and the Middle East into Africa and across to Latin America --there have been many "revolutions" and revolutionary movements--violent and nonviolent, political and social, anti-colonial and anti-oligarchic, military and civilian, libertarian and authoritarian--and many different responses to them from various local groups and institutions. Many of these revolutions were sparked by changes that were caused by changes in American society and policy; and many of the revolutions either drew inspiration from America or were built upon opposition to America. Not only was the United States thus a major issue in the origin and purpose of these revolutions, but from the United States there came a constantly changing, seemingly ambivalent, and even by its own standards, highly unsatisfactory, set of responses to these various efforts at revolution in the non-industrial world.

In order, therefore, to understand the complex ways in which the event and the possibility of revolutions in the non-industrial countries have changed those nations and their relations with America, the Institute for Policy Studies proposes to examine, first, the origins, assumptions, goals, and frameworks of various cases of past or impending revolutions and the ways in which they changed the lives of the peoples involved, or failed to; and then the origins, assumptions, goals and frameworks of the various actual and possible American responses.

I. The Study of Revolution

During the last twenty years, in the non-industrial world there have occurred revolutions based on nationalist Communism, as in China and Viet-Nam; on non-Communist, anti-colonial nationalism, as in Ghana and Algeria; and on anti-oligarchic populism, as in Bolivia and Egypt. The revolutionary movements have used or have tried to use violence, as in Malaya; non-violence, as in India and South Africa; and more traditional political pressures and legislation, as in Brazil and Iran. There have been middle-class revolutions, peasant revolutions, proletarian revolutions, military revolutions, revolutions for independence only, revolutions for radical social change. Some attempted revolutions have been crushed or smothered, others have "succeeded" only to bog down once the revolutionaries had taken power, and others seem still to be moving to transform their societies, though sometimes in ways their originators least expected.

In order to understand the ideologies, social bases, choices of techniques, and social effects of the various efforts at revolution, the Institute will bring together in seminar spokesmen for, participants in, and expert students of the revolutionary movements in several countries that have undergone revolution or where revolution appears likely over the next few years. Algeria, Ghana, South Africa, Brazil, Bolivia, Cuba, the Philippines, Indonesia and Iran will be the countries given intensive examination. The seminar will attempt to ascertain the ways in which major participants in revolutions or revolutionary movements have interpreted these events. A major purpose of the study will be to identify the political, social and economic goals and accomplishments of revolutionaries in these countries. Special attention will be given to the views of the participants in revolutions as to the involvement or non-involvement, through public and private agencies, of the United States: both in the past, as regards the social and political development of their countries over a fairly long period, and more recently during the revolutionary process itself. In other words, how do they assess the impact of American diplomacy, ideology, military assistance, economic and technical aid, private business, and education, on shaping the state of society out of which the revolution grew, the assumptions and goals of the revolution, and its results? Their attitude toward the communist world will also be considered, but the focus will be on their view of the relationship of the United States. The Institute hopes in this way to develop some case histories of the attitudes of the leaders of revolutionary governments and movements towards what the U.S. has done and what, in their view, the U.S. should have done or should now do in relation to their revolution. The seminar will also explore what concepts like "neo-colonialism," "imperialism," "modernization," "self-determination," "neutralism," and indeed, "revolution" itself mean to the revolutionaries.

Participants in this seminar will include from the Institute, Resident Fellows Richard Barnet, Marcus Raskin, and Arthur Waskow; Visiting Fellows Kenneth Boulding and Arthur Lall; Associate Fellows Bernard Fall, Robert Parris, and Harvey Perloff; and several students. From the various countries in the non-industrial world, ambassadors and unofficial spokesmen (possibly correspondents, officials of international organizations, and members of revolutionary movements) will be invited to the seminar, as will particular scholars and experts from various American academic or journalistic institutions who are in close touch with revolutionary currents in the non-industrial world. Associate Fellow Robert Parris will bring back for the seminar a series of interviews with leaders of revolutionary governments and movements, to be made and tape-recorded at the Algiers conference of Asian, African, and Latin American states.

The Seminar will take up in successive sessions (meeting every other week) each of the nine countries to be examined in detail. Before each session, a paper by an expert on that country (frequently a participant in revolutionary activity there) will be circulated to all members of the seminar. The session will then be able to discuss the paper in depth, isolating issues requiring further research and analysis. A summary of the discussion will be distributed to all members of the seminar, and the Institute members will take responsibility for seeing that for each country, the task of further research and analysis is taken on. After the

initial series of nine sessions is completed, the seminar will be able to take up papers that have been prepared in the meantime, to deal with those issues for further research and analysis that have been isolated in the first set of meetings. After the second set of sessions focusing on revolutionary case studies has been completed, the seminar will proceed to Phase II.

II. The Study of American Responses

Various public and private American groups and institutions have responded to the possibility or actuality of revolutions in the non-industrial world in at least as many different ways as there have been different sorts of revolution, and often have responded differently to revolutions of similar type or similarly to revolutions of different types. To note only the official activities of one or another branch of the United States government, these have included:

(a) military aid to governments threatened by revolution or fearful of revolution, as in China, Greece, and a number of Latin American states.

(b) military intervention against a revolution, as in Viet-Nam and the Dominican Republic.

(c) the use of subversionary techniques on behalf of revolution, as in the encouragement of the overthrow of Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

(d) the use of subversionary techniques to bring down a revolutionary government, as in the encouragement of the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran, and Arbenz in Guatemala.

(e) assistance to revolutions by diplomatic means, as in the struggles of India, Indonesia, and Algeria for national independence and the stuggle of black South Africans to end apartheid.

(f) opposition to revolutions by diplomatic means, as in Malaya.

(g) attempts to make revolution unnecessary by using economic aid to encourage major social change, as in the Alliance for Progress.

(h) attempts to use economic pressures against revolution, as in Cuba.

None of these ways of relating to revolution has proved wholly satisfactory, either to the United States or to the revolutionary movements. Nor is it clear whether Americans in general or any major group of them (including their government) have had any agreed standard by which to judge what kind of relationship between the United States and revolutionary movements would be a satisfactory one. On occasion different branches of government have carried out what at least on the surface seemed to be contradictory policies toward a particular revolution. If one looks beyond the government to the various "private" foreign policies of groups ranging from banks to churches to oil companies to labor unions

to universities to the civil rights movement, one finds an even greater range in directions, intensities, and techniques of the response of such private groups to actual or potential revolution.

In short, both the ends that ought to be pursued and the means that ought to be used by the United States in confronting revolution need to be explored. Among the questions that should be raised are these:

Is there or has there been any American "national interest" in the issue of revolution in the non-industrial world, one way or the other? If so, what is it, and what would be the most effective means of pursuing it?

Has there been any coherent shift over time, during the last twenty years, in the government's responses to revolution in general, or to revolution in particular parts of the world?

Is there any present ideology or definable set of interests underlying the various, and seemingly contradictory, responses of parts of the United States government to revolution; and if so, what are they?

What have been the processes of decision by which the government has shaped its responses to revolution, to what extent have these responses been based upon public understanding and choice, and what institutional changes might be made in these processes?

What interests and ideologies underlie the various responses of different American private groups and institutions to revolution?

What have been and what would be the effects on American domestic life and policy of pursuing various policies toward revolution in the non-industrial world?

What political interests and groups inside the United States are or might become interested in shaping and changing American policy toward revolutionary movements, and in what direction?

Do American policies on such issues as unilateral and multilateral economic development, international peacekeeping machinery, military strategy and disarmament, international trade and balance of payments, relations with NATO and the Soviet Union, and the international protection of human rights have any appreciable effects on the possibility or the form of revolutions in the non-industrial world?

What effects, if any, do the forms, auspices, techniques, and goals of revolutionary movements have upon the American response to them? (e.g., violent as against non-violent? Communist as against non-Communist? Military as against civilian? Middle-class as against peasant or proletarian? etc.)

What roles have international law and international institutions played in regulating the relationship between the United States and revolutionary movements in the under-developed world, and what roles might they play? How might international law and institutions change as a result of the rise of revolutionary movements?

* * *

As the Institute moves into Phase II of this study, it will add to the kinds of participants sketched above, additional representatives and leaders of some of the revolutionary currents in the non-industrial world; some Administration officials, Members of Congress, and their assistants who are particularly interested in or concerned by American policy toward revolution; and persons from the Washington offices of non-governmental organizations with a special concern about American military, political, or economic policy in the non-industrial world.

# THE NEGLECTED DROPOUT:

# THE RETURNEE

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# THE NEGLECTED DROPOUT: THE RETURNEE[1]

In recent years there has been a great deal of literature dealing with young people who leave school before graduation from high school.[2] Assumptions in this literature are that "stay-in-school" pressures and propaganda affect only those who have not yet left school and that a youth's education is terminated once he has dropped out. Neglected are those young people who drop out but later seek more education.

The major concern of this paper is to see if those who return to school are a group or groups of dropouts unique in terms of school performance, social background or personal characteristics. The decision to return might be easier for a youth who comes from a middle class environment where the individuals he respects are likely to support his return to school. It might be easier, also, if he had been relatively successful, academically and socially, in the school setting, and if his return were welcomed, rather than decried by students and teachers. He would be rewarded for conforming to the educational norms rather than put on the defensive for changing his mind.

We are concerned to see if the "returnees" can be identified in advance, for then the schools might be able to pay special attention to them as they leave and re enter. Returning to school does not necessarily lead to graduation, but a better understanding of the returnees and their motives could lead to programs which would increase the number of returnees who do graduate. Furthermore, if it is known what conditions prompt re entry, some similar conditions might be simulated to encourage more dropouts to complete their education. It may be, on the other hand, that those who return are not unique in any way and that the return to school is based on less systematic factors. In either case, the returnee should not be neglected; his school

career is different from that of the permanent dropout and that of the student who has an uninterrupted school life.

There are few, if any, studies of youth who end and then resume their education. In a recent bibliography on dropouts,[3] it was noted that only a few of the studies recognized that some dropouts do return to school; most researchers do not even specify whether or not their samples of dropouts include returnees.

Although the present report does not meet the criteria of a rigorous study, it provides some interesting data on a population which has been neglected by school systems and researchers.

Methods of Research and Study Groups

The Youth Development Center of Syracuse University, with the cooperation of the New York State Division for Youth, undertook a study of school dropouts in the spring of 1962. The subjects of the study were all the students who left junior or senior public high schools in Syracuse, New York, during the 1959-60 school year without completing graduation requirements, excluding those who had transferred to other schools. The method of research was a survey of existing records; the school records of these dropouts were checked, as were the records of the New York State Employment Service, the Central Registry of Juvenile Offenders, the Syracuse Police Department, the Armed Forces Examination Station and the Onondaga County Welfare Drpartment. The Syracuse City Directories of 1958, 1959, and 1960 were consulted for information regarding residence and parents' occupations.[4]

There were 625 dropouts from the Syracuse schools during the 1959 60 school year. During the survey it was learned that 60 of these dropouts had returned to school and that some had actually graduated. These 60 youths

were classified as "returnees"; the remaining 565 were classified as permanent dropouts and studied in an earlier publication.[5] In the present report the 565 permanent dropouts and 60 returnees will be compared in an effort to ascertain any differences between them that might lead to predictability of which dropouts would eventually return.[6]

The information on "return to school" was gained by chance; there was no systematic check of night school or summer school records. It is very likely, therefore, that some of the 565 dropouts also received further training.[7] Some youth may have been eliminated from the study entirely because they had dropped out and returned during the same year; thus they were not included as dropouts nor as returnees.

"Returning to school" does not necessarily indicate a final acceptance of school and eventual graduation; rather, it is an omnibus term referring to several types of educational experience. Some of the returnees in this study attended night school or summer school almost immediately after leaving day school and soon completed the requirements for graduation. Others are still working toward their diplomas by taking a few credits at night school each semester or through a correspondence course. A few finished in a shorter time by returning to day school full time. Four girls sought some further training in a business school. They are included as returnees since they could have received that training in a regular high school. Far from all of the returnees graduated from high school; some remained in school only two or three months. Some students may leave school and return several times before leaving the final time. For some of the permanent dropouts in this study the 1959 or 1960 leaving was a second dropout; they had left earlier, perhaps in 1958, decided to return, and then left again in 1959-60.

Because the two groups, returnees and permanent dropouts, do overlap somewhat and because there is not a complete accounting of all returnees, it was not feasible to calculate returnee rates.[8] Also, interpretation of the data must be very cautious. Despite the unsystematic and incomplete procedure af distinguishing returnees from dropouts, statistically significant differences between the two groups appeared on certain variables. These differences are worth considering as possible indications that returnees are a particular type or types of dropouts and may provide an initial step in identifying which dropouts are likely to seek further education. The most impressing result may be, however, the limited range of differences between dropouts and returnees, suggesting that for many returnees situational factors may be important.

Sex Ratios

It would be expected that boys would be under greater pressure than girls to complete high school because of future obligations to support a family. This study, however, did not reveal a large sex difference in the propensity to return. Boys left school more frequently than girls (55 per cent of the dropouts were males, 45 per cent females), and they also returned to school more frequently, and in approximately the same proportions (60 per cent of the returnees were males, 40 per cent females).

Table 1

The failure of boy dropouts to return in significantly greater proportions than girl dropouts may be explained by three possible factors. First, girls as well as boys, are audience to the stay-in school propaganda. Second, girls may experience at least as much discrimination as boys in the job market due to their lack of a high school diploma. Third, girls usually

do better than boys in school and therefore might be more willing to return, even though a diploma is not necessary to be a housewife. In fact, it will be shown that girl returnees had reached higher grade levels than boy returnees and were less retarded academically.

Because of the sex differences in school performance and in family and social background, sex will be controlled in all comparisons of dropouts and returnees.

The Dropout and the Returnee in the School Setting

1. Age at time of leaving school

The age at which a young person leaves school may be a factor in whether or not he feels enough at home in the school setting to return to it after a dropout experience. Also, by the time a boy or girl is 17 or 18 years old he may feel he should be earning his own living rather than continuing to be a dependent on his parents. To ascertain whether or not age did make a difference, the age reached by each youth at his last birthday before dropping out was calculated.

Table 2-

The age distributions for dropouts and returnees were almost identical. In both groups the modal age for leaving was 16, the minimum legal school-leaving age in New York State. The mean age in both cases was approximately 17.

With sex held constant, some differences appeared, but they were not statistically significant. Among the boys, returnees were less likely than dropouts (50 per cent and 56 per cent respectively) to have left school after reaching age 17. Among the girls, the trend was in the opposite direction; returnee girls were more likely than dropout girls (54 per cent

and 45 per cent respectively) to have left school after their seventeenth birthday. Perhaps it is more important for boys than for girls not to be "too old" to return to school

On the whole, however, it seems that age at dropout did not make a difference in whether or not the dropout would seek further training. More important, as shown below, was the age of a dropout in relation to his grade attainment; that is, grade retardation.

2. Grade level achieved

One of the factors most clearly separating the returnees from the permanent dropouts was the grade level reached but not completed by a youth before he left school.[9] Approximately four-fifths of the returnees and only three-fifths of the dropouts had reached grades 10, 11 or 12. This difference was statistically significant[10] at the .01 level; that is, it could have occurred by chance only once in 100 times. (See Table 4.) With sex controlled, the difference remained significant, but at the .05 level of significance; that is, it could have occurred by chance only 5 in 100 times. (See Tables 5 and 6.)

Tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

Although there were statistically significant differences between the dropouts and returnees, it must be pointed out that more than 45 per cent of both groups were in grades 10 or 11 when they left school. In spite of the differences, there was much overlap in grade achievement.

While returnees had reached higher grade levels than had dropouts, this was more true of girls than of boys. Girl returnees were more likely than boy returnees (or dropouts) to have reached the two highest grades, 11 or 12. This difference was significant at the .05 level. (See Table 7.) Thus, among

girls, the majority (71 per cent) of the returnees were in grades 11 or 12, as compared with 42 per cent of dropouts. Among boys, the majority (64 per cent) of returnees were in grades 10 or 11, as compared with 45 per cent of dropouts. (See Table 3.)

Table 8 gives the percentage of all dropouts (returnees and permanent dropouts) at each grade level, who returned to school.[11] As the grade level increased, the percentage of returnees increased without exception. Only 3.6 per cent of those who were in grade 7 or 8 when they left school returned for further education, while 15.1 per cent of those in grade 12 did so. Similar relationships existed with sex controlled.

-Table 8-

This table revealed the same sex difference as that implied by Tables 2 and 7-- that nearness to graduation was less important for boys than for girls. Boys were as likely to return in grades 10 or 11 as in grade 12 (13 to 14 per cent in each of the three grades were returnees), while girls were much more likely to return in grade 12 (17 per cent) than in any other grade

3. Grade Retardation

Grade retardation was calculated by comparing the grade level achieved by each youth when he left with the grade level normal for his age group. For example, a person who was 16 when he entered the tenth grade was one year retarded, since most youth begin the tenth grade at age 15.

-Tables 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13-

Returnees were significantly more likely than dropouts (68 per cent and 45 per cent respectively) to be at their normal grade level or only one year behind. (See Table 10.) The difference remained significant with

sex controlled. (See Tables 11 and 12.) For either sex, however, the greatest difference between returnees and dropouts was in the "0 years retarded" category. Of the returnees, 33 per cent were not retarded, as compared with only 17 per cent of the dropouts; this difference was statistically significant ($X^2 = 8.64$; df = 1; P .01).

The percentage of all dropouts (permanent and returning) who returned at each degree of retardation was calculated, and an inverse relationship appeared: the less the retardation, the greater the propensity to return. This relationship held for both boys and girls. The importance of the factor of retardation can be seen by the fact that although 17.1 per cent of those who were not retarded when they left school returned, only 6.3 per cent returned of those who were four or more years retarded.

Table 14

The school is a severely age graded culture. Anyone much older or younger than his classmates is made to feel out of place, and a scholastically retarded dropout might be unlikely to return to such an uncomfortable situation, especially since the dropout period would increase the degree of retardation.

Tables 3 and 7 showed that girl returnees reached higher grade levels than did boy returnees; they were also more likely to be at their normal grade level or only minimally retarded. Of the girls, 87 per cent were at the grade level normal for their age or only one year retarded, as compared with only 56 per cent of the boys. This difference was statistically significant. (See Table 13.) Almost half (46 per cent) of the girl returnees were not retarded at all, as shown in Table 9. Almost half (45 per cent) of the boy returnees, on the other hand, were 2 or more years retarded, as compared with only 12 per cent of the girl returnees. Thus, girl returnees

probably had performed much better in school than boy returnees or any of the permanent dropouts. This may have been a major factor in their return. Since a large number of boy returnees were quite retarded scholastically, it may be that factors other than relative success in school prompted their return.

4. Intelligence Quotient

Intelligence test scores were reported for only one half of the returnees (13 girls and 17 boys) and for fewer than one-half of the dropouts (42 per cent). This is one reason for exercising extreme caution in the interpretation of the I. Q. data. Other limitations were that the tests were given at diverse age levels and that various I. Q. tests were used, with no adjustment made to correct for the varying means and standard deviations of the tests. The majority of the scores were, however, from the California Test of Mental Maturity. Of the 30 scores for returnees, 24 were determined by this test as were 162 of the 236 scores (68 persons) for dropouts.

-Tables 15 and 16-

From the limited data available it seems that returnees did score higher on intelligence tests than did the dropouts. The mean I. Q. of the returnees was 97.5 and of dropouts 92.8. The girls were the main contributor to this difference, however; there was only one percentage difference between male dropouts and male returnees. While the groups did not differ on the percentage in the very low I. Q. range (60-79), returnees were more likely than dropouts to fall in the high category (100-122); more than one-half of the returnees and only slightly more than one-quarter of the dropouts had scores of 100 or above. This latter

difference was statistically significant at the .01 level. (See Table 16.)

In the dropout group there was little difference between boys and girls. Among the returnees, however, the girls had a mean I. Q. of 101.5, whereas the boys' mean I. Q. was 94.4. Girls were more likely than boys to fall in the 100 or above range; 9 of the 13 girls and only 7 of the 17 boys had scores of at least 100. This difference was not statistically significant. The intelligence quotients again indicate the relative academic superiority of the girl returnees as compared with boy returnees and all dropouts. For the boys, intelligence seemed to be less of a factor in their return than for girls, since more than a third (36 per cent) of them had low I. Q.'s of 89 or below, and another quarter fell in the 90-99 I. Q. range.

Perhaps the higher grade achievement of the returnees, especially the girls, was reflected in the I. Q. scores; perhaps they gained more from their school careers, or perhaps they were of higher intelligence. In any case, they probably did have a better chance of succeeding when they returned to schoolthan the dropouts would have had.

5. Type of Further Education Received by Returnees

A majority of the returnees (66 per cent) continued their education in night school, rather than in day school (10 per cent). This was more true of boys (75 per cent) than of girls (54 per cent). By attending night school the young people, especially the boys, could maintain full-time jobs as well as work toward their diplomas. Another contributing factor might be that by going to night school they did not have to return to the school culture they had left, perhaps as misfits or failures; neither were they placed in a class of youth much younger than they. In night school they were more likely to be with people like themselves.

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Table 17-

6. Summary of Scholastic Situation

Returnees seemed to be a slightly higher level of dropout in terms of grade achievement, grade retardation and intelligence quotient. There was considerable overlap between the two groups, however, on all of these variables. Furthermore, not all of the returnees were higher level dropouts. Two of them were 19 years old when they left school, four were in grades 7 or 8, two were 4 or 5 years retarded, and four had I.Q.'s of 79 or below. At least in terms of academic performance, there are probably different types of returnees, just as there are different types of dropouts.

Girl returnees seemed to do even better in school than did the boy returnees. The large majority of the girl returnees were in grades 11 or 12, none or one year retarded, and had I.Q.'s of 100 or above. While boys were more likely to return if these characteristics applied, many of them were in grade 10 or below, 2 or 3 years retarded and had I.Q.'s of 70 to 99. Academic achievement in school was not so much a determining factor for boys as it was for girls; this finding probably reflects the greater pressur on all boys, whatever their school performance, to finish high school.

Family and Social Background of Dropouts and Returnees

1. Father's Occupation

An effort was made to determine whether or not returnees were of a higher socio-economic level than permanent dropouts. Three indicators were available: (1) socio-economic area of residence; (2) whether or not a family had received public welfare; and (3) father's occupation, as classified according to the U.S. census code groupings in the Alphabetical Index.[12] The latter indicator revealed no differences between dropouts and

returnees. The fathers of 23 per cent of the dropouts and 20 per cent of the returnees had white collar jobs. Approximately two-thirds of the fathers in both groups (64 per cent of dropouts' and 66 per cent of returnees' fathers) had blue collar jobs such as craftsmen, foremen and operatives.

Table 18-

There were sex differences consistent with other indicators showing that the girls in the returnee group came from less economically stable families than did the boys. A total of 26 per cent of the boys and only 11 per cent of the girls had fathers in white-collar occupations. Furthermore, fewer girls had fathers who were craftsmen or foremen. More than two-thirds of the girl's fathers (69 per cent) and only one-third of the boys' fathers were operatives, laborers, or in the private household and service occupations. Approximately equal proportions of boys' and girls' fathers in the dropout group fell in each occupational classification.

2. Social Welfare

Although returnees did not seem to have a better economic position than dropouts in terms of occupational level of father, the former did have the advantage of more economically stable families, if receipt of public welfare assistance is any indication. Although 42 per cent of the families of permanent dropouts had received welfare at some time since 1936, only 30 per cent of the returnees' families had; this only approached statistical significance. (See Table 20.) This difference held with sex controlled, but was still not statistically significant.

Tables 19 and 20-

In both groups, more girls than boys had families with county welfare

histories; among the returnees 22 per cent of the boys' families and 39 per cent of the girls' families had received welfare. Of those returnees' families which were listed at the County Welfare Department, most had received financial aid more than once.

3. Socio-economic Area of Residence

The somewhat better socio-economic position of the returnees is further shown by the residential patterns of the youth. The census tract in which the youth lived at the time of dropout was given a socio-economic rating of I(high) to VI(low). This rating was based on several variables and a composite index score was calculated for each tract. The information was obtained from 1950 census data. The variables involved were: (1) mean monthly rent for tenant occupied dwellings; (2) median market value for single-family owned homes; (3) percentage of single family dwellings; (4) median school year completed by adult residents 20 years old and over; and (5) percentage of all employed who were laborers, service workers and operatives. On the basis of these index scores the census tracts were grouped into the six ranked socio-economic areas.[13]

-Tables 21, 22, 23 and 24-

Only a few more returnees (21 per cent) than dropouts (14 per cent) lived in the three best areas I, II, and III. Returnees, however, were more likely to live in areas IV and V (59 per cent of returnees to 44 per cent of dropouts) and less likely to live in the worst area of the city, VI (20 per cent of returnees to 38 per cent of dropouts). Returnees, then, tended to live in slightly better areas than did dropouts.

By combining categories I through V and comparing the number of dropouts and returnees in these areas with those in area VI, a difference

appeared that was statistically significant at the .01 level. Excluding those for whom residence was not ascertained, 40 per cent of the dropouts and only 20 per cent of the returnees were living in area VI. (See Table 22.) The difference remained significant or nearly significant with sex controlled. (See Tables 23 and 24.)

Returnee boys were much better off than returnee girls; 31 per cent of the boys lived in areas I, II and III and only 8 per cent of the girls lived in these areas. The girl returnees were more likely than boy returnees (46 per cent and 22 per cent) to live in area V. Approximately equal proportions of each sex lived in areas IV and VI. Among the dropouts, however, the greatest boy-girl difference was in area VI; 43 per cent of girl dropouts and 35 per cent of boy dropouts lived in this worst area.

-Table 25-

The importance of socio-economic area of residence is further shown by Table 25. Of all those who left school in 1959-60, 30.0 per cent of those living in area I returned and only 5.2 percent of those living in area VI did so. The returnee rate was fairly consistent for areas II through V (11 to 14.5 per cent for each area.)

4. Family Situation

The type of family situation in which a youth lived when he left school might be a factor determining his success in school, his attitude toward school, and the possibility that he might return. A statistically significant difference was found in the proportion of each group living with both of their parents, that is, in an unbroken home. Excluding those for whom family situation was not ascertained, 76 per cent of

returnees and only 61 per cent of dropouts lived in an unbroken home (Table 27). When sex was controlled, only the difference between dropout and returnee girls approached significance (Table 29). More dropouts (20 per cent) than returnees (13 per cent) lived in one-parent families (Table 26).

Tables 26, 27, 28 and 29.

Although the sex differences in each group were not great, more girl returnees than boy returnees (79 per cent and 72 per cent respectively) lived with both parents; in the dropout groups the opposite tendency occurred with more boys than girls (58 per cent and 53 per cent respectively) living with both parents.

It is important to note that the majority of both returnees and dropouts lived in a home not broken by death, divorce, separation or the like. Although more returnees than dropouts came from visibly stable families, a quarter of all returnees came from broken homes and more than half of those who did not return came from unbroken homes; therefore, this factor cannot account for all or even nearly all returnees.

5. Delinquency of Dropouts and Returnees

All youth who are involved with law enforcing agencies before they reach their sixteenth birthday are listed in the Syracuse Central Registry of Juvenile Offenders.[14] After a youth is 16 his offenses are recorded in the Syracuse Police Department. According to both the Central Registry and the Police records, dropouts and returnees did not differ in the extent of their delinquencies.

Tables 30 and 31.

The large majority of both groups (80 per cent) were <u>not</u> listed at the

Central Registry, and approximately nine-tenths of both groups (88 per cent of dropouts and 90 per cent of returnees) were not listed at the Police Department. In both groups, more boys than girls were listed at each agency, but the differences were not significant. Most of the offenses of the returnees were not serious, although they ranged from malicious mischief to grand larceny. In summary, permanent dropouts were no more likely than returnees to become involved with a law enforcing agency.

6. Summary of Background Factors

Three factors were investigated in this section on family and social background: (1) economic stability (measured in terms of father's occupation, socio-economic area of residence and social welfare history of the family); (2) family stability (as indicated by the type of family situation in which a youth lived); and (3) delinquency. The latter factor showed no differences between returnees and dropouts. Father's occupation did not differentiate, but perhaps this was due to the gross occupational classifications used or to the partial character of the data.

All the other measures, however, consistently revealed that boys in each group came from more stable families than their girl counterparts. More boys in each group lived in the better socio-economic areas and had families without records of public welfare assistance. The only exception was that fewer girl than boy returnees had lived in broken homes.

The other important finding was that on each of these measures, without exception, fewer returnee boys than dropout boys and fewer returnee girls than dropout girls had experienced the unstable situation. It appears that in terms of family and social background as well as academic achievement, some returnees were somewhat higher level dropouts. This was true of both

boys and girls. Although girl returnees were "worse off" than boy returnees, they were "better off" than girl dropouts.

The differences between dropouts and returnees, while consistent, were never large, and some returnees came from unstable backgrounds. Furthermore, returnees were only slightly "better off". For example, returnees were more likely than dropouts to live in socio-economic areas IV and V, but they were not much more likely to live in areas I, II or III. In other words, there were indications that some returnees came from slightly more stable backgrounds than dropouts.

Analysis of Combined Characteristics

As shown in tables 8, 14, and 25, 15 per cent of those in grade 12 at the time of school leaving were returnees, as were 17 per cent of those who were not retarded in grade level and 30 per cent of those who lived in the highest socio-economic area. An analysis was made to determine whether or not a certain combination of characteristics would yield an even higher proportion of youth returning to school. The analysis was done separately for boys and girls. Father's occupation and intelligence quotient were available for only a portion of each group and therefore could not be used profitably in the analysis.

The fact that a family had not received public welfare did not contribute to the proportion returning. If anything, among youth with the three characteristics of living in the better socio-economic areas, higher grade levels and lower school retardation levels, receipt of welfare by the family may have increased, rather than decreased their chances of returning, although the numbers involved were too small to yield conclusive results. (See k and l of Table 32 and q or Table 33.,

Table 32

Of the boys who lived in the highest socio-economic area, 33 per cent were returnees (line b of Table 32); since the total N in this area was only 6, however, it is not a reliable measure. Of the boys in areas I through IV who were not scholastically retarded, 28 per cent returned (N = 18; see line g). As great a proportion of boys returned (28 per cent) in the group that lived in areas I through IV, were in grades 10 through 12 and were no more than one year retarded (N = 43; see line i). The combination of these three factors yielded the highest reliable proportion of returnee boys.

Table 33

Among girls a high proportion of returnees was found in each of several combinations of factors (lines i, j, k, m, and q of Table 33). In each case, however, the numbers were too small to yield conclusive evidence. It does seem that being in grade 12, not retarded, living in areas I through IV, and coming from an unbroken home all contribute to the propensity to return for girls.

The combination of factors yielding the highest reliable proportion of girls returning was that of living in socio-economic areas I through V, not more than one year retarded, in grades 11 or 12 at the time of leaving, and coming from an unbroken home (line p, Table 33). Of the girls exhibiting these four characteristics, 29 per cent (N = 35) returned to school.

If data were available for the entire sample on all variables and the total number in the sample were larger, a more inclusive analysis could be made. This limited analysis seems to indicate, however, that youth who rank "high" on several academic and social variables (e.g. in grade 12,

unbroken rather than broken home, etc.) are more likely than others to return.

Conclusions

At present there is a good deal of emphasis being placed on graduation from high school and on discouraging youngsters from dropping out of school. At least 60 of the 625 students who dropped out of the Syracuse, New York, schools in 1959-60 later returned to school (mostly to night school), and many of these graduated. Who did return? What kinds of youngsters were most influenced by advice to finish high school, and what kinds had the most pressure put on them to return? Unfortunately, in this survey these two factors could not be separated, but some characteristics of those who returned were determined by comparing the returnees with the dropouts who did not return.

It was found that returnees were generally better academically than dropouts, using grade attained, grade retardation and intelligence quotient as indicators, but this was more true of girls than of boys. On each dimension, the girl returnees were of a higher level than boy returnees, and the differences between girl returnees and dropouts were greater than the differences between boy returnees and dropouts.

Returnees were also "better off" than dropouts in terms of economic and family stability; this was true of both boys and girls. In both groups, the boys more frequently than girls came from the better socio-economic areas and less frequently came from families receiving social welfare. Among returnees, girls less frequently came from broken homes.

These data seem to indicate that academic achievement or ability and an unbroken home are more important factors for girls in returning to school

than for boys. Economic stability of the family, however, is a more important factor for boys than for girls in inducing a return to school

It should not be assumed that the factors of academic ability or social class operated independently on the decision to return to school. It may be that the few who had been relatively successful in school or those who were from the higher social classes or more stable families were subjected to more pressures to return than were others, not only by their parents, but also by teachers, the New York State Employment Service, and the like. It may be, too, that the greater economic security of some returnees made it possible for them to return to school, or that their lesser school retardation meant that a return would be less of a challenge.

In spite of the observed differences, the data most strongly indicate that returnees are not clearly distinguishable from dropouts. The two groups overlap considerably. Not all of the returnees were from intact homes, for example, and more than half of the dropouts (56 per cent) were living with both parents. Furthermore, whenever returnees were "better off" socially or academically, they were only slightly "better off". More returnees than dropouts came from socio-economic areas IV and V, for example, but approximately equal proportions came from the best areas, I, II and III.

The limited systematic differences indicate that situational and idiosyncratic factors may be of great importance in whether or not a youth returns to school after leaving it. It is probably those youth who have been led to believe that the school and teachers would be receptive to their return who are most likely to make the plunge back into the school setting. An employer or an adult may encourage them to return. They may come into contact with the school in some way or another.

The likely significance of such factors suggests that the building of roads back to school could be effective. It might be well to escape from the lock-step interpretation of school that everyone must move through broadly the same material at the same pace and for the same length of time. There may be those who can move effectively through school in the usual manner of 12 consecutive years; others may need a period of being a dropout -- the lower-class equivalent of the traditional upper-class Wanderjahr or two -- before they are ready to complete high school or begin specialized training. They should not be considered renegades from school, reluctantly admitted only if they show firm signs of "good behavior." Rather, we should institutionalize second, third and fourth chances and roads to education.

Without any real effort, the school system studied had at least 10 per cent and possibly as many as 25 per cent of its 1959-60 dropouts seek further training after leaving. With a deliberate aim to help these youth, many more early school leavers would return to the educational path. Obviously, school dropout programs aimed at encouraging return to school might gain some early successes by concentrating on the dropouts who ranked high on variables such as higher school grade, unbroken home, etc. The wide distribution of returnee characteristics underlies, however, the likely effectiveness of systematic attempts to encourage further education among a broad range of the dropout population.

Failing in the primary prevention of premature school leaving, increasing attention should be paid to the secondary prevention stage of reducing the period during which the individual suffers the handicap of limited education.

Footnotes

1. The collection of much of the data utilized in this report was made possible by the financial support of the New York State Division for Youth. The analysis was supported in part by a research grant from the Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.
2. We find it useful to distinguish various gross patterns of dropouts: "push-outs," who are overtly or covertly ejected by the school; "fall-outs," who dislike school but not strongly and leave early; and "run-outs," who extremely dislike school and exit as soon as they can.
3. Miller, S. M., Saleem, Betty and Bryce, Herrington. School Dropouts: A Commentary and Annotated Bibliography. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1963 (forthcoming). A study that does deal directly with the post-dropout educational experiences of school dropouts is Bert I. Greene, "Continuing Education and the High School Drop-out," Adult Education, XII, 2 (Winter, 1962), 76-83. This study reported that 18 of 48 dropouts had received education or training of some type since leaving school approximately 11 years earlier: 5 had attended a trade school; 8 had taken a correspondence course; 4 had taken some adult education course; and 4 had an apprenticeship. About half as many dropouts as graduates participated in each form of further education. Although 18 dropouts had taken some course, only 12(25 per cent of all dropouts) completed some course.
4 Syracuse, a city with a mixed industrial base, had a population of 216,038, according to the 1960 census. The racial distribution was 94.3 per cent white, 5.2 per cent Negro and .5 per cent "other." The median grade level completed for all persons 25 years old and over was 11.1; 44 per cent had graduated from high school, and 11 per cent

had graduated from college. The median family income was $6,247; 33.5 per cent of all families had an annual income of less than $5,000; 48.4 per cent, $5,000-$9,999; and 18.0 per cent, $10,000 or more. Of all persons in the labor force, 14 years old and over, 5.1 per cent of the males were unemployed in 1960, and 3.8 per cent of the females were unemployed. Of all employed males and females, 49 per cent were white collar workers, and 51 per cent were blue collar workers. Of the employed males, 13.7 per cent were professional, technical and kindred workers; 10.4 per cent were managers, officers and proprietors; 17.7 per cent were clerical or sales workers; 18.8 per cent were craftsmen or foremen; 19.2 per cent were operatives; 7.9 per cent were service workers; 6.0 per cent were laborers, and for 6.4 per cent the occupation was not ascertained. Of all employed males and females, one-third (31.3 per cent) worked in manufacturing industries. (U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-154. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962, pp. 15, 42.)

5. Miller, S. M., Comings, Carolyn and Saleem, Betty. The School Dropout Problem: Syracuse, New York State Division for Youth and Syracuse University Youth Development Center; 1963

6. There were two other permanent dropouts (making a total of 567) who are eliminated from this report. They were mistakenly classified as returnees and omitted from the previous report on dropouts. In such a large study group (565) an additional two would not change the calculations greatly, and it seemed preferable to keep the data in the present report comparable to that in the earlier report.

7. In 1962, interviews were held with 98 of the 625 dropouts and returnees. Most of the interviews were conducted by members of a research class of the School of Social Work at Syracuse University, conducted by Maurice Connery. The results were reported in Baldwin, Kenneth, et al. "The Syracuse Drop-Out---Two Years Later," unpublished group Master's Thesis, School of Social Work, Syracuse University, 1962. Of the 98 interviewed, 13 were returnees and 85 were permanent dropouts. The new information in the interviews revealed, however, that of the 85 permanent dropouts, 12 (or 14 per cent) had also received further education. Thus, it is possible that of the 565 here classified as permanent dropouts, more than one-seventh may also be returnees.

   Additional information obtained from the interviews will not be used in this report since it is available for only a small sample of dropouts and returnees.

8. Of the 98 who were interviewed, a total of 25 dropouts (13 returnees and 12 of those classified as permanent dropouts) had returned to school. This indicates that perhaps one-quarter of all the 1959-60 dropouts returned for further education.

9. A youth who dropped out during the summer vacation was credited with the grade level he would have been in had he continued that fall.

10. $X^2$ was used to determine statistical significance. Statisticians frequently suggest that Yates' correction of $X^2$ be used when a 2 x 2 contingency table is used. Therefore, where $X^2$ is reported, $Xy^2$ (Yates' correction) is also reported. In only a few cases did the use of Yates' correction make a difference in whether or not there was statistical significance.

11. Because of the incomplete accounting of returnees and the overlap of the two groups, these figures should not be taken as representing actual returnee rates; they are presented here for analytical purposes only.

12. U. S. Bureau of the Census. 1960 Census of Population, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries (rev. ed.). Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960

13. Willie, Charles V. "Socio-Economic and Ethnic Areas of Syracuse, New York" (Unpublished doctoral disseratation, Syracuse University, 1957).

14. Cary, Lee J. and Hardt, Robert H. The Central Registry. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1961.

TABLE 1

SEX OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

| Sex | Dropouts | | Returnees | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| Male | 313 | 55 | 36 | 60 |
| Female | 252 | 45 | 24 | 40 |
| TOTAL | 565 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

TABLE 2

AGE AT DROPOUT OF

PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| Age* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 14, 15 | 12 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 25 | 4 | --- | --- | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 16 | 124 | 39 | 125 | 50 | 249 | 44 | 18 | 50 | 10 | 42 | 28 | 47 |
| 17 | 90 | 29 | 78 | 31 | 168 | 30 | 9 | 25 | 9 | 37 | 18 | 30 |
| 18 | 63 | 20 | 24 | 9 | 87 | 15 | 8 | 22 | 3 | 13 | 11 | 18 |
| 19 | 15 | 5 | 9 | 4 | 24 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| 20, 21 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 2 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| N. A. | 2 | 1 | --- | --- | 2 | 1 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

*Age refers to age reached by youth at last birthday before leaving school.

Boy dropouts: $\bar{X} = 16.9$
Girl dropouts: $\bar{X} = 16.6$

Boy returnees: $\bar{X} = 16.8$
Girl returnees: $\bar{X} = 16.7$

TABLE 3

GRADE ATTAINED BY PERMANENT

DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| Grade | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 7-8, Sp* | 62 | 20 | 44 | 17 | 106 | 19 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 7 |
| 9 | 71 | 23 | 49 | 19 | 120 | 21 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 8 | 7 | 12 |
| 10 | 73 | 23 | 54 | 21 | 127 | 23 | 12 | 33 | 3 | 13 | 15 | 25 |
| 11 | 69 | 22 | 74 | 30 | 143 | 25 | 11 | 31 | 11 | 46 | 22 | 36 |
| 12 | 33 | 10 | 29 | 12 | 62 | 11 | 5 | 14 | 6 | 25 | 11 | 18 |
| N. A. | 5 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 1 | --- | --- | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

*Sp refers to non-graded classes for retarded or handicapped children.

Dropouts: $\bar{X} = 9.9$
Returnees: $\bar{X} = 10.5$
Total: $\bar{X} = 10.0$

TABLE 4

GRADE ATTAINED BY PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| Grade | Dropouts No. | Dropouts % | Returnees No. | Returnees % | Total No. | Total % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7-9, Sp | 226 | 41 | 11 | 19 | 237 | 38 |
| 10-12 | 332 | 59 | 48 | 81 | 380 | 62 |
| TOTAL* | 558 | 100 | 59 | 100 | 617 | 100 |

*Excludes 7 dropouts and 1 returnee for whom grade attained was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 10.78$
$Xy^2 = 9.87$
df = 1
$P < .01$

TABLE 5

GRADE ATTAINED BY DROPOUT AND RETURNEE BOYS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Grade | Dropout Boys No. | % | Returnee Boys No. | % | Total Boys No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7-9, Sp | 133 | 43 | 8 | 22 | 141 | 41 |
| 10-12 | 175 | 57 | 28 | 78 | 203 | 59 |
| TOTAL* | 308 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 344 | 100 |

*Excludes 5 dropout boys for whom grade attained was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 5.85$
$Xy^2 = 5.02$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE 6

GRADE ATTAINED BY DROPOUT AND RETURNEE GIRLS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Grade | Dropout Girls No. | % | Returnee Girls No. | % | Total Girls No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7-9, Sp | 93 | 37 | 3 | 13 | 96 | 35 |
| 10-12 | 157 | 63 | 20 | 87 | 177 | 65 |
| TOTAL* | 250 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 273 | 100 |

*Excludes 2 dropout girls and 1 returnee girl for whom grade attained was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 5.39$
$Xy^2 = 4.38$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE 7

GRADE ATTAINED BY RETURNEES, BY SEX

CONDENSED TABLE

| Grade | Returnee Boys No. | % | Returnee Girls No. | % | Total Returnees No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7-10, Sp | 20 | 56 | 6 | 26 | 26 | 44 |
| 11-12 | 16 | 44 | 17 | 74 | 33 | 56 |
| TOTAL* | 36 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 59 | 100 |

*Excludes 1 girl for whom grade attained was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 4.94$
$Xy^2 = 3.80$
df = 1
P < .05

TABLE

PERCENTAGE OF ALL DROPOUT

BY GRADE LEVEL ATTA

| Grade | Boys Dropouts | Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees | G Dropouts | Retu |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 8, Sp | 62 | 3 | 65 | 4.6 | 44 | 1 |
| 9 | 71 | 5 | 76 | 6.6 | 49 | 2 |
| 10 | 73 | 12 | 85 | 14.1 | 54 | 3 |
| 11 | 69 | 11 | 80 | 13.8 | 74 | 11 |
| 12 | 33 | 5 | 38 | 13.2 | 29 | 6 |
| TOTAL* | 308 | 36 | 344. | 10.5 | 250 | 23 |

*Excludes 5 dropout boys, 2 dropout girls and 1 returnee gi

ABLE 8

OPOUTS RETURNING TO SCHOOL

ATTAINED AND BY SEX

| Girls | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees | Dropouts | Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees |
| 1 | 45 | 2.2 | 106 | 4 | 110 | 3.6 |
| 2 | 51 | 3.9 | 120 | 7 | 127 | 5.5 |
| 3 | 57 | 5.3 | 127 | 15 | 142 | 10.6 |
| 11 | 85 | 12.9 | 143 | 22 | 165 | 13.3 |
| 6 | 35 | 17.1 | 62 | 11 | 73 | 15.1 |
| 23 | 273 | 8.4 | 558 | 59 | 617 | 9.6 |

ee girl for whom grade attained was not ascertained.

TABLE 9

NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS RETARDED OF PERMANENT

DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| Years Retarded* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0 | 32 | 10 | 65 | 26 | 97 | 17 | 9 | 25 | 11 | 46 | 20 | 33 |
| 1 | 77 | 25 | 70 | 28 | 147 | 26 | 11 | 30 | 9 | 38 | 20 | 33 |
| 2 | 105 | 34 | 65 | 26 | 170 | 30 | 10 | 28 | 2 | 8 | 12 | 20 |
| 3 | 63 | 20 | 34 | 13 | 97 | 17 | 4 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| 4 or 5 | 19 | 6 | 11 | 4 | 30 | 5 | 2 | 6 | --- | --- | 2 | 3 |
| N. A. | 17 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 24 | 4 | --- | --- | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 99** | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 99** |

*Refers to number of years retarded at time of leaving school, not at time of returning to school.

**Percentage does not total 100 due to rounding off.

TABLE 10

NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS RETARDED OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| Years Retarded | Dropouts No. | % | Returnees No. | % | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0, 1 | 244 | 45 | 40 | 68 | 284 | 47 |
| 2-5 | 297 | 55 | 19 | 32 | 316 | 53 |
| TOTAL* | 541 | 00 | 59 | 100 | 600 | 100 |

*Excludes 24 dropouts and 1 returnee for whom years retarded was not ascertained.

$X^2_2 = 10.99$
$Xy = 10.10$
df = 1
$P < .01$

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS RETARDED OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE BOYS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Years Retarded | Dropout Boys No. | % | Returnee Boys No. | % | Total Boys No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0, 1 | 109 | 37 | 20 | 56 | 129 | 39 |
| 2-5 | 187 | 63 | 16 | 44 | 203 | 61 |
| TOTAL* | 296 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 332 | 100 |

*Excludes 17 dropout boys for whom years retarded was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 4.74$
$Xy^2 = 3.98$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF SCHOCL YEARS RETARDED OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE GIRLS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Years Retarded | Dropout Girls No. | % | Returnee Girls No. | % | Total Girls No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0, 1 | 135 | 55 | 20 | 87 | 155 | 58 |
| 2-5 | 110 | 45 | 3 | 13 | 113 | 42 |
| TOTAL* | 245 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 268 | 100 |

*Excludes7 dropout girls and 1 returnee girl for whom years retarded was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 8.75$
$Xy^2 = 7.49$
df = 1
$P < .01$

TABLE 13

NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS RETARDED OF RETURNEES, BY SEX

CONDENSED TABLE

| Years Retarded | Returnee Boys | | Returnee Girls | | Total Returnees | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 0, 1 | 20 | 56 | 20 | 87 | 40 | 68 |
| 2 5 | 16 | 44 | 3 | 13 | 19 | 32 |
| TOTAL* | 36 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 59 | 100 |

*Excludes 1 girl for whom years retarded was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 6.34$
$Xy^2 = 4.96$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF ALL DROPOUTS

BY NUMBER OF SCHOOL YEARS

| Years Retarded* | Boys | | | Percent Who Are Returnees | G | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dropouts | Returnees | Total | | Dropouts | Ret |
| None | 32 | 9 | 41 | 22.0 | 65 | 11 |
| 1 | 77 | 11 | 88 | 12.5 | 70 | 9 |
| 2 | 105 | 10 | 115 | 8.7 | 65 | 2 |
| 3 | 63 | 4 | 67 | 6.0 | 34 | 1 |
| 4 or 5 | 19 | 2 | 21 | 9.5 | 11 | --- |
| TOTAL** | 296 | 36 | 332 | 10.8 | 245 | 23 |

* Refers to number of years retarded at time of leaving s

** All these returnees and dropouts for whom years retarde

BLE 14

OUTS RETURNING TO SCHOOL

EARS RETARDED AND BY SEX

| Girls | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| s Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees | Dropouts | Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees |
| 11 | 76 | 14.5 | 97 | 20 | 117 | 17.1 |
| 9 | 79 | 11.4 | 147 | 20 | 167 | 12.0 |
| 2 | 67 | 3.0 | 170 | 12 | 182 | 6.6 |
| 1 | 35 | 2.9 | 97 | 5 | 102 | 4.9 |
| --- | 11 | 0. | 30 | 2 | 32 | 6.3 |
| 23 | 268 | 8.6 | 541 | 59 | 600 | 9.8 |

ing school, not at time of returning to school.

tarded was not ascertained are excluded from this table.

TABLE 15

I. Q. SCORES OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| I. Q. | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| 60-69 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 70-79 | 13 | 10 | 12 | 12 | 25 | 11 | 3 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 13 |
| 80-89 | 33 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 58 | 25 | 3 | 18 | 1 | 8 | 4 | 13 |
| 90-99 | 42 | 32 | 38 | 37 | 80 | 34 | 4 | 24 | 2 | 15 | 6 | 20 |
| 100-109 | 26 | 19 | 18 | 17 | 44 | 18 | 5 | 29 | 6 | 46 | 11 | 37 |
| 110-122 | 15 | 11 | 7 | 7 | 22 | 9 | 2 | 12 | 3 | 23 | 5 | 17 |
| TOTAL* | 133 | 100 | 103 | 100 | 236 | 100 | 17 | 101** | 13 | 100 | 30 | 100 |

*No scores are available for 329 (58 per cent) of the dropouts and for 30 (50 per cent) of the returnees.

**Percentage does not total 100 due to rounding off.

Dropouts: $\bar{X} = 92.8$
Male dropouts: $\bar{X} = 93.4$
Female dropouts: $\bar{X} = 92.0$

Returnees: $\bar{X} = 97.5$
Male returnees: $\bar{X} = 94.4$
Female returnees: $\bar{X} = 101.5$

TABLE 16

I. Q. SCORES OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| I.Q. | Dropouts No. | % | Returnees No. | % | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 60-99 | 170 | 72 | 14 | 47 | 184 | 69 |
| 100-122 | 66 | 28 | 16 | 53 | 82 | 31 |
| TOTAL | 236 | 100 | 30 | 100 | 266 | 100 |

$X^2 = 8.03$
$Xy^2 = 6.89$
df = 1
$P < .01$

TABLE 17

TYPE OF FURTHER EDUCATION OF RETURNEES

| Type of Further Education | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Night School | 27 | 75 | 13 | 54 | 40 | 66 |
| Summer School | --- | --- | 1 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| Day School | 3 | 8 | 3 | 13 | 6 | 10 |
| Correspondence Course | 1 | 3 | --- | --- | 1 | 2 |
| Business School | --- | --- | 4 | 16 | 4 | 7 |
| Not Ascertained | 5 | 14 | 3 | 13 | 8 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

TABLE 18

OCCUPATIONS OF FATHERS OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

| Fathers' Occupations* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Professionals | 5 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 11 | 4 | 9 |
| Managers, Proprietors, Farm Owners | 25 | 13 | 16 | 11 | 41 | 12 | 4 | 15 | --- | --- | 4 | 9 |
| Clerical or Sales Workers | 16 | 9 | 11 | 8 | 27 | 8 | 1 | 4 | --- | --- | 1 | 2 |
| Craftsmen, Foremen, etc. | 52 | 27 | 41 | 28 | 93 | 28 | 11 | 41 | 4 | 21 | 15 | 33 |
| Operatives | 67 | 35 | 53 | 37 | 120 | 36 | 7 | 26 | 8 | 42 | 15 | 33 |
| Service and Private Household Workers | 17 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 29 | 9 | --- | --- | 2 | 11 | 2 | 4 |
| Laborers | 8 | 4 | 7 | 5 | 15 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 16 | 5 | 11 |
| TOTAL** | 190 | 100 | 145 | 100 | 335 | 100 | 27 | 100 | 19 | 101 | 46 | 101*** |

*lassified according to: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 Census of Population, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries (rev. ed.) (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960

**Excluded are 230 dropouts (41 percent) and 14 returnees (23 per cent) for whom fathers' occupation was not ascertained.

***Percentage does not total 100 due to rounding off.

TABLE 19

WELFARE HISTORIES OF FAMILIES OF PERMANENT

DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX*

| Welfare History | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| No cases** | 199 | 63 | 128 | 51 | 327 | 58 | 28 | 78 | 14 | 61 | 42 | 71 |
| One case | 43 | 14 | 36 | 14 | 79 | 14 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 3 | 5 |
| 2 or more cases | 71 | 23 | 88 | 35 | 159 | 28 | 7 | 19 | 7 | 30 | 14 | 24 |
| TOTAL*** | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 23 | 100 | 59 | 100 |

*Only aid received through the Onondaga County Department of Social Welfare was included. Some families received such aid as early as 1936.

**"Case" refers to one type of assistance, e. g. aid to dependent children at one period of time. In its history a family may receive aid to dependent children three times and would, therefore, have three cases on its record. Also, a family may receive several types of aid.

***Total excludes 1 returnee girl whose family received assistance but number of cases was not ascertained.

TABLE 20

WELFARE HISTORIES OF FAMILIES OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| Welfare History | Dropouts No. | % | Returnees No. | % | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No record | 327 | 58 | 42 | 70 | 369 | 59 |
| Has record | 238 | 42 | 18 | 30 | 256 | 41 |
| TOTAL | 565 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 625 | 100 |

$X^2 = 3.30$
df = 1
$P < .05$

$Xy^2 = 2.81$
df = 1
$P > .05$

TABLE 21

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| Socio-Economic Area* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| I (high) | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| II | 11 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 16 | 3 | 2 | 6 | --- | --- | 2 | 3 |
| III | 40 | 13 | 14 | 6 | 54 | 10 | 7 | 19 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 13 |
| IV | 57 | 18 | 37 | 15 | 94 | 17 | 10 | 28 | 6 | 25 | 16 | 27 |
| V | 78 | 25 | 74 | 29 | 152 | 27 | 8 | 22 | 11 | 46 | 19 | 32 |
| VI (low) | 110 | 35 | 108 | 43 | 218 | 38 | 7 | 19 | 5 | 21 | 12 | 20 |
| Outside City or Not Ascertained | 13 | 4 | 11 | 4 | 24 | 4 | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

*Refers to residence at time of leaving school.

TABLE 22

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| Socio-Economic Area | Dropouts No. | % | Returnees No. | % | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I V | 323 | 60 | 48 | 80 | 371 | 62 |
| VI | 218 | 40 | 12 | 20 | 230 | 38 |
| TOTAL* | 541 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 601 | 100 |

*Excludes 24 dropouts for whom residence at time of leaving school was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 9.42$
$Xy^2 = 8.58$
df = 1
$P < .01$

TABLE 23

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE BOYS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Socio-Economic Area | Dropout Boys | | Returnee Boys | | Total Boys | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| I-V | 190 | 63 | 29 | 81 | 219 | 65 |
| VI | 110 | 37 | 7 | 19 | 117 | 35 |
| TOTAL* | 300 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 336 | 100 |

*Excludes 13 dropout boys for whom residence was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 4.20$ $Xy^2 = 3.48$
df = 1 df = 1
$P < .05$ $P > .05$

TABLE 24

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF RESIDENCE OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE GIRLS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Socio-Economic Area | Dropout Girls | | Returnee Girls | | Total Girls | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| I-V | 133 | 55 | 19 | 79 | 152 | 57 |
| VI | 108 | 45 | 5 | 21 | 113 | 43 |
| TOTAL* | 241 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 265 | 100 |

*Excludes 11 dropout girls for whom residence was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 5.13$
$Xy^2 = 4.19$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE

PERCENTAGE OF ALL DROPOUTS

BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC AREA OF

| Socio-Economic Area | Boys | | | Percent Who Are Returnees | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Dropouts | Returnees | Total | | Dropouts | |
| I (high) | 4 | 2 | 6 | 33.0 | 3 | |
| II | 11 | 2 | 13 | 15.4 | 5 | -- |
| III | 40 | 7 | 47 | 14.9 | 14 | |
| IV | 57 | 10 | 67 | 14.9 | 37 | |
| V | 78 | 8 | 86 | 9.3 | 74 | 1 |
| VI (low) | 110 | 7 | 117 | 6.0 | 108 | |
| TOTAL** | 300 | 36 | 336 | 10.7 | 241 | 2 |

*Refers to residence at time of leaving school.

**Excludes 13 dropouts boys and 11 dropout girls for wh

TABLE 25

OPOUTS RETURNING TO SCHOOL,

EA OF RESIDENCE AND BY SEX

| Girls | | | | Total | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| pouts | Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees | Dropouts | Returnees | Total | Percent Who Are Returnees |
| 1 | 4 | | 25.0 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 30.0 |
| ---- | 5 | | 0. | 16 | 2 | 18 | 11.1 |
| 1 | 15 | | 6.7 | 54 | 8 | 62 | 12.9 |
| 6 | 43 | | 14.0 | 94 | 16 | 110 | 14.5 |
| 11 | 85 | | 12.9 | 152 | 19 | 171 | 11.1 |
| 5 | 113 | | 4.4 | 218 | 12 | 230 | 5.2 |
| 24 | 265 | | 9.1 | 541 | 60 | 601 | 10.0 |

For whom residence was not ascertained.

TABLE 26

TYPE OF FAMILY SITUATION OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND REUTRNEES, BY SEX

| Youth lived With | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Mother and Father | 182 | 58 | 134 | 53 | 316 | 56 | 26 | 72 | 19 | 79 | 45 | 75 |
| One Parent Only | 68 | 22 | 48 | 19 | 116 | 20 | 5 | 14 | 3 | 13 | 8 | 13 |
| One Parent and One Stepparent | 22 | 7 | 28 | 11 | 50 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| Guardians, Alone or In an Institution | 15 | 5 | 25 | 10 | 40 | 7 | 1 | 3 | --- | --- | 1 | 2 |
| Not Ascertained | 26 | 8 | 17 | 7 | 43 | 8 | 1 | 3 | --- | --- | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

TABLE 27

TYPE OF FAMILY SITUATION OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

CONDENSED TABLE

| Youth lived With | Dropouts No. | % | Returnees No. | % | Total No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother and Father | 316 | 61 | 45 | 76 | 361 | 62 |
| Other | 206 | 39 | 14 | 24 | 220 | 38 |
| TOTAL* | 522 | 100 | 59 | 100 | 581 | 100 |

*Excluded are 43 dropouts and 1 returnee for whom residence was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 5.58$

$Xy^2 = 4.93$

df = 1

$P < .05$

TABLE 28

TYPE OF FAMILY SITUATION OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE BOYS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Youth Lived With | Dropout Boys No. | % | Returnee Boys No. | % | Total Boys No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother and Father | 182 | 63 | 26 | 74 | 208 | 65 |
| Other | 105 | 37 | 9 | 26 | 114 | 35 |
| TOTAL* | 287 | 100 | 35 | 100 | 322 | 100 |

*Excluded are 26 dropout boys and 1 returnee boys for whom residence was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 1.61$
$Xy^2 = 1.17$
df = 1
$P < .05$

TABLE 29

TYPE OF FAMILY SITUATION OF DROPOUT AND RETURNEE GIRLS

CONDENSED TABLE

| Youth Lived With | Dropout Girls No. | % | Returnee Girls No. | % | Total Girls No. | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mother and Father | 134 | 57 | 19 | 79 | 153 | 59 |
| Other | 101 | 43 | 5 | 21 | 106 | 41 |
| TOTAL* | 235 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 259 | 100 |

*Excludes 17 dropout girls for whom residence was not ascertained.

$X^2 = 4.42$ $Xy^2 = 3.55$

df = 1 df = 1

$P < .05$ $P > .05$

TABLE 30

CENTRAL REGISTRY OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS

LISTINGS OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES, BY SEX

| Central Registry Listing* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Not listed | 228 | 73 | 224 | 89 | 452 | 80 | 26 | 72 | 22 | 92 | 48 | 80 |
| 1 or 2 Offenses | 58 | 18 | 21 | 8 | 79 | 14 | 8 | 22 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 15 |
| 3 or more offenses | 27 | 9 | 7 | 3 | 34 | 6 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

*The Registry's earliest information is for the year 1957. Consequently, any offense committed by a youth who was 16 before 1957 (or 18 or older in 1959-60) would not be listed. This fact indicates a possible underreporting of juvenile offenses.

TABLE 31

POLICE DEPARTMENT LISTINGS OF PERMANENT DROPOUTS AND RETURNEES

BY SEX

| Police Department Listing* | Dropouts | | | | | | Returnees | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Boys | | Girls | | Total | | Boys | | Girls | | Total | |
| | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % | No. | % |
| Not listed | 255 | 82 | 240 | 95 | 495 | 88 | 32 | 89 | 22 | 92 | 54 | 90 |
| 1 or 2 offenses | 48 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 58 | 10 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 8 | 5 | 8 |
| 3 or more offenses | 10 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 3 | --- | --- | 1 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 313 | 100 | 252 | 100 | 565 | 100 | 36 | 100 | 24 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

* Records checked as of March, 1962.

TABLE 32

ANALYSIS OF COMBINED CHARACTERISTICS YIELDING A HIGH PROPORTION OF BOYS RETURNING TO SCHOOL

| Line | VARIABLES Socio-economic Area | Years Retarded | Grade Achieved | Type of Home | Family Welfare Record | Total Number | % who are Returnees |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 349 | 10 |
| b | I | --- | --- | --- | --- | 6 | 33 |
| c | I-IV | --- | --- | --- | --- | 133 | 16 |
| d | --- | 0 | --- | --- | --- | 41 | 22 |
| e | --- | 0,1 | --- | --- | --- | 129 | 16 |
| f | --- | --- | 10,12 | --- | --- | 203 | 14 |
| g | I-IV | 0 | --- | --- | --- | 18 | 28 |
| h | I-IV | 0,1 | --- | --- | --- | 49 | 25 |
| i | I-IV | 0,1 | 10-12 | --- | --- | 43 | 28 |
| j | I-IV | 0,1 | 10,12 | unbroken | --- | 28 | 25 |
| k | I-IV | 0,1 | 10,12 | --- | no | 36 | 25 |
| l | I-IV | 0,1 | 10,12 | --- | yes | 7 | 29 |

Notes: A dash (---) indicates that variable was not taken into account.

The table should be read as follows (see line g): of the 18 boys who were from socio-economic areas I-IV and were not retarded in grade level, 28 per cent were returnees.

TABLE 33

ANALYSIS OF COMBINED CHARACTERISTICS WHICH YIELD A HIGH PROPORTION OF GIRLS RETURNING TO SCHOOL

| Line | VARIABLES | | | | | Total Number | % who are Returnees |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Socio-economic Area | Years Retarded | Grade Achieved | Type of Home | Family Welfare Record | | |
| a | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 276 | 9 |
| b | --- | 0 | --- | --- | --- | 76 | 15 |
| c | --- | 0,1 | --- | --- | --- | 155 | 13 |
| d | --- | --- | 12 | --- | --- | 35 | 17 |
| e | --- | --- | 11,12 | --- | --- | 120 | 14 |
| f | I-IV | --- | --- | --- | --- | 67 | 12 |
| g | I-V | --- | --- | --- | --- | 152 | 13 |
| h | --- | 0 | 12 | --- | --- | 24 | 21 |
| i | I-IV | 0 | 12 | --- | --- | 6 | 50 |
| j | I-V | 0 | 12 | --- | --- | 13 | 39 |
| k | --- | 0 | 12 | unbroken | --- | 10 | 40 |
| l | I-V | 0,1 | 12 | --- | --- | 16 | 31 |
| m | I-V | 0,1 | 12 | unbroken | --- | 8 | 50 |
| n | I-V | 0,1 | --- | --- | --- | 78 | 22 |
| o | I-V | 0,1 | 11,12 | --- | --- | 57 | 23 |
| p | I-V | 0,1 | 11,12 | unbroken | --- | 35 | 29 |
| q | I-V | 0,1 | 11,12 | unbroken | yes | 9 | 33 |

Notes: A dash (---) indicates that variable was not taken into account.

The table should be read as follows (see line h): of the 24 girls who were not retarded and had reached grade 12, 21 per cent were returnees.

Dropouts

– Revised version in Trans-Action, October, 1968.

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# STRATEGY, STRUCTURE AND VALUES IN SCHOOL PROGRAMS

The growing disadvantages of dropouts in the labor market has brought them increased attention. The low-educated youth of today is relatively worse off than was his counterpart, even a generation ago. Obviously, the adaptation of schools to deal more effectively with dropouts---in both preventive and remedial activities---is only one mode of attack on the problem. Basic economic and social issues are involved in the attempts to deal adequately with the issues raised by early school leaving. In the following remarks, the perspective is narrowed, however, to the role of the school in reducing dropouts and we shall deal with selected aspects of the tactics, strategy, structure and values of the various action programs involving school change.

## Two Neglected Groups

"High aspiring" dropouts have been neglected. Many low-income families, especially Negro, have very high educational and occupational aspirations for their children. Many low-income children report high aspirations. A number of studies of Negroes show their generally high aspirations, their generally high regard for education and their high occupational aims. Nevertheless, many of them will be dropouts. Frequently they have been characterized as possessing "unrealistic" aspirations, regarded as rather silly or unknowing and no special attention has been paid to the "unrealistic high aspirer."

At the same time, many low-income groups have been charged with having little interest in education and low educational and occupational aspirations. "Unrealistic" high aspirations and low aspirations are lumped together into interpreting

low-income attitudes. But individuals with extremely high aspirations are likely to be different in at least some ways from individuals with low aspirations, even if both groups have high dropout rates.

High aspirers are likely to have a more positive view of schools and education than low aspirers. The high rate of early school leaving among high aspirers is indicative of the school's failure to take hold of the special characteristics of this group. Special strategies are probably needed to be effective with high aspiring individuals of low-income backgrounds. This is not the place to suggest the strategies but to point out the nglect of an important group which apparently has some accessible potential for staying in school compared to groups which have low career aspirations and negative evaluations of education.

A second neglected group are the returnees--dropouts who go on to some form of further education after leaving school. Returnees may be as much as 25% of all dropouts.[1] A much more systematic way of reacting and responding to these dropouts is needed since they have great potential for the maintenance of their school careers if encouraged. Many more dropouts might return if more effort were directed to them.

Many students build up a momentum toward leaving school. Counseling, guidance, attention during this outwardly spiraling period tend to be ineffective--the youth is propelled along in the dropout direction and intervention is ineffective, exit interviews becoming formalities. After dropping out, however, it may be possible "to get to" these youth, encourage them to return to school and provide flexible school procedures which facilitate re-entry. Providing "aggressive",

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1. See Betty L. Saleem and S. M. Miller, "The Neglected Dropout: The Returnee", Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1963.

"reaching out" counseling aid when the youth is in the labor market may be more important in many cases than its availability prior to leaving school.

The high aspirers and the returnees are only two types of dropouts. Available material on dropouts[2] indicates how varied they are; we should not be thinking of the dropout but of different types of dropouts, needing different environments and aid at various times. Obviously, then, various kinds and types of teachers are needed.

Pluralism in Teaching Perfection

Unfortunately, an implicit model of an ideal teacher frequently prevails. Teachers are expected to, or believe that they should, fashion themselves after the model. The existence of many different kinds of successful teachers has been inadequately recognized. In observing schools we have been struck by the great variety of successful teachers, some of whom have quite antithetical styles. An enormous range of styles seem to be effective with low-income youngsters. A model, even implicit, of the ideal teacher encourages teachers into a mold. The emphasis rather should be on each teacher developing a style which fits with her interests, personality and orientation as they relate to the particular students she has at a particular time. To provide confidence for teachers of the low-income it may be necessary to provide some concrete teaching tactics about what can be done in a classroom. The emphasis, however, should be on how the teacher can relate her own abilities and inclinations to the problems. The orientation

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2. For a discussion of different types of dropouts, see S. M. Miller "Dropouts-A Political Problem" in Daniel Schreiber, ed., and S. M. Miller and Ira Harrison, "Types of Dropouts: 'The Unemployables' ", Syracuse University Youth Development Center, 1963

should not be towards specific techniques which are thought to have all-powerful consequences, but upon the uniqueness of teachers and their differentiated abilities. It is important for teachers and training programs to accept the diversity of teachers and to try to develop the kinds of strategy that would be most effective for a teacher, given her personality, interests and aptitudes (although these can be developed and channeled).

In this connection, inadequate attention has been devoted to effective teachers. In every school, no matter what its general character, some teachers are successful with children. We need better understanding of what these effective teachers do. An important research project could be developed around close study of and interviews with such teachers so that it would be possible to develop inductively a scheme of effective teaching processes. We are not referring to the use of clipbooks or other tactics that may be employed by an effective teacher, but to the underlying and frequently implicit strategy that is involved. Frequently, the tactics of effective teachers are picked up and distributed to a wider group of teachers but the teaching strategies which give rise to or utilize these techniques are ignored. The job of research is to sift through tactics, seeing which have transfer value of themselves, and to uncover the basic strategies which could be adapted in many ways by other teachers.

Structural Change

School systems generally have not developed the qualities of flexibility and adaptiveness necessary for the problems of today. The great expansion of education in this century and the unevenness of its quality has led quite naturally to regulations and procedures aimed at maintaining standards and insuring common

practices over a large educational enterprise. At this stage--at least of large city schools--flexibility and experimentation become important.

One strategy is to have the schools operate as do some modern mental hospitals which, once a person has been a patient in them, feel a recurring responsibility to him. He can live in the hospital at night and work in the community; he can utilize the facilities of the hospital during the day and live in the community at night. He can sign himself into and out of the hospital at will--his stays can be short or long. The social service department will provide aid in the community to former patients and their families. The hospital attitude is to help provide what is needed to aid the individual at different points in his life. The general aim is to facilitate the individual's functioning in the larger community by using the hospital in a variety of ways.

The dropout is not a mental patient. But his needs, his recognition of them, his ability and preparedness to do something about them, differ at various points (as do the needs of mental patients and all of us). Schools should be willing, for example, to re-admit at anytime a youth who has left school rather than insisting that September and February are the entry points. Extending counseling and guidance to drop-outs until perhaps these activities might be the continuing responsibility of schools might be important; with the diversification of services and agencies one problem can become "multi-problems" as many agencies become involved. Courses in the early years of high school might be those which particularly interest non-verbally oriented students, and some of the required courses (e.g., English and History) might be concentrated in the later years when motivation or understanding is higher.

These suggestions are illustrative of structural changes in schools which could have ramifying effects. These types of changes have to go hand in hand with the general improvement in teaching youth of low-economic families. The current emphasis seems to be much more on pedagogic innovation and up-grading than on structural innovation. The latter, we feel, has considerable importance.

Large city school systems have, in some ways, more possibility of structural flexibility than smaller systems. Because of the great school population, there is likely to be a sizable number of youth who have common needs at a particular time; consequently, the per capita cost of a program can be less than when only a few youth need "adaptive school arrangements" at a moment of time.

Organizational Style

We have been impressed in observations of schools with the imprint of the principal and/or the superintendent on what takes place. In some schools it seems possible in an half-hour to develop a fairly adequate idea of how the principal operates. For the organizational style affects a great deal of what takes place inside and outside the school building.

Consequently, a major emphasis should be upon encouraging new and deepened outlooks among school principals and superintendents. Our experience in a variety of settings is that training is usually beamed at the foot-soldier: the teacher in the classroom, the social worker in the clinic, the foremen and shop steward in the plant. But much of what these practitioners can do is conditioned by the organizational environment in which they operate. Many come back from training programs imbued with zeal for change and new pursuits only to find an uninterested or negative administration.

Our conlcusion is that training and change at the teacher level is most effective when it is coupled with change at the administrative level.

Frequently, the most important changes are in how the school administration relates to teachers and students.

Changes at the administrative level make possible and encourage possibilities at the teacher level (and in the office and janitorial roles which are frequently overlooked in their impact upon students). Obviously, teachers can do much to improve their teaching without administrative change and the absence of administrative change should not be used as an excuse for individual teachers to avoid rethinking their role. But the crucial importance of organizational form and style has been largely ignored. Retraining cannot be sprinkled through an organization with the expectation of big changes unless the organization as an entity changes.

We suspect that the success of many low-income school projects rests with organizational change rather than in the adoption of specific packages of programs. School administrations demonstrating a heightened interest and belief in the educability of low-income youth are most likely to be able to engender positive action among the students. The importance of the Hawthorne effects, deriving from concern and interest rather than from specific activities, may be underplayed in our understanding and interpretation of successful programs.[3] Programs can be easily copied; concern can not. It is this situation which underlines the importance of administrative orientation and stance.

Some proposed school innovations are techniques; almost all assume or are directed at organizational and classroom climate changes. Evaluation, therefore, should not be mechanically statistical, indicating the planned input and what

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3. Cf. Frank Riessman, The Culturally Deprived Child, pp. 103-104

appears to be the educational output. A clinical view of the organizational process is important and neglected--How does successful introduction of new and effective practices in schools, especially those in slum areas, occur? What are the activities which are most easily changed? What are the important resistances to change? How have they been met? To what extent and in what ways can teachers' behavior be changed without overall organizational change?

Attitudes and Values

What is crucial about organizational style is the climate it creates; what is effective about the successful teacher is the attitude she conveys to the students. Tactics, strategy, structure are important; also important are the attitudes and values of the teachers, administrator and auxiliary staff for they affect the atmosphere in which things happen or do not happen.

An interesting example from mental hospitals: Ward attendants were told that patients were now receiving tranquilizers. The attendants later reported that patients were more tractable and much easier to handle. In fact, patients had been given placebos, tablets with no medicinal effects! That patients had not changed; the ward attendants had. They now thought that patients would not be difficult, acted on this basis and found or produced less difficulty. The implication of this incident for school personal is that the attitude of personnel is crucial in what takes place.

Changes in tactics, strategy and structure can founder if the attitudes of school personnel do not change. Confidence and hope that students can develop competences and be interested in school contribute to the achievement of such results. Changed values and attitudes may usually have to be buttressed with new tactics, strategy and structure. But it is important to recognize that values

and attitudes permeate the complex human interactions of schools.

In this connection it is important to avoid placing the responsibility for solutions on the client, the student. A professional takes responsibility upon himself. If his job is to teach and if students have problems limiting their effective response to the classroom, then the professional has to define the problem as how can a professional deal with these difficulties. It may be that the student can be better prepared but the essential thrust is always towards the professional and his responsibility for action to improve the situation.

The use of the term "culturally deprived" raises a number of questions that bear on this problem. The term impliss a standard set of items which (a) most Americans have, (b) are desirable in and of themselves and (c) provide the basic reasons for school failure. All three suppositions are doubtful but the most important aspect is that the use of the term puts the burden on the student rather than on the schools' responsibility to deal with children of diverse background or experience.

Schools and Society

The effective school programs in low-income areas seem to involve (1) a direct and a concerted attempt at building the competences of students, especially in reading; (2) changing organizational structure and climate so that students (and parents) develop a more favorable attitude towards school, (3) teachers can work more effectively (reduced class size), and (4) additional school programs can be undertaken (trips out of the neighborhood); (5) the utilization of specialized personnel (counselors, psychologists, teacher helpers) to permit the teacher to concentrate on the teaching relationship and to provide aid to handle special

problems ( psychological treatment of disturhed youth); (6) the building of favorable attitudes and behavior among the school personnel to the programs and towards their students; (7) the development through training of the competences of school personnel in dealing with the school problems of low-income youth.

But decreasing the number of dropouts is only one way of dealing with the growing problem of youth and employment--and it may be a very inadequate one if decent jobs are not available in sufficient numbers for high school graduates. In this century many community problems have been thrust upon the schools; it may be important for school personnel to point out constantly the responsibility of the polity generally for the functioning of the economy and for its impact upon youth. Schools cannot solve the problems of slow economic growth, anarchic labor markets and the like. They can serve to improve, to some extent, the quality of labor but the demand for labor would still be a prime problem. The efforts of American schools to improve the prospects of low-income youth can be only one mode af attack on the problems. In each community, schools may have to play the important role of pointing out the varied and extensive programs and actions that are needed.

# SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY*

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# SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND AMERICAN SOCIETY

Dropouts--those who do not obtain high school certificates by completing the 12 years of education which start at age 6--are receiving great attention in the United States. Yet, the percentage of dropouts in the United States is declining. The reason for this quickened interest in a smaller percentage is produced by two factors. One is that the school age population is increasing rapidly so that in absolute numbers more are likely to drop out. More important is the growing disadvantage of not having a high school (and college) certificate. The development of new technology demanding new skills, the decline of industries requiring high labor inputs, the destruction of unskilled jobs, and the increased demand for high educational credentials regardless of actual need, have led to the concern about dropouts. Unemployment, now a chronic problem of a sizable plateau level, is greatest among the unskilled and the low-educated.

The issue of dropouts also gains great attention because it intersects the problems of the rising Negro population in the United States. One characteristic response to growing Negro demands for "progress--now" is that Negroes can only obtain it through education which will open new higher-paying jobs to them. (That higher income does not automatically open up housing is ignored in this contention.) The Negro rate of dropouts from schools is high for a variety of reasons and some of the campaign to do something about dropouts is primarily aimed at Negroes.

Controversy is strong among economists on whether unemployment is primarily due to the inadequate growth of the economy or to structural forces which are changing the demand for various occupational skills. In this latter line of reasoning, the stress is that the current supply of labor is inadequate for the demands of today and that the emphasis should be on training and retraining labor so that they can function to perform needed jobs. In the economic growth view, the emphasis is on the inadequate demand for labor; retraining by itself will not solve the problems. Obviously, the concern with dropouts is basically in line with the conservative emphasis on structural changes and training rather than with the more "liberal" concern with the character and growth of the economy.

In either case, the "dropout problem" is part of basic economic and political as well as social issues in the United States. It is frequently seen, however, as a technical or communications problem of convincing youth to stay in school. Discussions are consequently inadequate and frequently misleading.

First, to some basic data. Hundreds of studies have been written about dropouts. It has been one of the most disappointing experiences of my professional life to wade through them, for so few have any merit. We do not even have good basic figures on the number who are leaving school before graduation. The best informed guess is that the percentage of early school leavers is between one-third and two-fifths of all youth. The Southern states have a disproportionate percentage of dropouts, as they do of all signs of economic stress. While more boys than girls leave school before graduation, the percentage difference is probably of the order--55% boys, 45% girls.

While the overwhelming majority of dropouts are from working-class and farm families, it has been widely ignored that white-collar families make a contibution to the number of dropouts. In Syracuse, New York, a city of 225,000, my associates and I estimate that perhaps one-quarter of dropouts come from white-collar families, particularly those which are in marginal occupational positions. This group is usually ignored in speaking of dropouts and this article will maintain that practice.

Schools within a city vary markedly in dropout rates. A crucial factor, of course, is the socio-economic-ethnic character of the area. The dropout rate can vary from 70% in one low-income district to less than 10% in others. Some schools in low socio-economic areas have much lower rates than others, depending on the nature of the school climate promoted by the school authorities or the traditions of the ethnic group in the area. The fact that many Jewish low-income areas had high graduation rates has been used to criticize Negroes as unwilling to do those things that they can do to help themselves. Criticism of this kind, which is frequently strident and patronizing--implying that "you" should show "us" that you are worthy of help--ignores the historical basis of literacy among Jews and Jewish business experience in the "old country" shtekls. Further, more education is needed today to do well. I have been surprised in looking at data on lowest socio-economic neighborhoods to discover how high a percentage of the Negroes in these areas were high-school graduates.

It is widely asserted that the prospective dropout cannot learn and is alienated from school. Our studies in Syracuse and investigations elsewhere show that the overwhelming majority of those who drop out are capable of doing high school work ( as measured by the notoriously class-bound IQ tests ). In a study of "presently unemployable" dropouts, an elastic term used to refer to those who were not considered placeable by the state employment service, we found that almost all these boys did not have a negative attitude towards school. Indeed, many felt that teachers were fair although they frequently recounted how one teacher "bugged" them, continually questioning their behavior until an accident occurred which served the teacher as a self-reinforcing prophesy. In other studies, it is clear that students did not come in with a rejection of school even though, as one of our boys stated, "school and I just aren't friends."

My belief is that many youth are bewildered by school and unable to mesh with it. Nor have teachers and administrators been able to learn how to deal with youth who do not neatly fit themselves into the prescribed lock-step of school life. Let me illustrate what I have in mind by recounting an incident that has happened to me a number of times in talking to school personnel. It is a common article of faith among teachers and others that low-income families and their offspring, especially the Negro poor, have little concern with education. Frank Riessman in his important book, The Culturally Deprived Child, has tried to counter this view, but with only limited success. When I point out that Negroes have a very high educational and occupational aspirations, that, indeed, study after study show an extraordinary belief in education among Negroes, the reply invariably is that these aspirations are "unrealistic," that Negroes are jumping from "porters to neurosurgeons." When I declare that this criticism of lack of realism may be true, but that it is different from the complaint that there is no interest in education, I am greeted by puzzled silence. What I think is involved is that many low-income families are unable

to translate their interest in education into effective school behavior by their children. In turn, school personnel do not know how to capitalize on the interest in education among their students, because they have not been willing to reset their procedures so that they work with what exists. Frequently, what is the problem to be dealt with, namely that parents do not know how to help their children in school, is used as an explanation of why school personnel fail to do an adequate job.

One of the elements in the strife is a terrible stereotyping of low-income youngsters. What is believed to be characteristic of the most difficult low-income families and youngsters is generalized to all the poor. The difficulties of the so-called "hard-core," "multi-problem," welfare families are thought to be typical of all the poor. This view is false because of the diversity of the American poor. Of the 20% who are currently described as living below the poverty line, only one-fifth of them receive welfare aid and of this one-fifth only a small group has the characteristics imputed to the "hard-core."

Remedial Programs

Much attention is now being paid to dropouts after a long period of neglect when the "creativity" of the "gifted child" was the ascendant issue. James Conant, former president of Harvard University, former ambassador to Germany, and currently the most influential writer on education in the States, sharpened the issue when he referred to the problems of the dropout as "social dynamite." In his Slums and Suburbs, an eloquent plea for attention to dropouts as well as a defense of educational segregation of Negroes and their training for minor occupational niches in society, Conant reported that in some Negro neighborhoods of large cities, as many as 70% of out-of-school youth were unemployed. Delinquency, crime, economic dependency, familial instability, violence flowed from this situation.

Some programs had begun before this, primarily to improve the programs of schools in low-income areas, but since then more direct attention has been devoted to dropouts.

It is difficult to isolate special programs beamed at dropouts because many programs, frequently aided by Ford Foundation grants, aimed at the "educationally disadvantaged," at those attending schools in the "gray areas" of large cities, primarily benefit prospective dropouts.

(1) President Kennedy in August initiated a program to convince recent dropouts to return to school when it opened in September. In general, a heavy propaganda campaign is underweigh to exhort youth to stay in school. I am not impressed with its great success and sometimes fear that it boomerangs. Dropout youth may be convinced that it is not worthwhile to try very much to improve their circumstances since possibilities are said to be so slight. In any case, persuasion has to be accomplished by a change in school that facilitates learning.

(2) Reading deficiencies are a leading factor in school failure; school retardation in turn is common, though not universal, among dropouts. Consequently, many schools are paying special attention to improving reading achievement among students. Unfortunately, there seems to be more attention

paid to remedial reading than to learning how to teach reading effectively the first time around. I am constantly amazed at how little is really known about the process of reading. There are investigations, especially by Martin Deutsch's Institute of Developmental Studies, of how social class factors in family environment and cognitive style limit the reading ability of low-income youth. At the same time, others feel that this emphasis, which has been affected by Basil Bernstein's work, exaggerates the deficiencies of low-income youth and places the burden on them rather than making their cognitive style the problematic for the school.

(3) One way of dealing with different cognitive styles is to bring low-income youngsters to school at an earlier age in pre-kindergarten and kindergarten situations so that they can be prepared for school. Of course, this policy meets the problem of dropouts by making sure they have the standard 12 years of education by tacking the years that are lost by early school leaving on to the beginning period! The inadequacy of nurseries and other facilities for low-income families in the United States is shocking and the desirability of bringing children into the orbit of the schools at an earlier age is defendable on those grounds alone.

(4) Many schools in low-income areas are beginning to attempt closer relationships with the families of youth. The school-community relationship is seen as important. In the Banneker district of St. Louis, a Negro ghetto, associate superintendent Samuel Sheppard has families sign pledge cards that they will provide study opportunities for their youth. In some situations, unfortunately, much of the school-community relationship is only front and little serious and sincere concern for the family is manifested. In my more cynical moments, I have the feeling that many programs aimed at the low-income areas are primarily Potemkin villages, constructed to permit school personnel to grind out publicity releases on their mimeograph machines in order to advance their own careers. But this is unduly pessimistic since many of the professionals are dedicated people.

(5) Most programs involve additional expenditures to reduce classroom size and to add specialized personnel (counselors, psychologists, teacher helpers). Slum schools have traditionally been understaffed resulting in overcrowded classes. Smaller classes are undoubtedly necessary where learning difficulties are compounded by language barriers (as with Spanish-background children) and school adjustment problems. The independent contribution of reduced classroom size and specialized personnel have not been, however, adequately measured.

The most publicized kind of activity has been that of "Higher Horizons", initiated by genial Daniel Schreiber and now copied elsewhere. The aim is to provide new kinds of "cultural" experiences to low-income youth who have frequently had little contact outside of their ghettos.

Patterns of residential segregation along racial lines in the United States raise special difficulties. Efforts to upgrade long-neglected schools in low-income areas often maintain existing segregation patterns. Some school systems have been criticized for paying inadequate attention to de facto segregation and trying to stifle criticism by providing separate but equal schools in ghetto areas.

(6) More important in my opinion than specific programs is the effort to change the attitudes and behavior of teachers and personnel so that they are dedicated to working effectively with low-income youth. The climate of a school affects much of what takes place in it; in a visit to a school one soon senses how the staff feel towards the students for this orientation permeates the school. Teachers are increasingly involved in training programs to improve their competences in educating the "educationally disadvantaged." Unfortunately, much of the social science and education literature is inadequate and frequently misleading in regard to working-class populations.

(7) Just beginning are efforts to revamp vocational education, which is a broad term covering school efforts to increase direct occupation competences of students. Vocational education has been stultified for more than a generation and the funds in this field are still primarily spent for preparation for agricultural occupations and home economics. The Federal government and the Ford Foundation are trying to break through the bureaucratic encrustations in the field but it is difficult to be hopeful. In many communities, technical education has been emphasized but the selection policy has been strict so that less adequate students are barred from these programs. Where no alternative of less technical program exists, as is frequently the case, the slow learner has no opportunity to pick up marketable skills.

(8) Schools are just beginning to pay attention to the possibility that many dropouts may return to school. Our studies in Syracuse indicate that from 10% to 25% of dropouts go on for further training. Unfortunately, no special efforts are made to facilitate further training. A great necessity is for a new view of the educational process--that many may leave school for a year or more and then return, that experience and performance may qualify individuals for high school diplomas and for college scholarships, etc. This kind of flexibility does not now exist in American schools, although some glimmer of the importance of flexibility and alternative routes and schedules of educational progress is beginning to emerge. For example, the Ford Foundation, which has been at the center of educational experimentation, particularly for low-income groups, has recently given funds to support a program at the University of Toledo to permit older dropouts of ability to enter college directly without first obtaining high-school certificates.

(9) A variety of programs are now aimed at the out-of-school youth. Many communities, especially those which have received grants from the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency for comprehensive planning of youth services, have developed training programs for unemployed dropouts. The programs have some diversity and it is too early to be sure of their impact. My impression is, however, that many if not most of them are beamed at the most disadvantaged youth and do not develop technical competence. Rather, the aim is to encourage "good work habits." I have strong doubts that in the present labor market situation of the United States, "good work habits" will open up many jobs for youth, especially for Negroes. If these programs fail, continuous sheltered workshop programs providing employment for youth may be the next emphasis.

The problem of dropouts cannot be extricated from the basic changes taking place in American society. Education is increasingly the route to mobility; credentialism consequently grows. High unemployment, low economic growth and concern for racial desegregation force special attention to the education of low-income groups.

Much is already known that would help prevent dropouts or improve their situation. The push to do something in the highly decentralized American education structure is not always there. To some extent the problems are caste problems more than pedagogical ones. Education, in my opinion, will increasingly be a political issue in America as the disinherited strive to open the educational escape hatch from the marginal economy of poverty into the main economy of "the affluent society."

M:86
11/15/63

# SCHOOL RETENTION and PRE-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS and PROJECTS

Board of Education of the City of New York

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November 1963

## INTRODUCTION

This publication describes organized programs and projects designed to provide some of the special help needed by young people so that they may continue their schooling. Issued as a service by the Bureau of Curriculum Research, Division of Curriculum Development, its purpose is to help carry on effective communication among New York City agencies.

This material was collected and prepared for publication by Abraham M. Finkelstein, Curriculum Coordinator, Bureau of Curriculum Research. Eugene Calderon, Leonard Ingraham, Charles Savitzky and David A. Abramson, Assistant Director of the Bureau, assisted in planning and development. Clarence Senior, Member of the Board of Education; Joseph O. Loretan, Deputy Superintendent for Curriculum, Research and Evaluation; Jacob H. Shack, Acting Associate Superintendent, Division of Curriculum Development; and William H. Bristow, Assistant Superintendent, Bureau of Curriculum Research, gave support and encouragement to the project.

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## CAREER GUIDANCE

*Division:* Junior High School
Max G. Rubinstein, Assistant Superintendent

*Date Initiated:* 1958

*Grade-Age Level:* 15 +

*Number of Students:* 1350

*Purposes:*

Instill in the pupils a hope for the future by making them conscious of their intrinsic worth and dignity by:

a. Creating positive attitudes towards self and society
b. Corrective work in the 3 r's
c. A specialty designed curriculum
d. Occupational information and part-time job placement

*Program Operation:*

*Organization.* At present there are 30 schools in the program with organized units of 3 classes. The class registers are limited to 15 children. There are more boys than girls in the program.

*Curriculum.* The pupil in a Career Guidance class needs a functional and realistic course of study based on his needs and interests, and not a "watered-down" version of the curriculum at which he has already failed so many times before. A team of subject area specialists has prepared experimental courses of study for these classes in industrial arts, group guidance and job placement, social studies, mathematics, language arts, science and speech, based on personal observations in the classroom, consultations with principals, assistant principals, Career Guidance Teachers, Career Guidance Advisors and pupils.

*Guidance.* The program is guidance oriented. Each child meets, at least once a week, with a guidance advisor assigned full-time to each school. A full-time Job Placement Supervisor at the Division finds part-time jobs for pupils to enable them to earn some money while they go to school and full-time employment for those who drop out of the program and go to work. This supervisor also helps train the guidance advisors in each junior high school in the techniques of job canvassing and follow-up activities.

*Evaluation:* The Deputy Superintendent for Curriculum, Research and Evaluation has received a planning grant from the Public Health Service of the National Institute of Health. Conferences, staff

work, school visitation and a design for evaluation of a proposed new curriculum are among the activities which will be carried on under this grant.

*Future Plans:*

a. Extension of the programs to more junior high schools
b. Increased financial aid for expansion and additional personnel (shop equipment, in-service training, social workers, follow-up service for pupils)
c. More active parent participation and community support
d. Closer cooperation with the business world (labor unions, businessmen's organizations)
e. Greater participation in extra-curricular activities
f. Nature and scope of the curriculum

## COOPERATIVE EDUCATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

*Division:* High School
Grace Brennan, Director, Cooperative Education

*Date Initiated:* July 1961 (29 City Departments)

*Grade-Age Level:* 16 years of age; juniors and seniors

*Number of Schools:* 37

*Number of Students:* 660 employed (June, 1963)

*Purposes:*

1. Provision for socio-economic needs
2. Retention of dropouts
3. Emphasis on placement of minority groups
4. Basic considerations, viz., that a student must be able to "produce" on the job
5. Opportunity for work experience concurrent with school work

*Program Operation:* Student trainees work in municipal government offices as typists, clerks, stenographers, office appliance operators, nurse aides, diet aides, public health aides, junior draftsmen, key punch operators, laboratory helpers, lunchroom helpers, and assistant gardeners. Schedules vary from alternate week to alternate two-week periods, according to the area of work experience. Students work 26 weeks of the full year and attend school for the balance of the year. Prevailing wages are paid, regular employee benefits are allowed pro-rata for vacations, sick leave, holi-

days, etc. Students are supervised on the job with continuing evaluation by Board of Education headquarters staff and assigned teachers acting as school coordinators. Correlation with school studies; semi-annual ratings by employers which became part of the school records. Monthly meetings with school coordinators. Periodic meetings with supervisors of civil service departments together with school personnel.

*Evaluation.* Questionnaire survey of students employed now in progress. Follow up graduates formerly employed.

*Future Plans:* Plan calls for 1000 by 1964-65.

## EARLY IDENTIFICATION AND PREVENTION PROGRAM (EIP)

*Divisions:* Elementary; Child Welfare
Rose L. Schwab, Assistant Superintendent
James N. Rinaldi, Assistant Director, BCG
Julia McBride, Borough Coordinator, EVG

*Date Initiated:* 1959

*Grade-Age Level:* K-3rd grade with some follow-up service in the higher grades

*Number of Schools:* 37

*Number of Students:* 10,469 pupils screened; 5,970 pupils served

*Purposes:*

1. Identify children's abilities, talents and problems early
2. Determine the incidence and nature of children's problems
3. Determine to what extent maladjustment is prevented through the creation of a sound mental hygiene educational climate
4. Identify individual school and community patterns which indicate probable success or failure
5. Refine techniques of identification of abilities, talents and maladjustments
6. Provide consultative assistance and interpretation of children's behavior to the school staff
7. Develop evaluative instruments for determining the effectiveness of the integrated approach
8. EIP is an outgrowth of the convictions and experience of schools officials that children must and can be identified and helped in their early grades, so that we can begin to cut down the serious incidences of later maladjustment

*Program Operation:* A specialized program of service by a guidance team; counselor, part-time social worker, part-time psychologist and psychiatric consultant. Each team within an individual school develops a pattern of implementation suitable to the needs of that school. The team attempts to identify and meet the special needs of children which require help beyond that which the teacher can provide.

At the end of the school year, teachers of the 1st grades submit uniform referral forms on those pupils whom they feel require specialized attention. These referral forms are screened along with the total 2nd grade class in the fall. The team's accessibility to the school personnel and its close and collaborative working reationships permit an early and integrated approach to meeting the specialized needs of pupils.

*Evaluation:* The Bureau of Educational Research is currently involved in an evaluation of the program.

*Future Plans:* The Bureaus of Child Guidance and of Educational and Vocational Guidance have requested additional budget positions to permit periodic expansion of the program.

## EVENING GUIDANCE CENTERS

*Division:* Child Welfare
Daisy K. Shaw, Director of Guidance

*Date Initiated:* 1951

*Grade-Age Level:* Over 17—not currently enrolled in school

*Number of Schools:* 2 (Washington Irving and William Cullen Bryant)

*Number of Students:* 800-900 per year

*Purposes:*

1. Offer educational, vocational, and personal guidance with particular emphasis on completion of high school courses, college entrance, equivalency examinations and the availability of vocational training
2. Provide individual and group testing
3. Supply career guidance and assistance in securing employment
4. Help foreign-born students in orientation to American schools and to the American labor market
5. Refer clients to community agencies where appropriate

*Program Operation:* The vast majority of those seeking help from this agency are self-directed and highly motivated. Consequently the guidance service shows a high degree of success, according to periodic surveys conducted by the staff.

The personnel of each center, headed by a coordinator, includes specialists in educational guidance, vocational information, psychological testing, psychiatric social work, community resources, and education of the handicapped. A placement counselor from the staff of the New York State Employment service is available at the Manhattan center one evening each week.

Clients are referred by school counselors, agency and community workers, evening high school personnel, and by friends and acquaintances.

*Evaluation:* Surveys by questionnaire are conducted periodically.

*Future Plans:* Expansion of these centers to other boroughs has been requested in an effort to reach the large group of high school dropouts.

## EVENING HIGH SCHOOLS

*Division:* High School
Sidney Jaffe, Frank Goldenberg

*Date Initiated:* 1915

*Grade-Age Level:* 9th to 12th year; 17 years of age and over.*

*Number of Schools:* 16

*Number of Students:* 37,000

*Purposes:* Offer courses and guidance to students and adults to complete their high school education and to motivate them to continue their education in institutions of higher learning, four-or-two-year college, vocational training schools and schools where learning is pursued for purely avocational interests.

*Program Operation:* The same high school courses leading to academic, commercial or general diplomas which are offered in day schools

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* For further details, see "A Guide to Further Educational Opportunities in the City of New York for Students of Evening High Schools," September, 1961.

are given in all evening schools. There are two parallel sessions; one meets on Monday and Wednesday and a limited number of Friday nights; the other meets on Tuesday and Thursday and a limited number of Friday nights. Each school has a staff of guidance counselors to assist adults in planning their program. In addition to the major subject areas other subjects such as art, technical drawing, fashion design, millinery, metal shop, radio repair and theory, and dressmaking are taught. Provisions are also made for accelerated courses for veterans and qualified non-veterans, e.g., math, English, commercial law.

*Future Plans:* Additional positions have been requested.

## EVENING TRADE SCHOOLS

*Division:* High School (Vocational)
William Kraengel

*Date Initiated:* 1902

*Grade-Age Level:* 18 and over

*Number of Schools:* 21

*Number of Students:* 34,000

*Purposes:*

1. *Occupational Extension Training.* Instruction and training to supplement and upgrade the job experience of journeymen in a craft or occupation.
2. *Apprentice Training.* Related and supplementary to the job experience, determined in cooperation with joint apprenticeship committee.

*Program Operation:*

1. More than 200 courses
2. Each course open to persons employed in a trade to which the training is directly related
3. Open to those who exhibit ability to benefit from instruction

*Future Plans:* Manpower Development and Training Program—to provide unemployed or underemployed workers with skills for employment in identified jobs. Conducted in cooperation with the Division of Employment, New York State Department of Labor.

## HIGHER HORIZONS

*Divisions:* Elementary, Junior High, Senior High
Jacob Landers, Coordinator

*Date Initiated:* 1956

*Grade-Age Level:* Grades 3-10

*Number of Schools:* 52 elementary; 13 junior high; 11 senior high

*Number of Students:* 33,500 elementary; 19,500 junior high; 11,000 senior high

*Purposes:*

1. Make it possible for each child to derive maximum benefit from a sound program to educate him to his optimum potential
2. Extend services to all: bright, average, slow
3. Better identify each child's abilities, interests and needs
4. Stimulate each child to attain achievement levels commensurate with his ability
5. Assist each child in making and carrying out appropriate educational career plans
6. Enlist the assistance of parents and the community to help reach these objectives

*Program Operation:*

1. Remedial services with emphasis on improvement in reading
2. Teacher training
3. Cultural enrichment
4. Counseling services
5. Enrichment of instructional program
6. Parent and community involvement
7. Program to raise self-image of pupil

It should be mentioned here that this program is not an operational program in that there are no courses of study with fixed methodology. It is rather a service program.

*Evaluation:* Being evaluated with aid of Federal funds. Both normative and experimental control studies, in such areas as reading, arithmetic, intelligence, aspiration, discipline, attendance, work habits, personality and attitude.

*Future Plans:* Additional funds for needed expansion.

## JOINT HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM WITH NEW YORK STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

*Divisions:* High School; Child Welfare
Daisy K. Shaw, Director of Guidance
Alex Altheim, N. Y. State Employment Service

*Date Initiated:* 1950

*Grade-Age Level:* High school

*Number of Schools:* 50

*Number of Students:* 55,220

*Purposes:*

1. To help bridge the gap between schools and the world of work by assisting youngsters in making a vocational choice and by providing early job referrals by getting job pledges from employers before graduation
2. Provide employment counseling and job placement to high school seniors and potential dropouts, as well as part-time placement for school students
3. Supply information on current occupational trends and labor market opportunities

*Program Operation:*

1. Forty-three counselors serve in 50 high schools to screen, register, counsel, and refer youths to jobs.
2. Thirty-five counselors serve full-time.
3. From September 1962 to June 1963, 7200 placements were made.

*Evaluation:* New York State Employment Service supervisors evaluate the quality of service rendered in two ways: 1) regular evaluation of counseling and placement records; 2) telephone follow-ups with employers on a selective sample basis.

*Future Plans:* Future expansion is subject to New York State Employment Service budgetary provisions.

## JUNIOR GUIDANCE CLASSES

*Divisions:* Elementary, Child Welfare
Gloria Lee
Louis Hay

*Date Initiated:* 1957

*Grade-Age Level:* Seeks to develop tracks in grades 2-6

*Number of Schools:* 58 (133 classes)

*Number of Students:* 1522

*Purposes:*

1. Develop effective procedures which will identify emotionally and socially disturbed children in the earliest grades.
2. Provide a resource for disruptive children who are damaging the normal functioning of regular classes.
3. Prevent the development of serious maladjustment by helping disturbed children before their problems become deep-rooted.
4. Build a coordinated program that will include teacher selection, teacher training and a carefully planned curriculum and other built-in protections for a rehabilitative program.

*Program Operation:* This is a pioneer approach for emotionally and socially malfunctioning boys and girls. Its basic orientations include: weekly team meetings, the development of individual case histories by teachers and auxiliary professionals, and an analytical consideration of the class group process.

The therapeutic quality of the program depends upon the development of each of the following segments:

(1) JG classes with adequately trained personnel of teachers and auxiliaries that include counselors and mental health specialists.

(2) Group work with the parents of these pupils. Disturbed children are frequently symptomatic of disturbed homes.

(3) A qualitative physical examination and follow-up of each child. The mental health rewards from meeting the physical needs of emotionally disturbed children can be disproportionately great.

(4) A complementary recreational program. The impoverished experiences of these children necessitate enrichment during leisure activities or too many destructive elements intrude after school.

Class registration—Closed register, 12-15 pupils: Open register, 7-10 pupils. There are three teachers for each 2 classes.

*Evaluation:*

MacIver Report, 1961
New York State Cooperative Study, 1962
National Institute of Mental Health, Bureau of Child Guidance (2 year evaluation) a. Screening procedures; b. Rehabilitative potential

*Future Plans:* Controlled expansion to insure essential qualitative dimensions: 1963-64 – 15 units; 1964-1965 – 30 units; ultimate population – 2500.

## MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH, INC.

*Divisions:* Elementary, Junior High School and Senior High School
James E. McCarthy, Administrator

*Date Initiated:* (Action phase, July 1962)

*Grade-Age Level:* Pre school-high school

*Number of Schools:* 16 elementary
2 "600" schools
5 junior high schools
2 high schools

*Number of Students:* All who reside in Mobilization for Youth area

*Purposes:* The prevention and control of juvenile delinquency through training and expanding opportunities

*Programs of Action:*

THE WORLD OF EDUCATION

*Teacher Training*

1. School-Community Relations Course
2. Laboratory Schools
3. Training for Improved Language Arts Instruction

*Curriculum Improvement*

4. Curriculum Planning Committee
5. Curriculum Materials Center
6. Reading Centers
7. Reading Clinics

*Parent School Relations*

8. Parent-Education Coordinators

*Other Elementary and Preschool Programs*

9. Early-Childhood Enrichment Projects
10. Ungraded Primary
11. Homework-Helper Program

*Other Guidance and Personnel Services*

12. Elementary Guidance
13. Attendance Teachers
14. Small-Group Programs
15. Exploratory Work Course

THE WORLD OF WORK

1. Urban Youth Service Corps
2. Teen-Age Industries
3. Youth Jobs Center
4. Other Programs to Overcome Occupational Barriers
5. Training Vocational Personnel

THE COMMUNITY

1. Organizing the Unaffiliated
2. Operation Assimilation
3. LENA
4. Neighborhood Councils
5. Program-Development Unit
6. Experimental Housing Program
7. New Frontiers in Service

*Specialized Services to Individuals and Families*

1. Neighborhood Service Centers
2. Visiting Homemaker Service
3. Social Reintegration of Released Juvenile Offenders
4. Experimental Narcotics Programs
5. Other Services to Individuals and Families — Casework and Psychiatric Services

*Specialized Services to Groups*

1. Coffee Shops
2. Detached-Worker Project
3. Adventure Corps
4. Pre-Adolescent Project
5. Other Services to Groups — Youth Organization

**OPERATION RETURN**

*Division:* High School
Mary E. Meade, Assistant Superintendent

*Date Initiated:* September 1962

*Grade-Age Level:* High school dropouts whose school records indicate their ability to complete graduation requirements before they reach the age of 21.

*Number of Schools:* 2 (Haaren and Washington Irving)

*Number of Students:* 135

*Purposes:* Meet the needs of young people who, after being out of school for some time, desire to return to full school attendance with a view toward achieving:

1. graduation
2. job preparation
3. possibly, further education for which high school graduation is a requirement

*Program Operation:* Regular full time school program for all students leading to graduation. At Haaren High School young men may study industrial arts, drafting, art and commercial subjects in addition to a program of academic subjects. At Washington Irving High School, classes are available for young women in commercial and distributive subjects, commercial art, dressmaking and design and academic subjects.

## SPECIAL EVENING SCHOOL PROGRAM (CONTINUATION)

*Division:* High School
Herman Slotkin

*Date Initiated:* September 1960

*Grade-Age Level:* 9th to 12th grade; 16-year-old dropouts

*Number of Schools:* 8 evening high schools

*Number of Students:* 400

*Purposes:*

1. Encourage qualified dropouts to continue their education
2. Provide opportunities for vocational training to enhance the employability of dropouts
3. Provide guidance services to help dropouts achieve a diploma and/or salable skills
4. Return dropouts to the day high school when appropriate

*Program Operation:* This program is a substitute for the day continuation school. Recommended pupils are registered in at least 2 appropriate evening high school courses. A special counselor checks on attendance and counsels each youngster at least once a month. Job placement service is provided.

*Evaluation:* Evaluation by the Bureau of Educational Research revealed that the experimental group was significantly better than the control group in school adjustment, in the attainment of clear, realistic vocational goals, in unemployment rate and in work performance and attitude. In addition the experimentals improved in school achievement significantly.

*Future Plans:* In accordance with a resolution of the Board of Education (April 24, 1963) this program is to be made a permanent part of the city's educational programs. The project is to replace the continuation schools by September, 1966.

## PROGRAM IN JOB EDUCATION

*Division:* High School
Herman Slotkin

*Date Initiated:* September 1960

*Grade-Age Level:* 9th–12th grade

*Number of Schools:* 2

*Number of Students:* 280 enrolled in the course during each year (at any one time there are 40 boys and girls in 2 clasess, one in each school)

*Purposes:*

1. Prepare students for employment
2. Help students achieve clear, realistic vocational goals
3. Assist in student's job adjustment
4. Screen students for further guidance and referral

*Program Operation:* Students attend the pre-employment course full time for 20 consecutive school days. They are then placed in employment and followed up on the job at least once a month until they reach the age of 17. Those who lose their jobs are returned to school for job placement or further instruction.

*Evaluation:* Evaluation by the Bureau of Educational Research showed that the experimental boys and girls were significantly superior to their control counterparts in school adjustment, in the attainment of clear, realistic vocational goals, and in rate of return to full-time school. Although they came to the project as near unemployables, they were more successful at work. Their unemployment rate was half that of the controls, and they were rated superior in work performance and attitude by their employers.

*Future Plans:* In accordance with a resolution of the Board of Education (April 24, 1963) this program is to be made a permanent part of the city's educational programs. The project is to replace the continuation schools by September, 1966.

## SCHOOL-TO-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (STEP)

*Division:* High School
Charles Savitzky

*Date Initiated:* September 1961, merged with work experience program which was initiated in September 1955.

*Grade-Age Level:* 15 years of age and over

*Number of Schools:* 17 (15 academic, 1 JHS, 1 "600")

*Number of Students:* 320

*Purposes:*

1. Motivate potential early school leavers to remain in school and be graduated.
2. Prepare them for full-time employment.
3. Introduce students to a fuller meaning of the world of work and its responsibilities, under guidance and supervision.

*Program Operation:* The basic pattern is for pupils to meet mornings with a teacher coordinator for home room and two instructional periods with emphasis on job guidance and related subjects covered in *Curriculum Resource Materials for Meeting School Retention and Pre-Employment Needs* (Curriculum Bulletin No. 8, 1960-61 Series, New York City Board of Education), and in supplementary material. Students report for work after lunch. It combines daily work experience (in private industry or in school work assignments, at a prevailing wage) with school subjects. Work experience is considered part of the school day, fully supervised, and rated for school credit. Students carry 5 subjects; 2 with the coordinator, 2 in the regular school program and 1 for job experience.

The stipend (school work-assignment) provision is especially helpful for students who need a more sheltered work situation for a temporary period prior to job referral, as well as for those who find difficulty in private industry.

*Evaluation:* Being conducted by the N.Y. State Department of Education.

*Future Plans:* The expansion of this work experience program, now called STEP, is supported jointly by the New York City Board of Education and the State Education Department.

## "400" SCHOOLS

*Division:* Child Welfare
Richard Lubell, Acting Associate Superintendent

*Date Initiated:* 1916

*Grade-Age Level:* Elementary school grades (bedside teaching may include junior and senior high school grades)

*Number of Schools:* 9 schools with 58 locations distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Convalescent homes | 4 |
| Hospitals | 40 |
| Institutions and shelters | 14 |

*Number of Students:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Hospitals and convalescent homes | 1004 |
| Institutions and shelters | 1128 |
| | 2132 as of 5/63 |

*Purposes:*

1. Provide educational programs for dependent and neglected children in shelters and for physically handicapped children in hospitals, institutions and convalescent homes
2. Maintain continuity of education for the child, taking into account his emotional, physical and social adjustments

*Program Operation:*

1. The curriculum is basically that of the regular schools, with a high degree of curriculum adaptation and adjustment. The greatest flexibility is in the hospitals, where medical and other special needs must be considered
2. Classroom and bedside teaching in the hospitals
3. Cooperative with public service and volunteer organizations in planning and providing special services such as nursing and psychiatric help
4. Flexible grouping and regrouping so that children can get the opportunity to work with the group best suited to their needs, interests and achievement levels

*Future Plans:* "The 400 Schools Curriculum Bulletin" is now in production.

## "600" SCHOOLS

*Division:* Child Welfare
Sidney I. Lipsyte, Director, Education of Socially Maladjusted Children

*Date Initiated:* 1947

*Grade-Age Level:* 1st to 12th grades (6 years of age to 21)

*Number of Schools:* 27 schools (14 annexes in institutional settings, youth houses, foster homes, day and residential treatment centers, and psychiatric hospitals)

*Number of Students:* 5,500

*Purposes:*

1. Rehabilitate socially maladjusted and emotionally disturbed children
2. Effect changes in attitude and to upgrade achievement of these children through special programs, taking into consideration the fact that they are unable to profit from instruction in the regular setting
3. Provide a therapeutic milieu where disturbed children may function in terms of their own growth and development

*Program Operation:*

1. Flexible programs modified to meet specific needs of children
2. Terminal education programs where necessary at upper grade levels, emphasizing job orientation and basic skills
3. Experimental units of work
4. Remedial work to upgrade reading and mathematics skills
5. Individual and group counseling
6. Use of clinical staffs and guidance counselors
7. Directed toward returning the children to the mainstream of education wherever possible

*Future Plans:* Request made for 3 additional day schools. In cooperation with the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation (N. Y. State), the following are under consideration: additional classes in institutional settings and in day and residential treatment centers; expansion of the programs in art, music, industrial arts, curriculum development, development of more suitable reading techniques, STEP program, demonstration project, and CRMD – Emotionally Disturbed Classes. Continued experimentation and demonstration guidance projects (in cooperation with Division of Vocational Rehabilitation).

## THE GENERAL COURSE

An overall view of programs which deal with potential and actual dropouts would be incomplete without a look at those pupils who take the "general course" in high schools, and who receive a "general" diploma when they are graduated. The program was designed to offer a high school diploma when higher education was not among the student's future plans.

As many as 30% of New York City high school graduates receive this diploma. Most recipients of this diploma are those who have experienced difficulty in achieving success with the courses usually offered on the academic, college-bound level. The program is an extremely flexible approach to the immediate needs of these students.

The term "general" gives the implication that the student has been offered a standard general education during his stay in high school. This however, is not necessarily the case. As the student encounters failure in one subject after another, he is offered substitutes in the hope that in time, he will find a place where he can achieve success.

Individual schools have instituted many changes and innovations in their efforts to meet the special needs of these students. Most of these individual needs have tended to go in the direction of special training or special courses to enable the student to more rapidly become absorbed into the world of industry. The approach has, in actuality, been vocational in nature but has not duplicated the formal, long-term skilled trades approach of the vocational and technical high schools.

It is interesting to note that any number of students who had been following a general course track become "late bloomers" shortly before graduation. Many of them are able to meet entrance requirements for some colleges and continue to be successful in their work. Some have even been able to move back into the academic path in time to receive the academic diploma. Others, of course, have found even the general course too difficult. These are the students who leave school as soon as thay can, despite the many offerings indicated by guidance counselors and teachers.

Some courses and course adaptations which have been offered are Recordkeeping, Clerical Practice, Marketing, Woodworking, Metalworking, Machine Shop, Boat Building, Drafting, Earth Science and Practical Nursing. Many of these courses add the term "general" to differentiate them from similar courses aimed at a higher level. In process now are curriculum adaptations in Americans History and World History for non Regents students. Special courses for pre-Civil Service students have been successful in a number of schools.

Other curriculum adaptations are constantly being developed to aid the high schools in offering practical, more immediately useful courses to general students. Examples of materials which aim in this direction are: *Reading in Secondary Schools, Resource Units for Classes with Puerto Rican Pupils, Modified Development of the K-12 Science Sequence,* and *Practical Nursing for High Schools.*

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Organization

RAMAPO CENTRAL SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 2
Spring Valley, New York

Reprint from NEA JOURNAL--April 1963

# Some suggestions for Teaching the Culturally Deprived

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Teaching culturally deprived children is not all struggle; it offers an opportunity for personal gratification which few other teaching assignments can match. However, the teacher who hopes to succeed with the culturally deprived must learn to cope with certain problems of discipline and motivation which are not as acute in schools where the great majority of pupils come from middle-class homes.

Handling these and related problems requires no gimmicks or tricks. Nor is there any one right approach, although there are many wrong ones. Perhaps more important than any methods for teaching culturally deprived children are certain basic attitudes on the part of the teacher.

The teacher should be straight-forward and down-to-earth. Some teachers have considerable success with the culturally deprived because they act in a simple, dignified fashion and express a degree of physical warmth without overdoing it. They respect the children, and the children respect them. Superciliousness, toughness, and cynicism are bad, and so are naïveté, softness, and lack of confidence.

Every teacher of culturally deprived children must weather an initiation period which begins on the opening day of school. Sometimes, fear of this initiation sets in before the teacher enters the class. Pupils make a cooperative effort to break the teacher; they try to find out how smart he is, how much he will put up with, and how much they can get away with.

This is the time when the teacher should establish an unvarying routine with simple, clear, enforced rules. The rules need not be imposed on the pupils as if they were in a prison or be so strict that they arouse pupil resentment. The teacher might begin the first class with a discussion of what rules they must all live by if he is to teach and they are to learn.

Establishing rules is not as difficult as it may appear to the teacher on the first day of class. Culturally deprived children welcome limits, but these limits must be clearly defined and consistently adhered to. If the teacher says there will be no gum chewing in class one day, then he cannot allow gum chewing the following day. The teacher, moreover, must abide by the rules himself and he should not introduce changes without advance warning.

Behavior problems which spring up in the class should be handled immediately with firmness and fairness. The misbehavior should not be treated as a personal affront to the teacher but rather as an interference with the learning situation of the entire class.

If necessary, parents should be called. Research has shown that most parents of culturally deprived children want their children to do well in school and are eager to help the teacher. They depend upon the teacher, however, to establish relationships between the school and the home. The teacher should not confine himself to getting in touch with parents only when a child has misbehaved. If he

calls parents whenever the child has done something particularly well, they won't ask themselves, "What has Jimmy been up to now?" every time they get a call from the school.

During the initial testing period, one or two children in the class are likely to accept the teacher much more quickly than the rest. The danger of enlisting their support uncritically lies in the fact that these one or two children are usually not typical representatives of the class and may be rejected by the rest. If the teacher can spot and get the support of the real leaders--the ones who represent the children's own ideal norms--he is more likely to be accepted by the whole class.

The best type of teacher to win these children over to learning is a person of action who communicates in many ways and is not too dependent on words alone as a means of teaching. The leaders in the class and the rest of the children are likely to accept this type of person readily because he is close to the model after which they would like to pattern themselves.

Culturally deprived children are not accustomed to listening to long speeches, and they find it difficult to concentrate very long in a strictly verbal situation. Thus, developing the auditory attention of these children is one of the teacher's most difficult tasks.

This task requires the utmost planning. The teacher must know what question he is going to ask each level of pupil in the class, and he must find a way to involve each child. He cannot leave anything to chance, and yet he cannot plan more than two or three lessons in advance.

One teacher who has had long experience with culturally deprived children uses a simple technique for making sure his pupils are paying attention and understand what is being discussed. He asks a question like "What is twenty-four divided by six?" and has several children respond whether the first one gives the right answer or not. He makes a game out of it by keeping track of and announcing how many give the right answer. Although this techniques is too time-consuming to be continued indefinitely, it is a good starting technique for teaching children who find it difficult to listen.

Culturally deprived children also have trouble expressing themselves, and typically do not verbalize well in response to words alone. They are at their best when they talk about things they have actually seen and done. For this reason, extensive use of visual aids and of role playing is effective in improving their verbal expression.

Ask a juvenile delinquent who comes from a disadvantaged background what he doesn't like about school or the teacher and you will get an abbreviated, inarticulate reply. But have a group of these youngsters act out a school scene in which someone plays the teacher, and the result will be a stream of verbal consciousness that is almost impossible to shut off.

Role playing can be utilized in countless ways, such as acting out a history lesson (George Washington signing the Constitution) or teaching arithmetic and economics by playing "store" and "bank." Role playing itself is a marvelous stimulus for discussion, and it appeals to the child's love of action.

The teacher has to develop discussion out of role playing scenes, however, and not simply capitulate to children's enjoyment of the acting-out process. In other words, role playing should be a trigger for discussion and thinking, not a substitute for it.

In teaching a deprived primary-grade child about a cat, for example, it would be useful to have him draw a cat, "act out" a cat, write the word on the board, and handle pictures of a cat. Similarly, in discussing a musical record, the child should be encouraged to put the record on the phonograph and to take it off. Trivial as this last example may appear, it points up the need to involve the child's motor muscles in every conceivable fashion and to make him an acting participant in the learning situation.

In time, however, the teacher will not have to depend so heavily on these devices, for once the deprived child develops skill through his visual and auditory senses, he is able to deal with the world of conceptual ideas without the need for concrete stimuli at every point.

From what has been said so far, it might appear that the so-called progressive method which emphasizes "learning by doing" is the best approach to teaching the deprived child. However, experience shows this is not true. Permissiveness, accent on the self and creativity as central goals of education--all a part of the progressive approach--are alien to the deprived child's culture.

The most successful teachers in terms of the culturally deprived children seem to combine the traditional concepts of structure, order, discipline, and strong external demands for achievement with the newer methods of down-to-earth learning by doing.

Fear of failure is a big roadblock to learning for the culturally deprived child. Every inch of progress calls for genuine praise. Even making an effort must be fully appreciated for what it is--a sign of maturity, a step forward. It is difficult for these children to bring themselves to volunteer in class, and the teacher must keep that fact in mind.

But whereas they are slow in getting involved in problems, once their interest is involved, they often seem to be able to work intensely and patiently for long hours at a stretch. In fact, once they are interested in a task, they want to stay with it and dislike working in short spurts with frequent breaks.

Thus, the teacher of deprived children should aim high--expect more and work for more from these youngsters. There is an exciting challenge awaiting the teacher who realizes that these children need not simply be brought up to grade level, but rather, that they can be encouraged to develop new kinds of creativity.

If this is the teacher's goal, he can help to make the schools far more pluralistic and democratic.

Dr. Riessman is currently consultant with Mobilization for Youth, Inc., New York, and consultant with the Department of Psychiatry, Columbia University.

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May 30, 1962

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# DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The integration of Negro students into Catholic schools in the South* has followed no announced or discernible plan. Elementary and high schools have in some cases, as early as 1952, acted at the parish level to admit Negro students to previously all-white schools. In some dioceses, explicit instructions to desegregate went out years in advance of the current order of Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans.

A summary of status, as we have been able to learn of it, in each southern diocese follows.

Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham (Alabama). There has been no parochial school integration in the state, although there is one example of desegregation in Catholic higher education: Spring Hill College in Mobile.

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). In Little Rock proper Catholic High (for boys) admitted three Negroes this year for the first time. In Fort Smith, St. Scholastica, an all-girl high school, has been integrated since 1952. At present 18 Negro students are enrolled there. The pastor of St. Peter's Catholic Church in Pine Bluff has announced that when a new elementary school is ready in 1963 it will be non-racial.

Archdiocese of Atlanta (Georgia). There is no desegregation here nor in the Diocese of Savannah. (In February 1961, the Bishops of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah announced jointly that parochial schools in their states would be desegregated "not later than the public schools.")

Diocese of Miami (Florida). Here there has been considerable integration both in elementary and high schools. The Bishop has given explicit instructions for the admission of students "without exception" as to race and there is willingness to discuss openly. One high school received prominent local press attention because of a star Negro basketball player. Another has an enrollment approximately half white and half Negro. Elsewhere in Florida, in the Dioceses of St. Augustine and West Florida, there seem to be no integrated parochial schools.

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* The 11 southern states of the Confederacy.

Archdiocese of New Orleans (Louisiana). In the fall of 1962, all (more than 150) Catholic schools, both grammar and high, will be integrated. The Bishop of the Diocese of Lafayette has said schools there would be desegregated eventually but not for the next school year. There has been no information that the Diocese of Alexandria has desegregated schools.

Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi). There has been silence on school integration and no known instance. There is one example of desegregation in higher education: the seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Diocese of Raleigh (North Carolina). Segregation was ordered ended here before May 1954, and all the elementary schools of the diocese are integrated.

Diocese of Charleston (South Carolina). For six years, St. Anne's, a co-educational elementary school at Rock Hill, has admitted Negro students. This year there are 19, of whom there are five each in grades one, two, and three.

Diocese of Nashville (Tennessee). Schools in Nashville and Jackson are integrated in principle but not always in enrollment. There are at least 25 Negro students in grade schools and 40 in high schools. Father Ryan, a boys' high school in Nashville, desegregated in 1954 prior to the opening of public schools to Negroes. Cathedral High School (for girls) in Nashville is now in its third year of desegregation. In Knoxville, Immaculate Conception is reportedly open to all. Parochial schools in Memphis and Chattanooga remain segregated.

Diocese of San Antonio (Texas). Desegregation of the entire parochial school system in this diocese went into effect in the 1954-55 school year. In the Diocese of Dallas-Ft. Worth, Jesuit High School in Dallas admitted two Negro students in 1955. In other high and grammar schools there has been some desegregation since 1956. In 1961, the Diocese of Galveston-Houston integrated elementary schools. In the four other dioceses in Texas (those of Amarillo, Austin, Corpus Christi, and El Paso) there are, so far as is known, no desegregated schools.

Diocese of Richmond (Virginia). Integration was announced for schools in this area before the Supreme Court decision in May 1954, and went into effect the following September.

file Sept 62

THE

# Robert Kennedy Praises South On Peace in Pupil Integration

## Statement Notes Lack of Incidents in Public Schools—Survey Discloses Slow Pace in Desegregation

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8—Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy hailed today the peaceful desegregation of many Southern schools this week.

He spoke optimistically about the outlook for the South as a whole. At the same time, however, he noted that in three states — Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina—not a single school or college had been desegregated.

"This is the second consecutive school year in which every public school system being desegregated for the first time has made this important transition without public disorder," Mr. Kennedy said, continuing:

"This is a mark of the growing acceptance everywhere of the need for significant progress toward the realization of the constitutional rights of all American children.

"Obviously, there is a great deal more to be done. In three states there has been no school desegregation of any kind.

"But the success of many communities in meeting this difficult problem during the past thirteen months should provide an example to the people of the communities and states which are going to have to meet the same problem during the next year."

### 33 Districts Involved

The Attorney General made he statement in answer to a request for comment on the school openings.

According to Southern School News, the authoritative source on desegregation developments, thirty-three public school districts were scheduled to have Negro children in white schools for the first time this fall.

Most of these schools opened last week—in Chattanooga, Tenn., and in smaller communities of Florida, North Carolina, Texas and Virginia. Additional schools were also desegregated in the border states of Maryland, Delaware and Kentucky.

Mr. Kennedy's point about desegregation of public schools "without disorder" reflects the history of the process since the Supreme Court school decision in 1954. According to Southern School News, there was violence over desegregation somewhere in the country every year until the school year of 1961-62.

The most serious disturbance this week came over the desegregation of parochial schools in Louisiana.

Crowds of jeering white persons gathered at several of the schools opened to Negroes by order of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New Orleans, John P. Cody. Some stones were thrown, but on the whole order was maintained and the schools were kept open.

The one school where those opposed to desegregation seemed to have prevailed was Our Lady of the Good Harbor School in Buras, La. This is in the area controlled by the arch-segregationist Leander Perez Sr.

The families of five Negroes who entered the school were seemingly persuaded to withdraw them. Whites stayed away, too, and the school was finally closed.

The Attorney General did not mention the trouble in Buras, but he is known to be deeply concerned about it. So far, however, Federal authorities have found no legal basis for intervention.

Although more public schools were opened peacefully to Negroes this week, the pace of desegration remains slow over the whole South.

Of the 2,265 school districts there which have both white and Negro pupils, only 243 have begun desegregation. And of the 2,800,000 Negro children in public schools there, fewer than 10,000 are in classes with white children.

The rural areas remain most resistant to integration. In Georgia and Louisiana, for example, only Atlanta and New Orleans have begun integration.

Mr. Kennedy gave special praise to the largest city to begin desegregation this week, Chattanooga. He said that its success was "a product of the same kind of responsible community action taken last year in Atlanta, Dallas and Memphis."

Schools

232/63

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

Southern College Head Thanks Northern Students For Books

Birmingham, Ala., Feb. 28: The CORE group at City College of New York decided to collect a sizable number of books and ship them to Miles College here, whose students have been particularly active in the non-violent movement for civil rights.

Upon arrival of the shipment, L.H. Pitts, president of the college, wired the New York group: "Miles College accepts with great appreciation 2,000 volumes from City College of New York students for our library. We have no means of adequately expressing our thanks to you."

###

SEP 4 1963

REPORT L-34-A (Revised)
August 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File

Schools

## DESEGREGATION OF SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The integration of Negro students into Catholic schools in the South* has followed no announced or discernible plan. Elementary and high schools have, in some cases as early as 1952, acted at the parish level to admit Negro students to previously all-white schools. In some dioceses, explicit instructions to desegregate went out several years in advance of the 1962 order of Archbishob Rummel in New Orleans. In other dioceses, the integration order from the bishop has followed local desegregation of public schools by a year or more.

In some areas where the schools are desegregated in policy, there has been no actual integration due to lack of applications by Negro Catholics. And in many dioceses, records are not kept by race, so it is not always possible to ascertain, from official reports, how many schools are actually integrated. There remain only four southern dioceses out of the total 25 which have either not announced a policy of desegregation or have not had it in effect for some time.

A summary of desegregation in each southern diocese follows.

Diocese of Mobile-Birmingham (Alabama). There has been no parochial school integration in Alabama, although Spring Hill College in Mobile has been desegregated for several years. The Catholic schools of Pensacola (included in this diocese) will be open to all races this fall.

Diocese of Little Rock (Arkansas). In Little Rock proper, Catholic high school (for boys) admitted three Negroes and Mount St. Mary's Academy, a high school for girls, desegregated in 1962. In Fort Smith, St. Scholastica, an all-girl high school, has been integrated since 1952 and St. Anne's Academy, a co-educational high school, has integrated. New Subiaco Academy (boys high school) in Subiaco has been integrated since 1959. St. Joseph's elementary school in Paris and Sacred Heart elementary school in Charleston are integrated; St. Peter's elementary school in Pine Bluff opened on an integrated basis in early 1963.

Archdiocese of Atlanta (Georgia). Catholic high schools desegregated the eighth grade in April 1962. On June 10, 1962, the Most Reverend Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, ordered all Catholic schools in the archdiocese to admit "Catholic children regardless of race or color." In September 1962, six previously white elementary and high schools were quietly desegregated by 17 Negro Catholic students. There are 18 elementary and high schools within the archdiocese, which comprises a 71-county area in North Georgia. Of the elementary schools outside Atlanta (in Rome, Marietta, Fort Oglethorpe, Griffin, Athens, and Washington) only St. Joseph's elementary school

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*The 11 southern states of the Confederacy.

in Athens and St. Joseph's school in Marietta in fact desegregated. No applications from Negro Catholics were received in 1962-63 in the other schools, which continue to have a policy of open enrollment. The Diocese of Savannah announced June 24, 1963 that Catholic schools in the diocese will be integrated effective September 1, 1963. The policy will apply to all grades of both elementary and high schools. Diocesan enrollment in 22 elementary schools and eight high schools is about 9,000. In Chatham County, under the present segregated system, one high school and three elementary schools are for Negroes with an enrollment of 1,000. Chatham County public schools are under court order to desegregate at least one grade in 1963.

Diocese of Miami (Florida). Here there has been integration both in elementary and high schools. The Bishop has given explicit instructions for the admission of students "without exception" as to race. One high school received prominent local press attention in 1962 because of a star Negro basketball player. Another has an enrollment approximately half white and half Negro. Elsewhere in Florida, in the Diocese of St. Augustine Negroes were admitted in September 1962 to the only Catholic high school in Jacksonville, and to Blessed Sacrament (elementary) School in Tallahassee.

Archdiocese of New Orleans (Louisiana). In the fall of 1962, all (more than 150) Catholic schools, both elementary and high, were integrated in policy. Orleans Parish integrated 26 schools with an enrollment of 154 Negro children. Outside the city of New Orleans, Jefferson Parish enrolled 33 Negro students in six schools, St. Tammany Parish enrolled two Negroes in one school, St. Charles and St. Mary Parishes each enrolled one Negro in one school. In Plaquemine Parish, Our Lady of Good Harbor School in Buras was first in the state to integrate, then closed because of disorder on the third day. The school reopened on Labor Day with approximately 18 white and four Negro children in attendance. After picketing and reports of economic and other pressure, the white and two of the Negro children withdrew. In March of 1963, it was reported that the school remained open but no pupils were in attendance. East Baton Rouge Parish will begin desegregation of four high schools in 1964, in the 11th and 12th grades. The diocese has about 165,000 members with about 9% Negro Catholics. The Lafayette and Alexandria dioceses remain segregated.

Diocese of Natchez-Jackson (Mississippi). There has been silence on school integration and no known instance. There is one example of desegregation in higher education: the seminary at Bay St. Louis.

Diocese of Raleigh (North Carolina). Segregation was ordered ended here before May 1954, and all elementary schools of the diocese are integrated.

Diocese of Charleston (South Carolina). Our Lady of Mercy Junior College in Charleston is integrated. For six years, St. Anne's

a co-educational elementary school at Rock Hill, has admitted Negro students. In 1962 there were 19, of whom there were five each in grades one, two, and three.

Diocese of Nashville (Tennessee). Schools in Nashville and Jackson are integrated in principle but not always in enrollment. There are at least 25 Negro students in grade schools and 40 in high schools. Father Ryan, a boys' high school in Nashville, desegregated in 1954 prior to the opening of public schools to Negroes. Cathedral High School (for girls) in Nashville is now in its fourth year of desegregation. In Knoxville, Immaculate Conception is reportedly open to all. In Memphis and Shelby County, all Catholic elementary schools will desegregate the first four grades in September 1963 as part of a four-step plan to extend through 1966. Two colleges, Christian Brothers and Siene, are already desegregated. Parochial schools in Chattanooga remain segregated, but there are some indications they may desegregate in 1963-64.

Diocese of San Antonio (Texas). Desegregation of the entire parochial school system in this diocese went into effect in the 1954-55 school year. In the Diocese of Dallas-Ft. Worth, Jesuit High School in Dallas admitted two Negro students in 1955. In other high and elementary schools there has been some desegregation since 1956. In 1961 the Diocese of Galveston-Houston integrated elementary schools. In the Diocese of Amarillo, all Catholic schools are theoretically integrated. Actually, there are about 40 Negro students in three Catholic schools; none have been rejected but there have been no applications to the other schools. In the Diocese of Austin, school integration is a local pastoral decision. There are known to be Negro children in St. Mary's Cathedral and Dolores Schools; enrollment forms do not show race, so there may be other Negro students in other schools. The Diocese of Corpus Christi reports that all schools in the diocese are integrated; there is no report on the number of Negro children enrolled. There is still one school, Holy Cross, which is all-Negro, but students there may enroll in any Catholic school in the city. The Diocese of El Paso has followed a policy of open schools for a considerable length of time; there was never any public announcement.

Diocese of Richmond (Virginia). Integration was announced for schools in this area before the Supreme Court decision in May, 1954 and went into effect in September, 1954.

THE

VOL. CLXII NO. 92 ★★★ EAST

# *Avoiding Integration*

## Segregationists Set Up Private White Schools In More Southern Cities

### Tuskegee, Ala., Students Use Converted Home; Louisiana, Virginia Get New Facilities

### How Good Is the Instruction?

By Neil Maxwell
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

TUSKEGEE, Ala.—In a large white frame house on Main Street here 128 white high school students study in makeshift classrooms. A block down the street in Tuskegee High School, a substantial brick building, a dozen Negro youngsters attend classes amid rows of empty seats.

This situation is a product of the continuing battle over school desegregation. The Negro teen-agers were enrolled in formerly all-white Tuskegee High this fall under a Federal court order aimed at breaching the school segregation barrier for the first time in this eastern Alabama community of 33,000, 85% of whom are Negroes. But white parents responded by withdrawing their children from the public high school and establishing Macon Academy, a private, whites-only high school.

Macon Academy—which is named for Macon County, site of Tuskegee—is by no means the first private school set up to frustrate a desegregation edict. But it's clear that the number of Southern segregationists who see such institutions as the only way to avoid integrated schools is rapidly increasing.

Besides Tuskegee, New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La., Little Plymouth and Claremont, Va., and Birmingham, Ala., have witnessed the creation of new segregated private schools in the past few weeks. In Birmingham, where a small private elementary school was rushed into operation three weeks ago, segregationist efforts to organize a large high school started too late to begin classes this term, as did a similar undertaking in Charleston, S.C. But backers of both these high schools intend to start classes as soon as possible.

**"Freedom of Choice" Laws**

E- South. Schools

# E WALL STREET

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EASTERN EDITION

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1963

# Avoiding Integration: More Private White Schools Open in South

*Continued From Page One*

private schools. In Birmingham and Charleston a lack of suitable classroom space was the main reason why segregationists were unable to open private high schools this fall. Birmingham segregationists are planning a private institution large enough to enroll some 1,200 white students now attending the recently integrated West End High School.

Here in Tuskegee the owner of a cavernous ante-bellum house donated the use of his property to the Macon County Private School Foundation. Walls were knocked out to create classrooms, shop equipment was installed in the garage and the building was rewired for fire safety.

Conversion of the fireplace-adorned bedrooms and parlors into classrooms cost less than $7,000. Many items, including lighting fixtures, paint, desks and laboratory tables, were donated. Other equipment is being purchased secondhand.

The school had obtained only about half its total budget, estimated at $54,000 to $60,000, when classes began, but backers say raising the rest will be no problem in this strongly segregationist area. Citizens contributed nearly $25,000 within a month after plans for the school were announced, and tuition payments are expected to bring in nearly $10,000 more. Last week Alabama Gov. George Wallace turned over some $8,000 in contributions by state employes to three private school foundations. Macon Academy will get a third of the money, and the rest will help support two segregationist foundations in Birmingham.

**Low Tuition**

Tuition is only $90 a year per family, far under typical private school fees of $500 to $1,000 per pupil. "We were afraid higher

The number of white southern students attending segregationist private schools is impossible to estimate accurately. That the total is rising fast is evident, however, from figures on tuition grants paid by states with "freedom of choice" laws to help parents sidestep Federal desegregation orders. In Louisiana, where a student receives up to $360 a year to leave a public school and enroll in a private one, grants are going to at least 11,000 students in the current academic year, up from 7,000 a year ago. In Virginia some 15,000 grants are being paid this year, compared with 10,000 a year ago.

Students receiving state tuition grants aren't required to attend schools set up specifically to avoid integration, but the booming growth of such institutions shows that many do. In New Orleans a segregationist school opened in December 1961 by a plumber named Armand Duvio has increased its enrolment from 458 to 860 this year, besides adding 11 new classrooms. At Powhatan, Va., Huguenot Academy expanded from four grades to 12 this fall, and enrolment jumped from 104 to well over 400.

Here in Tuskegee whites vow they will finance their venture without state aid, thereby eliminating the possibility the school's operations might be disrupted if tuition grants are eventually ruled illegal by the courts.

**Legal Questions Raised**

So far Federal courts have not ruled out "freedom of choice" grants, though some authorities question their ultimate legality. In Louisiana, for example, the state refuses grants to students attending parochial schools; while this facet of the law hasn't been tested in court, it might be held discriminatory. Since in some communities, including New Orleans, nearly a third of the students attend church schools, such a ruling "would put a tremendous burden on the state," one expert notes.

State tuition grants appear particularly vulnerable to legal attack in Alabama. Under an Alabama measure that has not yet been used, such grants may be paid only if all schools in a district are closed.

But when segregationists in Prince Edward County, Va., closed all public schools four years ago and opened a private academy for whites, they encountered strong legal resistance to the payment of state tuition grants to the academy students. For the past two years Federal court injunctions have barred payments pending a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court on several points.

Among the questions raised by opponents of Prince Edward County's action is whether a county may legally close its schools while other schools in the state are open. Prince Edward Negroes ended their lengthy education drought this fall when some 1,500 students, including four whites, started classes at a private school financed through donations.

**Negro Voting Strength**

Closing the schools in Macon County would be further complicated by the high proportion of Negro residents. While only three white schools (counting Tuskegee High as white) would be affected, 17 Negro schools would have to be shut. Such action could lead to retaliation against white local officials at the polls, since Negro voting strength in the county is nearly as great as that of whites.

Even without a general public school closing, there is a good chance Tuskegee High will have to shut in 1964. "The school is finished," says a county school official. He explains that the total white boycott has dropped enrolment to 5% of normal, which means the school will receive no funds to hire teachers next year. The state provides funds for local teachers' salaries in accordance with a formula based on attendance figures during the preceding school year. So while Tuskegee High has 12 teachers now—one for each student—its student body is too small to entitle it to funds for even one teacher next year. Two teachers have already quit, and other staff members, including the principal, are looking for positions elsewhere.

Finding adequate facilities has proved a major problem for the organizers of some new

*Please Turn to Page 22, Column 1*

tuition might force poor families to send their kids back to the public school," says a foundation official.

The academy still lacks some $20,000 of its budget for the current academic year, but additional funds are being raised by such activities as a student-run raffle of a second-hand Vauxhall and dances for parents at the Veterans of Foreign Wars hall outside town.

"We're going to get people to sign pledges like the churches do as soon as we get a ruling that contributions are tax-deductible," says postmaster John Fletcher Segrest, foundation president.

Nevertheless, some Tuskegee citizens have doubts about the chances of keeping the school operating indefinitely by such means. "It's a glamorous thing right now, backing segregation and Gov. Wallace, but I'm afraid it's going to get old fast," remarks one.

**Nearby Schools Grow**

Even strong supporters of the school concede its prospects were dimmed somewhat by parents who sent their children to nearby schools rather than wait for Macon Academy's opening, which took place a month later than the start of the fall school term in public schools. At neighboring Shorter an influx of Tuskegee students, including the entire senior class, sent enrolment soaring from a normal 75 to more than 200. As a result of such transfers, the 128 students at Macon Academy is less than half the 270 who attended Tuskegee High last year.

A few parents, too, wonder about the quality and breadth of instruction at Macon Academy. Mr. Segrest concedes the school "had some trouble getting teachers," though he says it was "mostly because of time." While salaries at Macon Academy and other private white schools are about the same as those in public schools, many public school teachers are reluctant to transfer to private institutions because it would mean the loss of benefits built up under state retirement systems.

The headmaster of Macon Academy was formerly band director at Tuskegee High. No foreign languages are offered at the academy, nor are there courses in vocational agriculture and home economics, both popular subjects in rural areas such as this. The academy has no band, football team, gymnasium or cafeteria.

The academy cannot take part in Federal milk and school lunch programs, nor can it

# CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

(September 23, 1955 to April 14, 1958)

# NASHVILLE
# SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

by anna holden

To accompany

A First Step Toward School Integration

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Price of Chronology, 10¢ each

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

## Suit Filed

September 23, 1955 - Parents and guardians of twenty-one Negro children refused admission to neighborhood public schools file suit.

December 15, 1955 - School suit amended to include two white children, also refused admission to neighborhood schools; the children, whose parents teach at Fisk University, live in a predominantly Negro neighborhood.

## Preliminary Discussion and Planning

February 6-7, 1956 - Twenty-seven community organizations sponsor Workshop on School Desegregation, with over 500 attending night sessions; participants in this second Desegregation Workshop report the community is "positively oriented toward the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of the public schools, but there is no active movement toward desegregation."

March, 1956 - School board holds open meeting to adopt desegregation plan, instead invites 80 people present to give views; representatives of various groups speak for and against desegregation.

March 21, 1956 - School board votes to postpone adopting desegregation plan until after court decision.

March 27, 1956 - School case heard by Federal three-judge court; judges grant continuance in case, at board's request give board until fall term of court to present desegregation plan.

May 30, 1956 - Nashville Community Relations Conference, newly formed bi-racial human relations organization, requests members to urge school officials to start desegregation in the fall.

October 29, 1956 - School board votes partial desegregation plan to be submitted to Federal district court; plan calls for desegregation of first grade, September, 1957, continued study of desegregation; race of students in school defined as valid condition for transfer.

## Acceptance of Plan and Support

February 20, 1957 - Federal district court accepts school board plan with one change: board is ordered to bring in complete plan for desegregation of all grades by December 31, 1957, with a time schedule for accomplishing plan.

March 14, 1957 - School board passes resolution authorizing planning for desegregation, calls on "people of good will to join in its attempt to comply with court orders. . . ."

April 2, 1957 - Nashville Council of Parent-Teachers Associations adopts motion approving the board's school desegregation plan.

## Increased Opposition

June 23, 1957 - Parents Preference Committee formed to spearhead drive to see that children go to school of parents' choice. This Plan would require three school systems - one Negro, one white and one integrated.

July 11, 1957 - Segregationist groups protest desegregation plans at school board meeting, ask board to use Tennessee 1957 public school assignment law.

July 30, 1957 - New school zones for first grade announced, new transfer system explained; Parents Preference Committee launches campaign to raise funds and secure signatures in fight for application of Tennessee's 1957 segregation laws to Nashville.

July 31, 1957 - Attorneys advise board to stick with plans for desegregation, say there is no way to skirt the order.

August 4, 1957 - White Citizens Council leader, John Kasper, and Ku Klux Klan hold rival meetings; Kasper moved from city park for not having permit, holds meeting with six other segregation figures in Croleywood on the outskirts of the city.

August 7, 1957 - Representatives of Parents Preference Committee appear at school board's instruction committee meeting, propose 5-point plan to substitute for fall desegregation.

August 8, 1957 - Segregationists, including Kasper, representatives of KKK, Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, appear at school board meeting to protest integration; school board authorizes instruction committee to continue studying legal opinion on Parents Preference Committee request; Nashville Community Relations Conference and sixteen affiliated organizations, plus PTA assure board of support, present petition pledging support signed by 600 citizens.

August 10, 1957 - School officials announce they are making plans to inform parents of first graders about transfer procedures.

August 11, 1957 - Kasper rally attended by about 300; future meetings announced.

August 22, 1957 - Nashville Association of Churches mails letter to 350 clergymen asking them to deliver statements supporting desegregation to their congregations.

August 23, 1957 - Kiwanis Club adopts resolution opposing desegregation, Men's Club of Monroe Street Methodist Church votes similar resolution; school board instructs its attorneys to ask Federal court whether Tennessee's school preference law conflicts with court's desegregation order.

August 25, 1957 - Kasper, Ace Carter of Birmingham and other segregationists from Knoxville and Birmingham hold rally, drawing crowd of 250; Kasper announces nightly meetings downtown on courthouse steps; 28 of 62 ministers quizzed by Tennessean appealed to their congregations to maintain a Christian spirit in dealing with school integration problems.

## Registration

August 27, 1957 - Thirteen Negro parents register children in neighborhood schools in special registration day for first-graders; forty-seven Negro parents transfer children out of assigned neighborhood zones to schools formerly designated as Negro schools; small groups of protestors gather at schools, but registration goes smoothly, with no incidents.

Parents who registered subject to threats and abusive telephone calls, also school officials and teachers.

August 28, 1957 - Group of 125 appears before Mayor to protest desegregation of schools; mayor, in first statement on school desegregation, says he must uphold the law of the land.

August 29, 1957 - Night meeting of 250 segregationists held on Buena Vista school grounds; boycott of schools urged.

September 4, 1957 - City teachers spend day in human relations workshop as part of in-service training; background on Nashville's situation presented by panel.

September 6, 1957 - Federal court rules Tennessee school preference law "unconstitutional on its face," instructs school board to proceed with desegregation as planned.

September 7, 1957 - Mayor West pledges "peace and quiet and good order;" Nashville Human Relations Conference reaffirms support of school board; segregationists hold fourth unauthorized meeting on school grounds at Fehr school.

September 8, 1957 - Police chief promises safety for all pupils, says persons causing disorder will be arrested.

School Opens

September 9, 1957 - Nineteen Negro children enter neighborhood schools, amid disorderly crowds of segregationists; in addition parents of four children attempt to revoke transfers to "Negro" schools. Three arrests made at Fehr school, where white women throw rocks and bottles. Neighborhoods in vicinity of schools where Negroes attend remain disorderly throughout day; near-riot broken up by police Monday night in Fehr school area--500 chase, throw bricks and bottles at Negroes, burn one Negro's car.

September 10, 1957 - Hattie Cotton school dynamited in early morning hours; crowds continue outside schools; police arrest 20 during day, including Kasper, in crack-down on segregationists; Negro hung in effigy in downtown area and disorder continues particularly in Fehr neighborhood; tool shed behind home of Mrs. Grace McKinley, whose daughter enrolled in Fehr, burned, rocks thrown at house.

September 11, 1957 - Schools remain under police guard with no crowds permitted to gather; Kasper put in county workhouse pending bond; city administration and U. S. court file for injunction against Kasper and other segregationists; carload of armed Negroes arrested.

September 12, 1957 - U. S. District Court issues temporary order restraining Kasper and eleven others from interfering with school desegregation; Kasper and follower John Mecurio arrested for vagrancy, loitering and disorderly conduct; cross burned in white residential area.

September 12, 1957 - State indicts Kasper for inciting to riot (earlier charges pressed by city); attendance rises and school officials announce crisis is over.

September 16, 1957 - District Judge William E. Miller issues permanent injunction ordering Kasper and nine others to refrain from interfering with school desegregation; children urged to return to school.

September 17, 1957 - Enrollment back up to 90% of total, with only eleven Negro children left in neighborhood schools; others go back to "Negro" schools.

September 18, 1957 - Kasper freed on bond, leaves city.

## Aftermath of Crisis

September 26, 1957 - School Superintendent-elect Oliver states he can see "no advantage to the colored children in being allowed to attend formerly white schools. . . ."; says Negroes prefer segregation and "we were doing a better job with our city schools (before desegregation) than we could have done with both races together."

October 3, 1957 - Three PTA officers at Glenn school resign because of integration and Glenn Men's Club disbands.

October 10, 1957 - Donald Davidson and representatives of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government appear before school board to plea for adoption of "voluntary" integration plan; Kasper back, ruled vagrant by circuit court.

October 14-23, 1957 - Series of cross burnings at different points in city; one burned in front of McKinley home, where Negro child is still in neighborhood school.

Next Step?

December 4, 1957 - School board adopts Parents Preference Committee's "voluntary" integration plan to present to Federal court; says will test state school segregation laws to "clear the air."

January 20, 1958 - School board files petition to dismiss original suit on grounds that 1957 Tennessee school assignment law provides plaintiffs with adequate administrative remedy.

January 28, 1958 - Federal district Judge Miller hears arguments supporting "voluntary" integration plan presented by school board; school superintendent Oliver, sole witness at hearing, says nine Negro children remain in neighborhood schools, are satisfied and doing well.

February 13, 1958 - Parents Preference Committee files amicus curiae brief stating outright desegregation of schools would be "preferential treatment of Negro pupils."

February 18, 1958 - Judge Miller disapproves parent preference plan, orders school board to submit "suitable plan" by April 7; new hearing scheduled April 14.

March 13, 1958 - Parents Preference Committee petitions school board to refuse to submit any integration plan (which had been requested by the Federal District Court). Anna Holden presents to school board the stand of 26 Nashville organizations favoring desegregation of the entire public school system as of September 1958.

March 16, 1958 - Jewish Community Center is damaged by dynamite. Its Rabbi and Federal Judge Miller are threatened. Both the bombing and the threats thought to be protest of integration stand.

March 31, 1958 - School board votes to desegregate rest of system one grade a year, with only opposing vote cast by the lone Negro member of the board who stated that the plan violates the Supreme Court requirement for all deliberate speed. A number of organizations and churches, over and above the 26 stating their views on March 13th, ask for complete desegregation in September, 1958. The Nashville Branch of NAACP announces it would contest the legality of any one-grade-a-year plan.

April 14, 1958 - Federal District Court hearing on the school board's one-grade-a-year plan held. Judge Miller allows 24 days for the school board to file its brief in support of the plan and for the NAACP to file a brief in opposition.

## Arrest Threats In Statesville

Statesville, N.C., Three students who had participated in CORE's Freedom Highways -- Candida Lall, Jean Thompson and Rosemary Ezra were threatened with arrest for vagrancy when they entered City Hall to copy a local anti-picketing ordinance. Such ordinances have been ruled illegal by the Supreme Court.

Schools

Rev. Wilson Lee and two other Negro ministers were threatened with arrest when they attempted to enter the white high school where Governor Terry Sanford was speaking. When the Governor spoke later at the Negro school, he was met by a picket line of 100 students. They then, entered the school, unfurled their placards and walked out. Asked by newsmen why they hadn't remained, they pointed out that they were interested in action -- not words to end school segregation in Statesville.

###

CORE VOLUNTEERS BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT

The CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT has been launched as the result of an appeal made to them recently by CORE Field Secretary David Dennis of Mississippi on a visit to the National Office. Books of social significance are requested.

An appeal for books and funds to cover mailing costs has to date netted 1400 books and $42.00. CORE urges all interested members and friends to contribute either books or funds to make this educational project a success.

Books and funds should be sent to the CORE NATIONAL OFFICE, 38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK 38, N. Y. Attention: Benjamin Brown. They should be earmarked: CORE BOOKS FOR MISSISSIPPI PROJECT.

Books may be shipped direct to: David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary, 313 Franklin Street, Canton, Miss. However, all funds should be mailed or delivered to the CORE NATIONAL OFFICE.

Book Committee

Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman
Mary Buckley, Sec'y
Bob Daniels
Olga Blamoville
Andrea Blamoville
Margie Hopp, Correspondance Sec'y
William H. Allen, Jr.

SPECIAL CENSUS OF SCHOOL POPULATION - COMPOSITION OF REGISTER TREND
IN DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS ENROLLED BY SCHOOL LEVEL
FALL 1957-66[1]

| | NUMBER OF PUPILS | | | TOTAL PER CENT OF REGISTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | PUERTO RICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | OTHER | PUERTO RICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | OTHER |
| ELEMENTARY | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 83,648 | 112,309 | 354,400 | 15.2 | 20.4 | 64.4 |
| 1966 | 138,535 | 192,120 | 268,873 | 23.1 | 32.0 | 44.9 |
| JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 27,167 | 31,980 | 109,976 | 16.1 | 18.9 | 65.0 |
| 1966 | 45,899 | 61,680 | 105,369 | 21.5 | 29.0 | 49.5 |
| ACADEMIC HIGH | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 8,601 | 17,450 | 161,231 | 4.6 | 9.3 | 86.1 |
| 1966 | 28,167 | 48,776 | 147,096 | 12.6 | 21.8 | 65.6 |
| VOCATIONAL HIGH | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 8,414 | 9,724 | 23,143 | 20.4 | 23.6 | 56.0 |
| 1966 | 11,804 | 12,394 | 17,265 | 28.5 | 29.9 | 41.6 |
| SPECIAL SCHOOLS | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 1,150 | 1,494 | 1,930 | 25.1 | 32.7 | 42.2 |
| 1966 | 2,209 | 2,643 | 1,988 | 32.3 | 38.6 | 29.1 |
| ALL SCHOOLS | | | | | | |
| 1957 | 128,980 | 172,957 | 650,680 | 13.5 | 18.2 | 68.3 |
| 1966 | 226,614 | 317,613 | 540,591 | 20.9 | 29.3 | 49.8 |

1 Data for 1957 are as of September 30. Data for 1966 are as of October 31.

## SUMMARY TABULATIONS OF DATA COLLECTED FROM THE SPECIAL CENSUS OF SCHOOL POPULATION - OCTOBER 31, 1966 - WITH COMPARATIVE DATA 1957-1966

Summary tabulations of data collected in the special census of school population on October 31, 1966 are reported herewith. For comparative purposes, a summary of similar data from the September 30, 1957 census are included in the second table, which presents city-wide data for Afro-American, Puerto Rican, and Other groups.

In collecting these data, schools were instructed to obtain the count of Afro American/Negro children by inspection only— Pupils were not questioned. In enumerating the numbers of Puerto Rican children, schools were instructed to include all children born in Puerto Rico as well as those born on the U. S. mainland, one or both of whose parents were Puerto Rican. All other pupils, irrespective of ethnic or national origin, were to be classified as Others.

### SPECIAL CENSUS OF SCHOOL POPULATION - COMPOSITION OF REGISTERS BY BOROUGH AND RACIAL GROUP AS OF OCTOBER 31, 1966

| BOROUGH | NUMBER OF PUPILS | | | PER CENT OF TOTAL REGISTER | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | PUERTO RICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | OTHERS | PUERTO RICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | OTHERS |
| MANHATTAN All Schools* | 59,452 | 63,692 | 48,926 | 34.3 | 37.0 | 28.4 |
| BRONX All Schools | 74,234 | 64,408 | 77,603 | 34.3 | 29.8 | 35.9 |
| BROOKLYN All Schools | 78,916 | 129,958 | 191950 | 19.7 | 32.4 | 47.9 |
| QUEENS All Schools | 10,590 | 53,489 | 184,840 | 4.2 | 21.5 | 74.3 |
| RICHMOND All Schools | 1,213 | 3,423 | 35,284 | 3.0 | 8.6 | 88.4 |
| * Except SPECIAL SCHOOLS | 2,209 | 2,643 | 1,988 | 32.3 | 38.6 | 29.1 |
| CITY-WIDE TOTALS | 226,614 | 317,613 | 540,591 | 20.9 | 29.3 | 49.8 |

I hope this is the information you want.
BLACK EDUCATION N.W.

PROPORTION AND RANK OF AFRO AMERICANS IN THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM
AS OF FEBRUARY 1966

| POSITIONS: | LICENSED POSITIONS | | ACTING POSITIONS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AFRO AMERICAN | NON AFRO AMERICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | NON AFRO AMERICAN |
| Assistant Superintendent | 2 | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| Directors | 1 | 25 | 1 | 9 |
| Assistant Directors | 3 | 39 | 2 | 17 |
| Assistant Admin. Directors | 1 | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS: | | | | |
| PRimcipals | 2 | 454 | 4 | 27 |
| Junior Principals | 0 | 95 | 0 | 0 |
| Assistant Principals | 47 | 702 | 14 | 79 |
| Teacher-in-Charge | 0 | 10 | 0 | 4 |
| Jr. High Schools: | | | | |
| Principals | 1 | 134 | 0 | 10 |
| Assistant Principals | 6 | 397 | 18 | 145 |
| Chairman of Departments | 3 | 32 | 25 | 119 |
| ACADEMIC HIGH SCHOOLS: | | | | |
| Principals | 0 | 49 | 0 | 11 |
| Administrative Assistants | 0 | 93 | 0 | 0 |
| Chairman of Departments | 3 | 581 | 5 | 128 |
| VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOLS: | | | | |
| Principals | 0 | 26 | 0 | 0 |
| Administrative Assistants | 0 | 25 | 1 | 11 |
| Chairman of Departments | 3 | 116 | 1 | 36 |
| SPECIAL SCHOOLS: | | | | |
| Principals | 0 | 7 | 2 | 7 |
| Junior Principals | 1 | 14 | 2 | 3 |
| Assistant Principals | 1 | 7 | 9 | 19 |
| Teachers-in-Charge | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| SUPERVISORY TOTALS: | 74 | 2,888 | 87 | 628 |

## OTHER THAN TEACHER, SUPERVISOR, AND ADMINISTRATOR POSITIONS ON ALL SCHOOL LEVELS AS OF FEBRUARY 1966

| | REGULAR APPOINTEES | | SUBSTITUTES | | ACTING | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| POSITIONS: | AFRO AMERICAN | NON ARRO AMERICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | NON AFRO-AMERICAN | AFRO AMERICAN | NON AFRO AMERICAN |
| Research | 0 | 13 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Guidance | 90 | 855 | 3 | 11 | 0 | 0 |
| Psychological Services | 73 | 274 | 6 | 68 | 1 | 0 |
| Attendance | 136 | 336 | 6 | 36 | 2 | 6 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 17 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTALS | 301 | 1,495 | 16 | 119 | 3 | 6 |

***

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15213
CABLE ADDRESS: GSPIA, PITTSBURGHPENN, USA

August 12, 1964

AUG 13 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
(CORE)
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Special Training Division of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs is in the process of devising a program of pre-conditioning of high level American personnel for overseas duty.

It has occurred to us that in your training program for non-violent response to hostile confrontations, you may very well have hit upon an important aspect of training which most American officials working abroad now lack. Much of your program may well be adaptable to foreign cross-cultural situations.

We would sincerely appreciate any material concerning your own training or "conditioning" program which you might be willing to share with us.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Marshall Singer

Marshall A. Singer
Assistant Professor of
International Affairs

MAS/jw

file //

Robert Alan Haber

# Students and Labor

Robert Alan Haber is a former National Secretary and National President of Students for a Democratic Society.

This paper is presented as the first in a series of discussion papers for Students for a Democratic Society's program concerning economic and labor problems and their relation to the student community.

Students and Labor was originally written for Students for a Democratic Society and was distributed by the Liberal Study Group at the National Student Association Congress in Columbus, Ohio August 19-30, 1962.

Labor today is the most liberal of the main stream institutions. It is also the most harrassed by the dominant economic and political groups in the country and the most weakened by the continual post-war recession. Strangely too, it is shunned or treated as at best a distant ally by the major part of the student political community. It is well past the time for a reappraisal of the relationship between labor and the student.

The argument to be developed is that there is an alliance of interest and a basic strategic urgency that should unite the student radicals with organized labor, primarily at the local level, but also regionally and nationally.

What's so wrong? We are concerned with the separation of two institutions, with the estrangement of the student liberal from the personnel, problems and programs of organized labor, and in a parallel way with the lack of interest from labor in the university or in college students.

By way of example, in the recent three volume report by Walter Reuther to the 18th Constitutional Convention of the United Automobile Workers and the three volumes of resolutions adopted by that convention, there is barely a mention of the university or of college students, and there is no mention of the past two years of social protest and ferment centered around the campuses of the country. Similarly, in the 140 pages of resolutions of the United States National Student Association there is not one mention of organized labor and in the hundred-odd student publications geared for local, regional or national audiences in the last academic year, there appeared hardly a mention, to say nothing of an analysis, of the relations between students and the forces of organized labor.

This situation contrasts sharply with the close relation in ideology and in practice between students and labor in the 1930's and 1940's. The radicals of the campus identified with the radicals of the industrial union movement and aspired to positions in that movement. Today, one hardly finds a young radical or activist who looks expectantly to a role in the union movement. Students, once quick to join the labor picket line, organize support committees or provide personnel for organizing campaigns, now find the demands and disputes of labor distant: only in a few of the major student political centers is there a ready response to labor's immediate struggles.

Is this so strange? Perhaps we should expect the student movement, without ideology or historical roots, to be slow to approach the institutional home of their more "political" forbears; and perhaps we shouldn't wonder that the leadership of a movement embracing 13.5 million members should look slightly askance at pleas from a few thousand youngsters who have probably never worked in a shop or known the "facts of economic life" that are the daily concern of the working man. But if there is a psychological barrier, there should not be intellectual barriers to correcting the situation.

The agents of social change: There have been several groupings commonly identified as "agents of social change" in the United States. The surge of oppressed or exploited peoples has given impetus and irreversibility to the movement for a democratic social order. It lay at the base of the reforms of early capitalism in the 19th century, and provided the human substance for the organization of the American labor movement in the late 1800's and up into the 1930's and 1940's. It provides the momentum today for the movement of Negro people for a life of

decency in this land of abundance. The political party structure, and particularly the Democratic Party, has served as spokesman in the electoral and legislative processes of American democracy for these impulses to social change. If there has been a distinct contribution of the student movement, or of the "new left" of the last five or ten years, it has been to identify the university as an institution, like the labor movement, the civil rights struggle or the reform tendency in the Democratic Party, having a significant potential to initiate and guide liberal social change.

The base of the argument for the university as an agent of social change is both theoretical and practical. In theory it is an organization of resources--personnel, knowledge, equipment, and the production of skilled manpower--that are vital to the functioning of society. Consequently, influence on the internal operation of the institution, and on the control and allocation of its resources will have external implications of a considerable sort throughout the whole society. In practice, this potential of the university is in fact being realized. Its students and faculty are doing basic research in technological advance, in social theory, in economic policy and in foreign affairs that provides the intellectual underpinnings for the movement for social reform. It has been the center from which has come the most articulate criticism of the fabric of American life and institutions--providing a philosophic and political framework for the enterprize of social reconstruction. Its student bodies have provided manpower and radical impulse for growth of grass roots movements--best exemplified by the civil rights struggle of the last two and a half years and the growth of a reform movement in New York City and California Democratic Party politics. Its personnel have been serving both as candidates and as the research and work force behind candidates for public office on local, state and national levels and its faculties are called upon as consultants in allareas of public policy and, as well, by corporations and private institutions. In a very immediate way the university has been having vital, and often decisive, influence in the course of American life. Obviously, in a long term way it has determining influence in that it provides the training and political orientation for the business and professional students that it yearly graduates into positions of community influence and power.

If the university is to provide an institutional base for the liberal movement, however, its resources must be systematically evaluated and rationally connected to the other progressive forces operating in the country. In this view the connection between the university and the labor movement is matter of high priority on the theoretical and programmatic agenda of the liberal and left community. Certain immediate points of connection and ways in which the institutions need each other as well are obvious:

1) The major grouping of unorganized workers are the so-called white collar and professional employees: teachers, engineers, doctors, technicians of various kinds and liberal arts graduates occupying public or service jobs. These people are trained and have their professional standards set in the university. They are also the groupings traditionally most resistant to organization. If techniques are to be found to bring these people into the labor movement, their college training (or "apprentice period") will certainly have determining influence on the success.

2) Labor organization needs continual recruitment of radical leadership who not only have skills in dealing with the economic and organizational problems of labor but who have an orientation to the political role of labor as a force in American politics. Traditionally, universities have provided this kind of

resource to the labor movement and if the relationship has attenuated in recent years, it is doubly in need of rejuvenation now as labor must launch a new offensive if it is to survive.

3) the program of labor, to the extent that it is a social program and not simply a narrow economic concern with wages and work rules, is dependent on wide community understanding and social support. The universities are crucial to provide research dealing with such problems as automation, area development, social security and health programs, etc., to provide public broadcast of the issues and ideas of social reconstruction and to provide systematic educations for the inheritors of influence that are graduated from colleges into positions of public responsibility and decision making.

4) The developing student movement in the university designed to bring the institution's resources into the service of liberal reform programs for the society generally is without a social base of support. It is countering a repressive institutional authority structure and outmoded educational practice. It is without financial resources or a backlog of organizational experience and desperately needs a working connection with the mainstream of liberal political activity. The labor movement has the facilities and certainly the experience that can be decisive in the building of an allied movement in the universities.

If the points of connection are clear, the obstacles to cooperation, objective and subjective, remain formidable and will have conditioning effects on any relationship that can be developed:

for the student: 1) self image. The student has a professional orientation whereas labor remains identified with the"working class" and the wage system. The student does not see himself as a potential union member.

2) class background. Students remain largely drawn from middle or upper-middle class families. They have not been led through past experiences to identify their own aspirations with the trade union movement in particular or with collective action in general.

3) value bias. The focus on upward mobility, pervasive in the colleges, emphasizes competition, self-reliance, individual initiative and devalues both cooperative action and identification with group needs or problems. The "labor image" is laden with "alien" values.

4) formal and informal education. In both high schools and colleges, the labor movement is underplayed or criticised as a progressive force in American development. Students are ignorant of its history or activity and are conditioned by the generally anti-labor mass media to a critical view of labor activity.

5) past failure. Past efforts to contact or join forces with the local labor movement have led often to frustration or cynicism. Labor's locals are infrequently militant and lack an established habit of rank and file involvement beyond their immediate concerns. Too frequently local leadership reinforce membership privatism and find themselves caught up as cogs in Democratic political machines. Students don't find the friends they expected at the head tables of the union halls.

6) labor's record. In the last years labor nationally has suffered continual defeats and has failed to sieze the political offensive: the exposure of instances of corrupt or undemocratic organization buttressed by rank and file apathy, ineffectiveness and irresolution in organizing in the South or agricultural workers, racism, jurisdictional disputes and legislative defeats. Students fail to see labor as a clear champion of their causes. In some cases, such as civil rights, labor appears an enemy.

For the unions: 1) On the defensive. Labor bears the brunt of an ailing economy. It suffers from automation, the insecurity of defense employment, declining industries, oppressive legislation, foreign competition, and generally an illiberal National Labor Relations Board. It is protective of its resources and has few vittories to spur its initiative beyond its traditional frontiers.

2) Its constituency. Labor is responsible to a membership of working men having little knowledge, identification or fraternity with the student community, and demanding attention to their economic and social needs from their dues dollars and paid officials. Student and university affairs have not had programmatic connection to the immediate concerns of the men in the locals.

3) institutionalization. The primary responsibility of union organization is servicing membership, carrying on collective bargaining, maintaining greivance machinery, welfare and other similar service programs. Specialization and bureaucratic organization make a great number of the union people oblivious or unconcerned with broader issues in the labor movement or beyond.

4) issue emphasis. Labor has been comparatively inactive in the areas of most concern to students: civil rights, pea ce and educational problems. This affects both the image of the movement and the possibility for cooperation on local levels. Conversely, the progressive concerns of labor in areas of economic and fiscal policy, national planning, social welfare and development have not yet found programmatic expression in the student community.

5) political style. Labor functions within the established channels of political and social change: the elective and legislative machinery. Student activists have been largely suspicious of the potential of these mechanisms to effect change and, failing a view of a radical role within the political process, they tend to rely on forms of direct pressure and action from the outside.

While these various factors condition separation between the movement of labor and a similarly inspired movement centered in the universities, there are a number of reasons for believing that a closer relation can begin to develop:

1) With the increase in the peace and civil rights movements' activity and support of candidates for congressional and local office (almost always with pro-labor platforms), the base for cooperative activity becomes clearer. Students in the Boston area provide an apt example of this--in civil rights through EPIC and more recently in peace through TOCSIN they have taken the initiative which has brought labor into these movements in an effective and political way.

2) With the mounting crisis in financing higher education, labor is the one organized constituency with a strong interest in public federally aided education. This again provides a basis for joint political and community action. The recent (so far successful) ca mpaign against tuition in the New York City universities has brought together student and labor leadership.

3) The growing need to organize office, technical and professional workers can be expected to lead labor to a more direct interest in college curriculums and to securing at least a groundwork in professional programs to support later organizing efforts in the professional workplace. Interest already shown by the UAW and some pilot efforts in the Rubber Workers indicates the potential in this direction.

4) The imperatives for a planned economic conversion away from the war economy will bring the economic interest and experience of the labor movement into strategic relation to the research facilities of the universities. The interest of student radicals in "peace research" can play an instrumental role in catalysing this relation.

5) With the increase in labor-industrial relations institutes, (note Rutgers, Cornell, Wisconsin, Berkeley, Michigan) unionists are growing less suspicious of and closer to the university environment and there are expanding opportunities for students and labor people to meet.

The Bigger Problem: a Loss of Vision

There is a much more basic problem which supports the disinterest in labor by student leaders. The labor movement in its origins was an "opposition group". It championed the causes of the people against the starkest forms of economic and social oppression, it fought minority rule of the workplace and of community—whether by capitalist power or entrenched political machines. It put forth a set of values and a social image of "industrial democracy" challenging and counterposed to corporate society organized to produce for profit, not use, and for the advancement of property rights, not human rights.

No longer does labor have this immage. It appears not as an opposition group but as a reform club within the "establishment". It does not call for militant rank and file action, it does not basically challenge the structure of the Democratic Party, it doesn't challenge the economic privilege of corporate elites. Even more disheartening to students, its failure to banish discrimination from within its own house make s it a party to the racism that pervades almost every institution of American life. And after surrendering its possibility of independent social power in favor of the more respectable role of lobby and critic, it appears to acquiesce as well before the icon of bipartisan unity, in a tacit, if not active, support of the Cold War.

Student radicals are much less inclined to accept, either in action or in rhetoric, The System as the framework of operation. They seek basic ways to understand and to change the structure of the establishment, to blast the Dixiecrats out of the Democratic Party, to impose democratic principle on the distribution of power and privilege. Students would see that a "collective bargaining and legislative program" is hollow if not supported by an organization that can mobilize votes as a political power, that can move men into the streets in economic or social dislocation, that can march its forces to Washington as an ultimate demand for change.

Students do not see in labor this kind of movement. They are dismayed that a year after the expected labor upsurge with the merger of the AFL and CIO the Political Action Committee in the Stevenson-Eisenhower campaign could obtain solicited contributions from only one of every 24 unionists and prompt only 40% of the rank and file to vote. The record since is hardly any better. Blame can

be laid to insufficient funds for political action; insufficient attention to building political allies, either in civil rights or in universities; to a lack of focus on political targets; but whatever the specifics of explanation, the roots seem to be in the lack of intent to build a mass, politically directed movement. Even in the United Automobile Workers, which is the strongest advocate of political action, the strength of the union remains identified with the International -- not the solidarity of the locals.

This is not, however, the sole problem. Parallel to it is a failure of vision. The labor movement. at least from the perspective of the student, is preoccupied with limited issues and disinclined to speak squarely on the broad problems that in a more fundamental way corrupt the democratic quality of American life. Take as an example the issue of education. Numerous concerns are expressed in the resolutions of the AFL-CIO and of the UAW, and in the membership paper of the United Federation of Teachers. They range from adequate facilities, classroom size, expenditure per pupil, need for federal aid, loans and scholarship support. equality of opportunity, teachers' salaries and training, problems of special education, migrant education, etc. And the problem portrayed as one of tremendous magnitude ultimately is laid to a failure of "democratic conscience!

The problem of American public education however is not one of democratic conscience, it is failure to make power responsible to the public and the problem will not even be confronted until the "anti-school efforts of the National Association of Manufacturers, Chamber of Commerce, Republican-Dixiecrat coalition at the local, state and national level" are not simply mentioned but are in fact opposed by a n offensive in the PTA's, in the city councils, in the local units of the Democratic Party, in the local union halls and in the polling booths at the local, state and national level. Education will not be made a social priority until the determination of priorities and of the allocation of the society's resources is taken out of the hands of profit-oriented, private concentrations of power. Democratic conscience, unfortunately, has little to do with this.

Moreover, while the problem of facilities is acute, the more fundamental problem of education in America is barely mentioned, and that is one of quality. What is taught and what should be taught, what is the structure of the education system, what should be its function in society, what values should be at its base, which ones are now, how should it relate to the development of a democratic social order? Students do not complain with the answers given to these questions; the complaint is that the questions are not seriously asked. They see labor as a lobby without being a critic.

This view of labor, if critical, is not novel. It is adeep concern expressed by many leaders throughout the labor movement. It is combined with the recognition that if labor is to come off the economic defensive, it must go on the political offensive. This task must begin; labor must begintto construct a movement adequate to the problrmd and obstacles of the 1960's--in this it can build an alliance with students and with the university. Short of it, the relationship becomes opportunistic and shorn of the mutual respect that should bind members of the same political community.

Labor's willingness? It is no secret that labor is divided and has many factions within its house. It has not in the past seriously undertaken its task. An assumption of "working-class anti-intellectualism" seems to prevail in the rhetoric of union leadership and to operate in their relations with the university. But even more generally, the unions have not committed themselves to building a radical or a political movement in America. Their financial contributions to the liberal "causes" have been slight at best. An aggregate amount of a hundred or

two hundred thousand dollars gives subsistence (or token) aid to the ten or fifteen liberal organizations that operate nationally. But that id from the entire labor movement. Lack of resources can harldy be argued. Millions of dollars are contributed to such respectable activities as the Red Cross, Community Fund, medical research and so forth. American Labor's international operations involve tremendous outlay, not always ameliorative of Cold War tensions. The dollars and cents facts reflect where labor, at this time, is putting its priorities.

Thus, if an alliance is going to develop, students will have to do more than show their own passive willingness. They will have to convince labor that it is necessary.

Is alliance necessary? To speak of an alliance is to talk of a strategy for social change. In very broad terms, the strategy we see is realignment -- the development of political organization on the local level representing the demands of labor, the Negro and other minorities, the city poor, the small farmer and businessman, the liberal intellectual; and the extension of that organization to the national level through the expulsion of the Dixiecrats and urban machines from domination of the Democratic Party. In this we see university centers playing a crucial generating role for political ideas and program and a crucial supporting role in strategically designed research or action moves.

We see this strategy not simply as desirable but as absolutely essential if there is to be effective oppostion to reaction in American politics and if there is to be any substantial democratic reform of American domestic or foreign policy. In this lies not only the future of our universities and independent institutions of higher learning but as well the future of a free and independent trade union movement.

If students feel perhaps more attachment to the slogan and maybe a greater urgency in the situation of American politics, there is left by this time little identification in the liberal community with the Kennedy Administration as the champion of its causes and as its political leader. Thus, even without total consensus on the slogans--and realignment is little more than a slogan--it is possible to lay out several programmatic priorities for, say, the next two to six years. We see five such priorities:

1) a campaign against the Republican-Dixiecrat domination of the Congress.
2) the development of a liberal wing to the Democratic Party.
3) producing and implementing a plan for the conversion of the permanent war economy.
4) launching a campaign for fair apportionment in both state and national representative districts.
5) developing theory and a radical literature geared to the 1960's and beyond

We see these priorities as imperative directions in each of the "mass movements." They should be before the civil rights groups as that offensive is continued and intensified. They should be paramount in the peace movement and in the view of reform Democratic politics. In particular they should be before the labor and student movements and should provide the points of focus around which alliance is built.

1) The Dixiecrats. The Dixiecrats stifle the committee system of the Congress and, allying with economic conservatives of the Republican Party, are primarily responsible for the defeat of major progressive, social welfare and civil rights legislation introduced in the Congress. They represent the absence of a two-party system in the South, the domination of the southern community by an

entrenched class, not only segregationist in social philosophy, but also anti-labor and anti-welfare. This is the class that attracts industry to the South on enticement of low wages, union busting by scabs or racism or guns, and tax incentives that shift social costs from corporate profits to consumer incomes. It is the class that dominates southern justice, civil service and political machinery. An attack on the Dixiecrats, carried to the community level, is an essential accompaniment of labor organization in the South, of Negro voter registration, of building "New Frontier Democratic Clubs" and of carrying forward the direct action movement for civil rights. Needless to say, the opening of the Southern universities to genuine controversy is dependent on limiting the political authority of state and municipal officials to ride rough-shod over students. Such an attack provides the ideal possibility of connection between students and labor. It would also serve to identify the basic institutions needed to replace the Dixiecrat structure as the representative of the South in the Democratic Party.

The students have begun the assault--working both in the South and in other movements. Labor has yet to declare itself. It has been hesitant about organizing in the South, or even to support the students who are at the radical front in the civil rights effort. It acceded to Johnson as Kennedy's second man and has given no sign of launching an attack against the Dixiecrats at the next Democratic National Convention.

2) The liberals. There exists no structure connected to the Democratic Party in which political representatives as well as university people and leaders in the labor, civil rights and peace movements can plan a national strategy for political and social action and can initiate the groundwork necessary for such a program. The lack of such an identified liberal grouping in the Democratic Party leads to lack of coordinatinn and too often ineffectiveness in the efforts of the liberal and left community.

The students' role in the creation of a "liberal wing" lies in a program to fulfill the notion of the university as an agent of social change. It means getting research done on issues; it means attacking in a systematic way the problems of influence and getting ideas accepted in various communities; it means enlisting faculty people in active political life; it means in every professional curriculum carrying on a program of education and reform that will link the professional role to political responsibility; and it will mean the providing of manpower to support a program of community action.

The difficult problem, particularly with a Democratic Administration elected with wide liberal support, is to get people to identify themselves. The only organized opposition is from the Right. The liberal opposition doesn't exist or is too unsure of its status (i.e., too much under political control) to articulate a viewpoint and organize for a program to the left of the President. Students whose lack of economic and social "obligations" have been ideally suited to initiate militant action, are also free of the kinds of political entanglements that would prevent a systematic criticism of the Administration. They can thus play an important role in articulating the need for an organizational expression of political opposition to "official" policy directions.

Their effectiveness in this has already been illustrated in direct campaign work. There are some twenty congressional candidates running in the 1962 elections with platforms primarily "peace" oriented. Students and university people are playing crucial local and regional roles for many of these candidates. Notable examples are the PAX organization in Massachusetts, Voters for Peaceful Alternatives in Ithaca, New York, Californians for Liberal Representation and similar

organizations in Chicago, New York City and Baltimore. These candidates are opposition candidates: they reject deterrence as a viable basis for foreign policy. They look to challenging this policy politically at the level of the wards and precincts, and publicly through the organization of a "peace caucus" in the Congress. A platform for peace, as these campaigns show, is a liberal response to the stranglehold of military and industrial interests on the economy of the country, an attempt to revise national priorities to recognize human needs and to advance not only the welfare of our own people, but of an international community moving toward the rule of law. It is very definitely a pro-labor platform.

Student initiated plans are underway for a research center, a network of field representatives, and a coordinating operation of peace organizations that will attempt to put 75 to 100 candidates into primaries by the elections of 1964.

In every area these people have, and must continue to look for labor support. Their program must provide an economic plan for their district to deal with the consequences of disarmament. Labor should play a central role in developing such a program. In every shop peace campaigns could provide an issue for debate and indeed an issue around which labor can (in the words of the SDS Port Huron Statement), "constitute itself as a mass political force demanding not only that society recognize its rights to organize -- but also a program going beyond desired labor legislation and welfare improvements."

Seeing labor assume a crucial role in the intrusion of a peace concern into the political life of America is obviously important for its significance in the building of an identified liberal-left group connected to the Democratic Party, but doubly so, it is important because of the role "peace" can be expected to play in the politics of the next few years.

3) The War Economy. Liberals must give immediate attnetion to developing a social and economic plan for disarmament. We can expect --unless war intervenes--a disarmament agreement in the next five or ten years. (In the absence of one, war becomes a certainty, so...) Any such plan, whether liberal or reactionary, will have massive eefects on every aspect of American economic life. It will require the dismantling of the permanent war economy that brought us out of the depression and sustained us since the boom following World War II. It means an end to the continuous use of military spending as a solution to economic problems.

The impact of this can be grasped by noting the extent of the defense-based economy. Quoting from the SDS Port Huron Statement: "The Department of Defense, ironically the world's largest single organization, is worth $160 billion, owns 32 million acres of American land and employs half of the 7.5 million persons directly dependent on the military for subsistence, has an $11 billion payroll which is larger than the net annual income of all American corporations. Defense spending in the Eisenhower era totalled $350 billions and President Kennedy entered office pledged to go even beyond the present defense allocation of sixty cents from every public dollar spent. Except for a war induced boom immediately after "our side" bombed Hiroshima, American economic prosperity has coincided with a growing dependency on military outlay -- from 1941 to 1959 America's Gross National Product of $5.25 trillion included $700 billion in goods and services purchased for the defense effort, about one-seventh of the accumulated GNP. This pattern has included the steady concentration of military spending among a few corporations. In 1961, 86% of Defense Department contracts were awarded without competition. The ordnance industry of 100,000 people is completely engaged in military work; in the aircraft industry, 94% of 750,000 workers

are linked to the war economy; shipbuilding, radio and communications equipment industries commit forty percent of their work to defense; iron and steel, petroleum, metal stamping and machine shop products, motors and generators, tools and hardware, copper, aluminum and machine tools industries all devote at least 10 percent of their work to the same cause."

A disarmament program affecting this amount of the economy and work force, and which has to deal in addition with chronically depressed areas and consumer industries, idle capacity in almost all basic or heavy industry, and unemployment of nearly five million-- such a program will bring the potential for truly significant changes in the character of the American economy: in policy, priorities, planning. Changes of this magnitude are impossible to envision simply as a consequence of domestic pressure. If, however, the planning is left to the Kennedy administration, which seems to have a conservative economic policy (note the program of tax incentives to stimulate investment), or to private businees, the potential for a progressive direction to disarmament adjustment will very likely be lost.

The question is whether the profit and investment security of business elites will be the dominant criteria in restructuring economy activity, or will the problems of working people, their jobs, families, communities and futures be paramount in the reallocation of resources. Will there be a call to abolish the national debt, cut federal spending and reduce profit and other progressive taxation, or wil there be aprogram directing federal involvement in the economy to meet the genuine social priorities facing the country: to abolish squalor, terminate neglect and establish an environment for people to live with dignity and creativeness. Liberals will have to plan and organize if they wish to see the latter course reflected in legislative and administrative action.

Labor plays an absolutely essential role in this. Its economic program, developed in the post-war-- or Cold War-- period, provides the guide lines for an economic system oriented to the consumer, to the public welfare and to democratic control. What is needed is to connect this program, in a most detailed, community by community way, to a plan for disarmament.

1) A National Planning Agency. A group created to meet the goals of maximum employment, production and purchasing power. It would be charged to follow in a systemmatic way what is happening in the economy, to have access to information about technological innovation, investment plans, plant location, and be able to develop plans regarding the creation of jobs, worker retraining and relocation, use of government spending, etc. It would be particularly concerned to develop with local communities, plans dealing with changes in the economy. Its overarching concern would be to develop a coordinated plan toward the realization of national priorities: education, housing, medical care, poverty, urban living, etc.

2) A program of full employment. New jobs must be created to accomodate an expanding labor force and to absorb the displacement caused by automation. As well, a philosophy must be adopted which treats labor not as a commodity subject to the trials of a changing economy, but as the essential human material of economic life. Employment should mean the involvement of the personality, the family and the aspirations of the worker in the productive system, and the responsibility of the system for his security. Basic to this should be the end to the hourly wage discrimination against "production workers" by the universal adoption of a salary system such as now gives job security to "office workers". A flexible work period without loss of pay should put an end to short time and the full week lay-off.

3) A national unemployment compensation system. Standards must be set raise inadequate levels, eliminate discriminatory pndcompetitive variation from state to state, eliminate indefensibly restrictive eligibility requirements and disqualifacation penalti Coverage must as well be extended to all occupational catagories and and benefits expanded to deal with problems of long term unemployment or displacemet as a result of automation or major ecomonic shifts.

4) a program of job security: We should apply the principle that meeting the human problems resulting from production or product advance should be the first against the profit resulting from that advance. The social costs of a "free labor market" must be acknowledged and met. This means facilities for job retraing, relocation support and reemployment for displaced workers. It means special attention to displaced workers near retirment, to migrant workers and their families, to young workers seeking entry into the labor market and to other "marginal" groupings.

5) An end to discrimination. We must secure guarentees of equal access to apprenticeship and training facilities, to equal pay for equal work, to upgrading and entry to all job categories on the basis of merit, and to equal treatment by the agencies of public welfare. Discriminatory treatment against Negroes, Spanish Americans, Indians, new immigrants, or against women or the ageing, must be abolished-- in the employment market, and also in labor organizations, in education, housing, credit and public facilities. No federal cooperation with racism is tolerable in any way-- from the financing of schools to the development of federally supported industry.

6) A program of community development. Plans must be developed to transform our cities and towns into genuinely creative and human living places. The basic facilities of welfare must be abundant-- housing, schools, hopitals and medical care-- but, as well, there must be the facilities of leisure-- libraries and the arts, parks, adult education, etc.-- providing a creative environment beyond the workplace and a rewarding one for both the yound and the aging. This program is at the base of giving democratic quality to American life; it should be the highest priority in the reallocation of resources presently devoted to the permanent war effort.

7) A progressive fiscal policy. The tax and monetary policies of the federal government should be directed to stimulating demand and to insuring the full utilization of productive capacity and manpower resource. Tax reduction should be effected with the view of maximizing buying power of consumer units, principally low and middle income families, rather than to artificially stimulate investments which only add to already idle capacity. Nor should it be directed toward modernization aimed at reducing the workforce rather than increasing production. Ways should be found to transfer the costs of public services (70% of which are financed by state and local governments) from regressive sales, property and payroll taxes (which account for 78% of all state and local revenue) to progressive individual or corporate income taxes (now accounting for only 9 percent). Central to this must be greater federal support to State and local services. The Federal Reserve Board, as the principal regulatory agency in monetary policy should be reformed to include representatives of consumer, labor and small business interests to balance the banking and corperate powers which now dominate it.

These seven points represent the skeleton of the economic program, largely unknown to students, which has been developed and championed by the labor movement. It is a program that can provide the economic guides for planning for disarmament; it is also a program designed to meet the needs of American workers and middle income families. Hence, combined with a community program for conversion, it can be taken to the people in local elections, in educational programs, and in public media.

4) Reapportionment An overw helming problem of American political structure is the unrepresentative allocation of representatives. State legislatures are dominated by the "upstate" or "rural" counties; the cities and industrial centers are with disproportionately reduced voices in such matters as appropriation to education, state welfare services, tax policy, receipt of federal aid. The conservative interest that dominates the state legislatures in these matters is transferred to the national congress in the overrepresentation of rural population in determining congressional districts. The Supreme Court has now ruled that this representation without reference to population is in violation of the equal protection under the laws provision of the 14th Amendment. Similar decisions have been handed down and are pending in the cases of the county unit system ( common throughout the South) and of gerrymandering, the arbitrary drawing of boundaries to guarantee a certain voting composition to a district.

Unfair apportionment has forced liberals and labor people to operate in politics under extreme handicaps. Now that the legal weapons have finally been given to correct this situation, it is imperative that the campaigns be launched in every state full representation to urban and liberal population groups. This is a precondition to legislative success in enacting a liberal program to meet the needs of growing city and wage earning populations. In this initiative the combination of labor and university groups can be a powerful one. Redistrictingplans for both state legislatures and for congressional districts must be researched and formulated, put before the people and into the courts, and in many cases taken to the polls.

5) Producing new theory and new literature We need a new literature and a new initiative in social and political theory. The corporate state is different from the capitalist model of the 1930's and before. Bureaucracy, automation, mass communication, Big Business, Big Government: these are new realities. The values of democra cy and freedom take on different meanings in an institutional structure dominated by these phenomena. It does not end the matter to say that at all levels the people should have control of the decisions which affect them and the resources on which they are dependent; it barely opens the questions. These institutions affect the quality of life and of the values that impel our political action. But beyond understanding their impact, we must examine them in terms of the mechanisms necessary for change. This is not now done. The intellectual guide lines for social analysis are still those set out in the old radical and socialist literature. Yet, in fact, much of this is outmoded in its programs, sterile in its rhetoric and no longer applicable in its basic categories of analysis.

Similarly, the political action guide lines are almost non-existent. If there is a view from the left, it is "realignment". But that is more a slogan than an imperative deriving from a rigorous political analysis. There is not, for example, in the whole literature of the American left a detailed study of the Dixiecrat- Republican Coalition, its congressional operation, its operation through patronage and pork barrel on the local level, its relation to the localized structure of American politics, and the ways to ch ange it. Likewise there is no study of the "military- industrial" complex. ... New realities are capsuled in slogans and supported by theory pertinent to 20 years ago.

Labor and much of the liberal community seems to have adopted the view that the New Deal set the direction for economic reform and that the time for theory is past.The modern task is a pragmatic one of manipulation of power and influence to carry through the welfare and regulatory institutions already

initiated or projected. The academy, which might be expected to fill this void in theory, has succombed to a research and "objectivity" fetish that makes it unrespectable, and thus disadvantageous to connect values to analysis. Professional discipline requires that you simply describe the environment; if you want to criticize or change it, that mustn't be done from your university chair. Academic freedom, people are reminded, is not academic license. Graduate students surrender their vision -- and vigor -- to the research requirements of dissertation committees. The few "think centers" around the country, such as the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, are charged with confronting the new complexities, etc., but they find themselves, if sometimes critical, basically satisfied with the theory and solutions now public in the liberal and left community. There does not exist an intellectual current genuinely to the left of the New Deal and the Administration. This fact represents a complacency that we feel is disastrous.

We think it incredible that labor can continue to urge control of capital power by governmental regulatory institutions, that it can applaud Kennedy for slapping down Roger Blough and Big Steel, that it calls for various national welfare and planning programs that further concentrate economic decision making in government and administrative commissions, and that it can in general look at government as a mediator and as an ally against the assault of business -- without looking out for the democratic quality of the structure that is coming into being.

We see in this labor becoming but one of many petitioners for favors before the independent, bureaucratically insulated authority of government. It will lobby for its demands, but concessions will be won in a way that surrenders the decision-making to governmental authority. Labor becomes an administrative cog, subject to and exercising the will of Big Government. Government accumulates power, (shared of course with corporate and other elites) without an organized public holding its use responsible. "Leadership groups" come to represent a mythical set of countervailing "interests" -- labor, business, consumer -- but the followers, the Americans in town and cities with families and futures, remain unorganized and without access to administrative centers where the "decisions which affect them are made, and the resources on which they are dependent are allocated." And this is indeed the course that has tended to develop in labor over the last years. It maintains the vision of a democratically based movement of workers in their workplace, but in operation it has adopted more elitist patterns, implementing convention resolutions by high level machinations rather than a mass mobilization of unionists.

The alternative is to recreate the democratic public. For labor it means shifting the base of its power from the influence of its leaders to the organization of its locals. Labor will be manipulated, and generally out-manipulated, by corporate and governmental interests, until it develops the social power that resides in its membership.

But if labor has seemed unwilling to deal with this fundamental choice, its failure has been no more than that of the entire liberal community, the university included. Democratic alternatives to the present course seem random and unclear. Little more could be expected because the problems being dealt with are too roughly formulated: there is not an analysis of the power structure, behavior of elites, anti-intellectualism, privatism and estrangement as they apply (or don't apply) to workers and other population groups,

the political significance of automation, leisure, mass communication, etc. Our understanding of these matters should make much clearer -- and more resolute -- the course of democratic policy in the next years. Values must be examined in terms of social reality, the empirical present and reasonable expectation of the future. This theoretical, philosophical and pre-eminently political job of developing a new radical literature must draw heavily on the university, but it is a job on which the future of labor may well depend.

These priorities before a liberal movement in the United States should indicate the mutual imperative that alliance be formed uniting the labor movement and the university as seminal institutions in directing the course of social change. From labor, the mass base, financial resources and leverage in the economic life of the country; from the university, the direct access and influence in all class, occupational and decision making centers, the intellectual and research resources and the leverage on the production of trained personnel -- these are the resources that need to be strategically combined in the immediate tasks of the next few years: attacking the Dixiecrats, building a liberal political expression, countering the permanent war economy, seeking just representation in legislative structures, and developing a theoretical understanding of our modern circumstance.

It should also be clear that this alliance is not merely a matter of convenience; it is a matter of mutual survival. Unless the university establishes connection with real politics its role in making knowledge pertinent to the functioning of democracy will be lost in the sterile "objectivity" of academic discipline. And unless labor mounts a movement, conjoined with all its democratic allies, that places social power in the communities across the country with its membership, it will find itself stripped of independent power in a government-regulated corporate economy.

* * *

In seeking to demonstrate the necessity of this alliance, we should give particular note to a problem that has too little occupied the attention of liberal student and university community: <u>the professionals problem.</u>

Most of the programming of the liberal, left and activist community has been focused on the liberal arts college or on the liberal arts curriculum within the larger universities. It is generally a matter of comment when a Business Administration, Law or Medical student turns up on the mailing or membership lists of a liberal political group. The activist's view of citizen responsibility or of university reform do not have within their experience (and hence do not encompass) the professional schools.

Yet, the humanities and liberal arts programs are not the ones, by and large, producing the significant decision makers in society. The major groups of social influence are the lawyers, doctors, journalists, educators and teachers, scientists and engineers, business administration graduates and other"professionals." These are the titles of status, or the skills of business and finance or the channels to accumulated and inherited powet. It is of vital importance that those concerned eith the social function of the university develop an orientation to the professional schools and the professional curricula.

Revised Version
in Trans-action
May, 1964

S.M. Miller
Syracuse University
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November, 1963

# STUPIDITY AND POWER: TWO COMPETING MODES OF EXPLANATION

The professional stance is to believe that intelligence will right the world: A program went bad - that was because some mistake was made or the personnel were inadequate. Develop a new program or get new people and everything will go swimmingly. Rationality will conquer all. And professions are regarded as the carriers of rationality in a rational world.

It seems to me that I have been hearing more and more lately about "mistakes"; that problems weren't "thought-through"; that "unanticipated consequences" were left unanticipated; that people were "short-sighted." This mode of explaining failure I call the "stupidity argument." Somebody goofed or didn't understand - that's why things failed.

I think we are approaching a crisis in the educational and social service fields. More and more failures are becoming uncovered. Consequently, more explanations of failures. Therefore, the stupidity argument - the failure of intelligence which can be offset by new intelligences.

I find this mode of explanation unconvincing, misleading and frequently dangerous.

The competing mode of explanation is the "power argument"; failure took place because professional, bureaucratic or economic/political interest groups were not interested in success or had different definitions of success. The preservation or expansion of existing control is the motivator of most programs or the source of absence of others. It isn't that stupid things are done as much as that groups in positions of power have goals which conflict with what appear to be the "rational," "appropriate" goals for social action.

Let me give three examples:

(a) Has city planning been ineffective because city planners are stupid people as much as because real estate interest groups frustrate certain kinds of action and promote others, over-riding the city planning professionals' objectives?

(b) President Kennedy in his Yale speech on economic policy argued that there is professional agreement on basic economic analysis and that discussion of the national debt, for example, should be on a high plane without the know-nothing flavor frequently found. But don't different economic interest groups have varying needs in regard to inflation and deflation which underlie their ideology?

Needed programs are resisted because they involve tax-dollars. Though postponement may lead to greater costs in the future, that danger is the problem of a later administration!

(c) Vocational education personnel are resisting needed deep-seated changes that would up-to-date training for today's labor market and train poorly educated youth for jobs. Are they stupid or are they protecting their power position in the field, including the control of funds, and preserving the importance of their skills, no matter how dated these skills may be?

My theme is that immediate power concerns - whether of professionals, buresucracies of economic/political interest groups-- lead to many of our failures. Professional interests are leading to much failure. Our professional rigidities which distort practice are power issues not stupidity issues.

More important than one professional contribution to irrationality and inhumanity, I suspect, are other sources of power which frustrate success, economic and political interest groups.

I want to take up only one implication of these remarks. Professionals tend to underplay the importance of power. As a result, Martin Rein points out, they are used frequently to tranquillize problems rather than to resolve them. Professionals are frequently used and abused, providing window dressing. By adopting limited perspectives, professionals frequently ignore where the real change has to be.

Professional activities are going to grow enormously in America. The professional has to forge out a new kind of role which looks beyond narrow professional expertise to the immediate and national setting and climate in which he operates. And Power is out there - not yokels.

M-82
11/11/63

a report on

# THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES IN ELEMEMTARY SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS

prepared for a conference jointly sponsored by

THE BROWER PARK CLUB of the
Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Clubs

and

THE BROOKLYN BRANCH of the
Association for the Study of Negro Life and History
P.O.Box 150, Brevoort Station, Brooklyn, N.Y.

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## PURPOSE

This report was prepared under the auspices of the Brower Park Emma Lazarus Club and the Brooklyn Branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History for presentation at a community conference sponsored jointly by the two organizations. The purpose of the conference is to examine the treatment of the history and culture of minority groups, especially Negro and Jewish, in the text books used in our community's public elementary schools and to explore ways of improving this treatment.

## BACKGROUND

The sponsors of this report are committed to the idea that a truthful and sympathetic presentation of the life and history of the many people who make up our community is essential to developing self respect and mutual understanding among children.

This is in keeping with current disenchantment with the "melting pot" concept. More and more our institutions are recognizing that the "Americanization" of people not only fosters conformity but also disparages the cultural strains within the community.

Accordingly, the text analyzed in this report will be evaluated in these terms. Perhaps this survey will aid in the elimination of any disparities that may exist between concept and practice. This service is offered to the community and to the New York City Board of Education for the gain of the children of our culturally-diverse community.

In their book, National Myths and Morale, Kluckhon and Murray describe the role that national myths play in lifting the morale of groups. If myths and folklore can play such a vital part in morale, attitude and ambition, certainly the truths about actual contributions to American life will do much to help morale. Eli Ginzberg in The Negro Potential and Kenneth Clark in Prejudice and Your Child both found that the morale of the Nego child greatly affected his ability to learn and his willingness to face and surmount obstacles.

Failure to present a truthful and well-rounded picture of the history and culture of any one people is a deprivation to all groups. The truth of this statement is startlingly revealed in respect to distortions and ommisions in the treatment of Negro life and history. The negative effects on the Negro child are self-evident, but consider the effect on other children as well. Not only will their minds be warped by a distorted picture of their classmates, but, because of the central role of the Negro people in the history of our country, they will be deprived of knowledge and understanding of basic elements of our history. This will be discussed in more detail later.

## SCOPE

The scope of this report is limited to an examination of the social science textbooks, readers and teachers' guides used in three elementary public schools in the community: P.S. 289, P.S. 138 and P.S. 83. We have specifically excluded consideration of supplementary material such as audio-visual aids, library books and special projects, not only because of limited time but also because all students are exposed to the contents of these required texts. We have limited our inquiry to elementary schools.

because of the critical importance of this time in the child's development; attitudes and ideas acquired then are, at best, difficult to change at a later date.

The area served by these schools is in process of change as older residents of one group move out while new residents, of other groups, move in. Since 1960 figures are not available, population figures and area characteristics cannot be entirely clear. As of 1957, three separate kinds of minorities, religious, national and racial, are represented by the major groupings: Jewish, Irish and Negro. The Jewish people have come from all parts of Europe. Among the Negroes, there are families resident in Brooklyn or the metropolitan area for many generations, and recent arrivals from the South and other parts of the country; a significant number are descended from or married to people of European or American Indian ancestry. It is estimated that fifty percent of the adult Negro population here are foreign born, including speakers of many European and African languages.

The 1960 student population at P.S. 138 was 87% Negro and Puerto Rican; at P.S. 289 - 95%; and at P.S. 83 - 97%. The diversity of the population from which these schools draw their students is thus not reflected in the student body. This seeming homogeneity of student body might be accounted for by numerous reasons. Those most often suggested are: 1) The high per cent of Negro students from the Albany Houses feeding one school; 2) The aging nature of the white population; 3) The presence of many private and parochial schools within easy reach of the general neighborhood; and 4) The movement of younger child-bearing white population to the suburbs. Thus much of the cultural diversity has already been removed from the schools of the area. But the problem addressed by this report can still have a basic impact on the behavior and acceptance of majority toward all minority groups in this and other communites.

## APPROACH

The principals of the three schools kindly made available to the report committee copies of all the social studies books, readers and guides currently used in their schools. These books are listed in an appendix in the back of this report. Each book was read and reviewed by at least one member of the report committee. The social studies books dealing with historical material were read by persons having special knowledge of Negro and Jewish life and history. The readers were reviewed by teachers and parents .

Our approach has not been to act as censor, or even as critic, but rather to document from books now in use what our children are being taught (or not taught) about their own and other groups' life and history. It is hoped that this limited survey will be a useful tool in evaluating the shortcomings in the present treatment of these subjects and in working out ways to improve this treatment.

## THE CURRICULUM BULLETINS

A survey of the Board of Education Curriculum Bulletins will help to yield a broad view of the goals and means of the learning process. For still another and perhaps more cogent reason, such a perusal is logically indicated. Current classroom learnings, especially with the elementary schools, are usually approached through problems, not through textbook content; the logic of this practice dictates the use of many texts and resources. Consequently one cannot meaningfully evaluate the texts without understanding their use in the problem-centered approach.

A study of Social Studies Bulletins reveals concern with the cultures of the various ethnic and "racial" groups populating New York City. Democratic concepts of freedom and equality for all people emerge as central values. The achievement of these values is pursued through a study of the economic, social and political problems of democracy.

One suspects that these generalized curriculum goals are largely unrealized in practice. This suspicion is substantiated somewhat by a recent article in the New York City Board of Education publication, Strengthening Democracy (January, 1961), by Dr. James E. Allen, School Community Coordinator for Districts 12, 13, and 14, entitled "Aids to the Study of Minority Groups." Dr. Allen speaks of the need for improving our text and other resources pertaining to the study of minority groups. He further states that the problem exists both through a lack of material and poor diffusion of those materials already in print. Not dealt with by Dr. Allen, but cited in previous studies of minority groups treatment in New York City Public School texts, is the question of distortion and omission of facts relating to the history of minority groups, especially the Negro.

The Social Studies Bulletins are subdivided into grade groupings. The Kindergarten - Grade Two Bulletin broadly deals with the concept that the child needs to be accepted as he is, in spite of any differences from other children. The curriculum has no fixed arrangement, and its scope is as wide as children's problems, needs and interests. The Grades Three - Four Bulletin speaks of displacing prejudiced attitudes with democratic ones through the process of socialization. The multi "racial" nature of the New York City community is, of course, an excellent resource. The curriculum of this level attempts to imbue the children with the values of freedom and quality through the problem-solving method. Thus, as indicated earlier, many texts are used in pursuing class room learning. Texts are thus tools and not ends. The Grade Five-Six Bulletin deals with relatively more complex concepts of "racial" and ethnic hetrogeneity. The curriculum strives to impart an understanding of the ethnic and cultural diversity among peoples; it stresses the inherent worth and dignity of all groups and sub-cultures. The mandate of such hetrogeneity in a republican society is the developing of attitudes (through education) which, because of the social reality of the interdependence of people insists that people learn to live together with mutual respect and acceptance. Again these

concepts are developed through a method of inductive problem solving. The Grades Seven-Nine Bulletin attempts the development of the attitudes concepts and understandings discussed in the curriculum for Grades Five-Six through the experiences and on the maturation level of a pre-adolescent.

The Social Studies curriculum for grades three to nine, then, is mandated (unlike the earlier grades) in a sequence of increasing content. As it progresses it builds upon and expands the child's world. It is motivated by a concept of democratic equality; in a city of many ethnic and "racial" groups it recognizes the need to imbue children with understanding and respect for others. All this is pursued through the device of problem-solving. Thus texts and other resources are used as needed and of course result in the use of many different and diverse texts and materials.

## THE TREATMENT OF NEGRO HISTORY

We have concentrated our attention on the treatment of certain key issues in American Negro history: the African background, the Negro people during slavery, the Civil War and Reconstruction. Although we found a disturbing number of examples of inaccuracies and even slanderous statements, we feel the greatest failure of the books under discussion are the sins of ommission. Since the full documentation of such sins would require the writing of a full-length textbook, this report has been limited to merely suggesting certain areas for improvement and is not designed to be comprehensive in this respect.

To the serious student of United States history, it is apparent that the Negro people have occupied a place quite distinct from that of other minority groups. In sheer numbers they exceed all others, having constituted ten to twenty percent of the population since the founding of the colonies. Unlike others, who came seeking new opportunities, they were brought here in bondage. They were enslaved until 1865. Because of color, they have been more easily and consistently forced into ghettos. And, finally, perhaps most important of all, they have stood at the very center of our national struggles to increase freedom and democracy in many crucial tests of history, and around them have raged some of the fiercest storms of contention of our national life.

The relentless struggle of the Negro people themselves for their own freedom from bondage, in earlier years, and for full equality in later, have given a special point of emphasis to their remarkable role in our history.

For these reasons, we feel that our special emphasis on the treatment of the Negro in the textbooks under study is merited. We do not mean that treatment of other minority groups should be less well scrutinized; we do believe that the correct treatment of the Negro, once it has been gained, will be the first step in correcting the treatment of all the others.

## THE AFRICAN BACKGROUND

Scholars are still debating about the significance of the African heritage of the people from Africa in the new world. There can, however, no longer be any doubt that there was an African background. Nor can there be any doubt about the harmful effects on a child of African ancestory who learns at great length about the long and proud history of his friends of European ancestry, but never hears a word about his own heritage. The myth of Africa as a dark and uncivilized continent is so prevalent and so vicious in its affect that to counteract it calls for a major and concerted effort. Children should be taught not only about Egypt (which we must remember was an <u>African</u> civilization) but also about the ancient Empire of Ethiopia, the Kingdom of the Congo, the great trading cities of the East Coast of Africa, and, most important, the cultural, economic and political life of the great West African Empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhay which flourished during the middle Ages of European history and into the Nineteenth Century in spite of the ravages of the slave trade.

Of all the subject books, Your Country's Story alone even mentioned that Africans were among the early settlers of America, and this book virtually ignores the fact in the very next sentence by stating that "they (the early settlers) all had much the same experiences." We found no statement in any book which specifically referred to the fact that the Negro people came from Africa. Several statements omit reference to the origin and conditions of the African settlers; Your World and Mine states that the United States was founded by people from many lands who "came for adventure and some to find gold, but most of the reasons had something to do with freedom." Building Our Hemisphere, in commenting on similarities between the early settlers of North and South America, says "but they were all Europeans and had many common interests."

There was no mention in any of the books about the African heritage of Afroamericans. One book, Your World and Mine, did, however, have a section on Africa which will be discussed in more detail later on under "treatment of other cultures."

## THE NEGRO PEOPLE DURING SLAVERY

The existence of slavery in our land of freedom and democracy should be realistically dealt with even on an elementary level. Is it not important that young students learn about the part of our own country's history which resulted in the death and suffering of as many as one hundred million people both here and in Africa, a part of our history which has affected, and continues to this day to affect, virtually every part of our lives? Is it too much to ask that our children at least be taught that the existence of slavery in the United States was a moral evil, inconsistent with our national aspirations to freedom and democracy?

To imply or state, as many of the books do, that Africans were somehow inherently better able than other people to withstand long grueling hours of work in the hot sun is a bit of racist nonsense long since disproved by the facts. As long ago as 1857, the southern Abolitionist, Hinton R. Helper, cited the six-year average of deaths in Charleston, S. C. to show that the death rate among Negroes, as would be expected from their infinitely lower standard of living as compared with whites, was one in 44 to one in 58 for whites.

The very nature of slavery necessitated the total degradation and suppression of the enslaved, including the break-up of family life, prohibition of education, invasion of privacy, inadequate food and shelter, and physical abuse that included mutilation, torture and death. Without such measures the slaveholding system could not have been sustained because human beings will not work without compensation except when driven by force and fear. Under such conditions the contented person was the rare exception.

Any treatment of the history of the Negro people under slavery in the United States which emphasizes only the evils and suffering would, nevertheless, give an incomplete and negative picture of the role of the Negro people. In spite of, and in many cases because of, slavery the Negro people profoundly influenced American history. The existence of suppression by force implies resistance to force. And indeed the Negro people compiled a record rare in all history for heroic resistance to bondage and ended by supplying the edge of power necessary for the victory of Union arms in the Civil War.

More than 300 slave revolts, led by such daring men as Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey and Gabriel Prosser, kept the slaveholders in continual fear during the nearly 250 years of slavery and threatened the foundations of the system. The Underground Railroad, conducted by Negroes and whites together, sapped the power of the slaveholders and added imperishable names to the list of Americans who have fought to advance the cause of freedom - names such as Harriet Tubman, Josiah Henson, John Brown, Thomas Garrett and Levi Coffin. Among Abolitionist speakers and writers, Negroes such as Frederick Douglass, Charles Lenox Remond and J. W. C. Pennington, were of at least equal prominence with whites such as Theodore Weld, Thomas Lloyd Garrison and T. W. Higgonson.

Nothing of this appears in any of the texts under consideration. Your Country's Story alone called slavery an evil. This one statement was contradicted in all other books which mentioned slavery. Your People and Mine described the founding, growth and daily life of Virginia Colony without mentioning the presence of Negro people, although they were shown in the illustrations. Several books give an implied justification of the use of Negro slaves by repeating the myth that they were better suited to long hard work in the hot sun and by implying that they were better off under slavery than they were in Africa. Thus, Founders of Our United States tells us "They (the Negroes) were accustomed to the hot weather because they came from a hot country. They made good workers in the tobacco fields." Our America gives no indication of the horrors and suffering of slavery, but states, "Most Southern people treated their slaves kindly," and, further on, "It is true that many slaves were well cared for." In My Country's Growth we learn that the Negro people "were not useful in the northern mills and factories...(but) on the southern plantations...they worked away quite cheerfully." We are also told that "many of the slaves had snug cabins to live in, plenty to eat, and work that was not too hard for them to do. Most of the slaves seemed happy and contented."

We looked in vain for mention in any of the books of any resistance to slavery by the Negro people. We also looked in vain for mention of the Negro people in any connection other than slavery during this period. In fact, we found no indication that the word Nego meant anything other than slave, even though more than one-half million Negroes were living as freemen at the outbreak of the Civil War.

## THE CIVIL WAR

Any discussion of the Civil War must, in order to be understandable, start with the causes and origin, including the central cause: the slavery of the Negro people. That the slaves were freed as a result of the war should also be made clear. That the Negro people themselves played a major and possibly decisive role in this victory should be emphasized. Well over 200,000 Negroes saw active service in the armed forces, at least 27 of these receiving the Congressional Medal of Honor for heroism in action. Furthermore, Negroes gave invaluable aid to the Union forces throughout the war as laborers, scouts, spies, forragers and guerrilla fighters. President Lincoln himself, discussing the role of Negro troops, said: "Take two hundred thousand men from our side...and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

We might also suggest that some moral and legal distinction should be made between the leaders of the Union forces defending the duly elected and constitutional government of the country and the leaders of the Confederacy leading an armed attack on that government and fighting for the "right" to perpetuate the institution of slavery. How can we teach our children respect and loyalty to our government when Robert E. Lee, the only citizen to actually lead an organized, armed attack on our government, is rated as a national hero in our history books?

Three of the books read did mention slavery as a cause of the Civil War, but by failing to give a realistic idea of what slavery meant make it difficu to understand why slavery should cause a war. Most of the books, but not all, mention that the abolition of slavery was a result of the war, but none mention in any way the role of the Negro people in ending slavery. Great Names in American History, gives the impression that Lincoln single handedly freed the slaves..."now, however, he was prepared to wipe out slavery all together."

All of the books treated Robert E. Lee as a hero. A biography of Lee in Heroes, Heroines, and Holidays does not once mention slavery or the Negro people although it tells at length about Lee's role as "leader of the soldiers in the South". In They Helped Make America there is a play about Lee in which he explains his decision to fight for the Confederacy by saying, "I hate slavery, too, as much as any Northerner...(but) slavery can't be done away with by law overnight. It must be done gradually."

RECONSTRUCTION

Certainly the most historically significant fact about the reconstruction period after the end of the Civil War is that in the South for the first and last time there was democratic government with the vote unconditionally guaranteed to all loyal men regardless of color. Negro and white worked side by side in the state and local government as well as in Congress to rebuild the land and to institute many far reaching reforms; most notable among them being the establishment of free public schools for all. That there were unfortunate examples of corruption, incompetence and opportunism during this period need not be denied but these practices were not unique in the Reconstruction South. They had existed and continued to exist not only in the south but in the rest of the country as well. What was far more significant was the great number of examples of sacrifice and devotion to the cause of reconstruction on the part of Negro and white from the north and south.

Just as it is important to make clear the nature of slavery and the role of the Confederacy in attempting to perpetuate that system, it is also important to make clear how this promising new democracy in the south was wiped out by armed terror and intimidation employed by secret societies such as the Ku Klux Klan against the Negro people and the established defenders of constitutional government.

Of the three books which mentioned the reconstruction period only one, Your Country's Story, referred to any positive accomplishment and that was only a brief reference to the establishment of public schools. No mention was made of any of the 22 Negroes who served in Congress or any other contribution of the Negro people during this period. On the contrary, Our America says, "The slaves had been freed, but most of them didn't know how to use their new liberty." My Country's Growth says only that "Many of the Negroes who had been given their freedom wandered about and would not work."

Your Country's Story is the only book which mentions the Ku Klux Klan at all. It is worth quoting at length to show how the terror of the Klan is actually justified and never condemned. "Southern taxpayers became impatient with the general dishonesty and bad management of their state government. Some of the white people decided to organize in societies and bring about a change...The most famous of these secret organizations was a group called The Ku Klux Klan...At first the Ku Klux Klan was used to keep the Negroes, carpetbaggers, and scalawags out of politics, Later, however, some of its members committed serious crimes (our emphasis)."

A NOTE ON MUSIC

The forms of music and dance developed by the Negro people in America, are now recognized as the most important original art form to be developed in this country. The work songs, songs of sorrow and jubilee, the blues and forms of jazz created by the Negro people can be recognized as the basis not only of virtually all of our popular music today, but also of much of the serious music by American composers. It is creating a stereoptyped image to attribute this musical contribution to some kind of inherited group aptitude. It can be adequately explained by an understanding of the highly developed and sophisticated African musical heritage combined with the social and economic subjugation in this country which demanded a cultural and social expression and at the same time virtually limited that expression to music and dance which required little equipment other than the human body. Although this art was developed by nameless folk artists, it should not be forgotten that it was the trained, professional Negro artists themselves who developed this musical heritage and presented it to the world. Prominent among these were W. C. Handy, J. Rosemond Johnson, Will Marion Cook, Harry T. Burleigh and Roland Hayes. Lest there be any doubt, we believe that the parodies of Afroamerican music by Stephen Foster, which glorify the days of slavery and ridicule the Negro people, not only have no place in this discussion, but, furthermore, have no place in the curriculum of our public schools. Yet in many books, Foster is the only American composer mentioned.

Your Country's Story does briefly but inadequately mention cultural contributions of the Negro. "Education and science were not the only field in which the Negroes became outstanding. Many became famous writers, musicians, painters, dancers, singers, and doctors. And the race's musical abilities have given the world the religious songs called spirituals and the peculiar kind of jazz called the blues (our emphasis)." We might ask who gave the world the other "non-peculiar" kinds of jazz? The only jazz musicians mentioned are George Gershwin and Paul Whiteman.

Heroes, Heroines and Holidays makes no mention of the Negro people's musical contributions but does present a biography of Stephen Foster as a great American composer of songs such as the chauvinist "Old Black Joe", "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Old Folks at Home."

A NOTE ON NAMES

Especially in the elementary grades it is important to teach children about specific people with whom they can identify rather than to talk about generalities. Aside from "Old Black Joe" and "Uncle Tom" the only Negroes from the United States mentioned specifically in any of the books were Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. The latter was the subject of a biography in Great Names in American History. Carver and Washington were the subject of several paragraphs each in Your Country's Story.

## TREATMENT OF JEWISH LIFE AND HISTORY

By and large the textbooks reviewed for this study are interesting, often exciting, some pulsing with our machines, inventions and material progress. The child is introduced to our world in ingenious ways. The past is often linked with the present to give a sense of continuity. But the child does not learn of the human forces that shape our world because the books do not present people as they truly exist. Children of minority groups cannot identify with the children of the families they find in the textbooks for the books give the impression that we are a homogenous people. To present textbooks which truly reflect American life, the diversity of people and culture, the many ways of working and living is, we feel the correct approach.

It would be logical after reading the elementary textbooks used in this study to conclude that Jews do not exist in this country. Except for three titles, and here the references are minor, there is no mention whatever of Jewish life in the United States. How is it possible to teach realistically about our multiracial and plural cultural society without including the Jews? Are we not perpetuating many myths by excluding Jews from elementary textbooks?

The Jews who arrived in New Amsterdam in 1654 seeking but not finding religious freedom, were among our earliest fighters for equality. It took many years of severe struggle before they won equal rights of citizenship, rights that entitled them to trade, to own property and to join the militia so that they could and did participate in the revolution. There were many heroes among the Jews fighting in the revolution but only one is mentioned in two of all the books examined. Great Names in Our Country's Story presents Haym Salomon rather well but fails to indicate that Jews made other outstanding contributions to the war effort. It also mentions Enrico Fermi, the physicist, but fails to point out that he was a Jew who fled his native Italy because of religious persecution.

In the fight for the abolition of slavery, and in the Civil War, most Jews were extremely active and again succeeded in rendering the country a fine service. Yet when we read Great Names in American History we do not find an Ernestine Rose, a Jewish woman who devoted her life to the cause of uplifting humanity and who risked her life many times in fighting to abolish slavery. We find with the exception of Dr. George Washington Carver, all the characters in this book are of Anglo-Saxon origin. This is a typical pattern for all the books devoted to heroes.

As a result of terrible persecution one and one-half million Jews, from 1900-1914, migrated to our country. They came seeking religious freedom, education and vocational opportunities. They came bringing their many skills, their cultural institutions and their great hunger for a better life. It is generally acknowledged that the contributions made by the Jews in the building of the trade unions, in the sciences, the professions, and the arts are far beyond their numbers here. In examining Working Together we found no mention of these contributions. It would require a complete change in the author's approach to make it acceptable, e.g. the chapter on

food could be utilized to demonstrate the various national foods; the section on clothing could devote space to the contributions of the Jewish people to the trade union movement in the clothing industry. The section on language could show that many languages are still used in this country, e.g. Yiddish and Hebrew illustrations of poems and songs.

The Jews have joined with especial courage, as a people, in issues concerning the treatment of minorities, questions of freedom of speech and press, and in most other areas of American life where our national aspirations to freedom and equality have needed champions. In particular, they have shown a willingness to fight for the country of their choice. In both World Wars of the twentieth century, the percentage of Jews in the United States armed services exceeded the national average. Six hundred thousand wore the uniform in the Second World War, and more than 35,000 were casualties.

In view of these facts, and in view of the fact that the Jewish people here have suffered from numerous forms of discrimination and commonly suffer from slander, it would seem logical that the text-books under study would describe the role of Jewish people in our history. However, in reading Our Country's Story the authors talk about early colonial settlements and the Revolution without mentioning the Jews. They tell about the Second World War without mentioning any contributions by Jewish people, nor do they mention what occurred to the Jewish people of Europe. The slaughter of six million European Jews by the German people under the leadership of the Nazi party is mentioned in only one of the texts, and there the mention is rather mild in form and not clearly related to the whole struggle of the people against Facism.

Today the United States has among its citizens the largest number of Jews of any country. Among the 5 million Jews living in the United States there have always been and are well known people making outstanding contributions in all walks of life. To cite a few: Judges Brandeis, Cardozo, and Frankfurter; Scientists Oppenheimer, Salk and Einstein; Musicians Heifitz and Berlin; Playwright Arthur Miller; Sport Hank Greenberg; Actor Paul Muni. But in reading Ways of Our Land we learn nothing of these or of any other Jewish people. This books lists some of the national minorities that make up the population of New York City, but fails entirely to mention three among the largest groups; Negro, Jewish and Puerto Rican.

In the treatment of Jewish life and history, we find the textbooks under study grossly inadequate to the task of preparing the young student to understand the realities of the world in which he lives, or to grasp the importance of recognizing and valuing the differences among people.

## TREATMENT OF OTHER CULTURES

The following brief comments about the treatment of minority groups other than Negro and Jewish in our community's text books indicate that the rather poor treatment given the history and culture of these two groups is by no means atypical. The following three points in particular recurred with distressing regularity in discussion of other cultures in these books.

1. The use of the discredited term "native" in referring especially to non-white inhabitants of colonial and former colonial countries.

2. The use of chauvinistic, racist stereotypes in referring to a whole people such as "happy", "carefree", "contented," etc.

3. An attempt to explain or justify the conditions of poverty under which people are forced to live by implying that they are "used to it."

LATIN AMERICA

Building Our Hemisphere deals in some detail with the life and history of each of our Latin American neighbors. The text is, however, unfortunately sprinkled with stereotype-reinforcing statements about the people of these countries: The Aztecs of Mexico are referred to as "superstitious" people who stood in awe of Cortez and his men who had "fair skin". The only mention of the original inhabitants of the Caribbean tells us that they were called "Caribs or Cannibals." Sometimes they were just called "eaters of man." There is considerable scholarly dispute over the origin and meaning of the name Carib. Whether or not the word did mean cannibal at one time, there is little evidence that cannibalism was practiced in the Caribbean at the time under discussion. The pre-Columbian Mexicans were also described as "a patient, cheerful people contented with a simple life." The people of Puerto Rico are described as "carefree, gathering to sing and to talk in a happy, light-hearted manner."

Neighbors in Latin America also gives a description of the life and history of each of the Latin American countries. The author does, however, make several distressing comments about the people of these countries. We are told, for instance, that the "Haitians have learned to be happy with what they have." Also, in several pages devoted to Haiti there is not one mention of Toussant L'Ouverture, probably the greatest hero of any of the Caribbean countries. The author apparently regards the people of Jamaica as being in the same category as the products of that island's fields and mines for he says the "second most important export of Jamaica is people." He mentions that many Africans were brought to Brazil to work in the sugar fields and that "there black people could do well the hard work in the hot, wet coast land." We are also told that the Negro people of Columbia "seem to like this warm lowland better than either white people or Indians do."

ASIANS IN AMERICA

The most significant aspect of the treatment of Asian peoples in the Americas is the almost complete silence on the topic in all of the books read. There was a brief mention of the customs and religions of the West Indian people of Trinidad and Jamaica in Building Our Hemisphere. The only other reference was a very distressing paragraph in Your Country's Story about the Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the West coast of the United States which says the "peoples of these races had, over hundreds of years, become accustomed to eating and waring less and to needing less shelter than any peoples of the Western races. They could also work longer hours and were willing to do so." (our emphasis)

AFRICA

A unit on Africa in Your World and Mine was the only discussion of this continent in any of the books reviewed, aside from several pages about ancient Egypt in the same book. Following is a brief review of this books' treatment of a subject so vitally important not only to understanding the history of the people of African descent in America but to a knowledge of today's rapidly changing world as well.

In a discussion of the earliest civilizations Your World and Mine mentions Egypt as one of the first cradles of civilization, but there is very little description of this civilization and the impression is made that this was not an African civilization; at one point reference is made to "Egypt and other Mediterranean lands." There is also the implication that there was no civilization in any other part of Africa; "Vast stretches of desert lie to the South, which kept civilized ways from spreading southward into Africa." And, again, "but this culture (Egyptian) spread southward very slowly." The implication here is that the great empires of West Africa, the Kingdom of the Congo and the prosperous trading cities of East Africa, etc. could not have developed independently of Mediterranean culture. The author also ignores the historical fact that much of what we know as Egyptian civilization actually moved from south to north from Ethiopia and the Kushite kingdoms of the Sudan up the Nile into Egypt. It is very likely that the author is completely ignorant of these sub-Sahara civilizations since no mention at all is made of them.

The author's extreme ethno-centricity is demonstrated when she asks the question "Why is it that much of Africa has been so slow to learn about Western civilization?" This question could be answered in a grim way by saying that Africa learned all too much and all too quickly about Western "civilization" during the slave trade. The author devoted a single sentence to the slave trade without any explanation or condemnation.

The author's patronizing ignorance of Africa is further revealed in a story which introduces the unit on Africa. The story is about the young son of an African chief, Mpombo, sent by his father to learn the "white man's law" at a distant missionary outpost. The missionary patronizingly says, "For you, Mpombo, as for Africa, there is a long road ahead. You will indeed need all the courage and all the strength of a chief."

The author does mention that much of Africa is "controlled and governed by Europeans mostly for their own benefit. Very little attention has been paid to the needs and desires of the natives themselves." Then goes on to repeat the usual argument of the colonialist powers: "Many Europeans and Americans feel that the native Africans are not yet ready to govern themselves." The author sees the solution to the problem of Africa to be more European education and investment. No mention is made of African nationalism or the need and desire for political and economic independence.

TREATMENT OF AMERICAN INDIANS

In our immediate community are some 800 American Indians and many persons of mixed Indian ancestry. Therefore, outside the general question of proper education for democracy, the treatment of this group has a particular immediacy for us.

We find the textbooks to treat the Indian as an exotic - a person of strange habits, who lives in quaint communities and practices unfamiliar religious customs. In none of the texts do we find the Indians of history identified with their descendents today in a clear pattern of exposition. Further, the policies of virtual destruction of the national life of the Indians pursued by the European settlers and by their descendents in the United States, the extermination of whole nations of the Indians, is lightly glossed over or never mentioned at all. Instead, "Indian fighters" are made heroes, and no true picture of the Indian can be discerned.

## THE BASIC READERS

This section is primarily devoted to the basic readers used in the elementary school. The readers fall into three categories, Primary (1st and 2nd grade), Middle or Intermediate (3rd and 4th grades) and Upper (5th and 6th grades).

The Primary group consists of a similar story form, despite the different publishers represented, as follows: White, Protestant, American from a nebulous ancestry; a family group - husband with a white collar job and briefcase, wife who is at home, three children, older boy, younger sister, and the baby, who is usually female. There are generally two pets, a dog and a cat. The setting is a quasi-suburban area, with occasional trips to the city. General appearance for all is blond hair and blue eyes, with the older males having browner looking hair.

There is little personal identification with family and children possible No attempt is made to present any relation to others - neighbors, suburban and city living, the state, nation or the world.

The Intermediate has essentially the same type of basic reader. Supplementary readers present original stories, fables, old and new, biographical and historical reports of the past and present day. The short stories seem well written, most are of Anglo, French, German caucasoid group. People from other cultures are presented in the so-called "masses" or "peasant" group, never in a group in which the children may relate. The fables, old and new, are of the Anglo-Saxon, Danish origin, there seemed to be no stories from any but European or North American sources.

The Upper basic reader presents more difficult material, in the form of collections of stories related to the particular curriculum of these grades. It is not always clear which stories are fiction or non-fiction, except perhaps those in which important historical personages are mentioned. Fiction, non-fiction fables, fairy tales and true life experiences seem to be mixed.

National, racial, cultural and ethnic differences, are <u>just not</u> presented in 99 percent of these stories, and if they are, it is in a "quanit" manner. Offensiveness exists in the complete ommission of cultural, ethnic, racial and sometimes even personal differences. Negro, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Cuban, West Indian, Asian and American children are unmentioned, with those of Middle and Southern and Slavic European heritage. New York City children in a heterogeneous New York atmosphere, could not possibly find any sort of identification, to say nothing about learning of the world they live in.

There is a remarkable fondness of the authors to play things safe; to offend no one living in a small town, or for that matter any kind of town or city. And, if this security were not enough, to secure it and seal it off by absenting every conceivable minority group from the American scene.

CONCLUSIONS

1. That the text books on social science and the readers used in the subject schools are, in respect to the treatment of the life and history of minority groups, in a majority of cases uninformative, and, in a distressing number of cases, actually misleading and offensive. The latter is especially true in the treatment of Negro history.

2. That this failure of the school books does not reflect, and is in fact in direct opposition to, the official policy of the New York Board of Education as expressed in their official publications, specifically the Curriculum Bulletins.

3. That in view of the Board of Education's stated policy, the inter-cultural nature of the community, the special concern of the principals of the subject schools and a general knowledge of other school books, the basic practical problem is the lack of suitable books and not one of poor selection.

4. That the final solution to the problem will come only with a change in the attitude and approach of the text book publishing industry.

5. That the harmful effects of the existing text books are so great and so far reaching on the present generation of students, that it would be irresponsible to wait for an improvement in the text books without seeking ways and means to counteract those effects and to improve the teaching of the life and history of minority groups by the use of available supplementary material and resources.

APPENDIX

A list of books reviewed for this report listed by publisher

Social Studies Text Books

Allyn and Bacon, Inc.
- Our America

Charles Scribner and Sons
- Building Our Hemisphere

Follett Publishing Company
- Big City Government
- Big City Homes
- Big City Transportation
- Big City Water Supply
- Big City Workers
- Exploring Far and Near
- Working Together

Ginn and Co.
- Heroes, Heroines and Holidays
- Your Country's Story
- Your People and Mine
- Your World and Mine

Houghton Mifflin Co.
- They Helped Make America

The John C. Winston Company
- Neighbors in Latin America

Laidlaw Bros.
- Great Names in American History
- Great Names in Our Country's Story

Noble and Noble
- Founders of Our United States
- New York Past and Present

Silver Burdett Co.
- Ways of Our Land
- The World Around Us

Webster Publishing Company
- My Country's Beginnings
- My Country's Growth

APPENDIX (cont.)

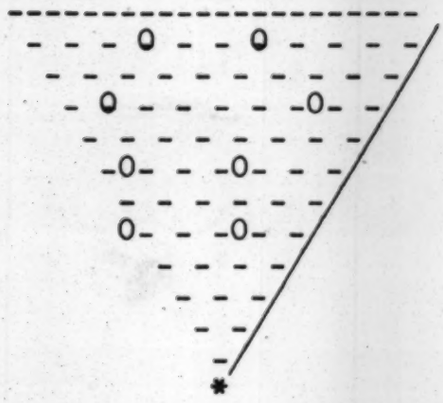
Readers

Houghton Mifflin Co.
- On We Go

The John C. Winston Company
- Along the Way
- At Play
- Faraway Parts
- I Know A Secret
- Moving Ahead
- Story Road
- Today and Tomorrow

Row, Peterson and Co.
- Day in and Day Out
- Down the River Road
- High on a Hill
- If I Were Going
- Neighbors on the Hill
- Through the Green Gate
- Under the Sky

Scott Forseman and Co.
- Guess Who
- Just Imagine!
- More Days and Deeds
- More People and Progress
- More Times and Places
- The New Friends and Neighbors
- The New Fun With Dick and Jane
- The New More Friends and Neighbors
- The New More Streets and Roads
- The New Our New Friends
- The New Streets and Roads
- The New We Come and Go
- The New We Look and See
- The New We Work and Play
- People and Progress
- Times and Places



SUMMARY OF COURSE – given at new school on desegr. 1962-3

Milgram came up again and again, though admittedly to get reaction from the class, that the Negroes do not avail themselves, that they are defeating themselves. Gave examples of how hard it is to rent his housing, how a man who builds interracial housing in Philly is going back to work on the conventional basis, becuase he can't do it; that Negroes don't move into integrated neighborhoods, and take advantage of the schools, etc. He may be rights, but the answer that June Shagaloff is as good as any -- then the ggencies are not doing their job.

Milgram also forgets, I think, that xx his Negro friends are part of their own power strucutre -- the Negro minister, the head of COHR, xxxx these people have important jobs, and are doing much fo forge ahead, but like all leadership, have forfeited some of their contact with the "grass roots" to get where they are. x The Negro does not want to face discrimination; life is unsure. When they look for an apartment in an integrated area, chances are betther than not that they will be refused. they need reassurance and direction, and confidence that "the Man" is not going to thwart them with every step. And there is little guarantee of this.

SAN FRANCISCO CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY)
1821 Fillmore Street
San Francisco 15, California

CORE SUBMISSION TO STATE CURRICULUM COMMISSION
AND THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION 10 JAN. 1964
SAN FRANCISCO 135 VAN NESS AVENUE

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, THE STATE CURRICULUM COMMISSION AND FELLOW GUESTS:

Since the task of free education is to produce adults able to function in oursociety and not merely to give them an opportunity for this, and since this would require that they be able to relate their responsibilities as citizens to a historical and socio-economic background, it is therefore necessary that the educational system take into account and correct factors which tend to prevent the children of racial and religious minorities from learning these things. For instance, it has long been generally accepted that textbooks, especially in the primary grades, should use the principle of identification, namely that children can identify more readily with other children who look, act and talk like themselves. This initial act of identification launches the child in the process of learning. However, textbooks now in use frequently do not present a fair portrayal of the contributions of minority groups and their members to the history and culture of California, the United States and the world, consequently minority group members come to feel that they have no history, no culture, no part in society and therefore do not seek to take a constructive part in it. If the schools of the State of California are to do a proper job, the following criteria for textbooks must be applied in executing the provisions of the April 3, 1962 Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 29 now in effect:

1. that all textbooks which utilize the principle of identification should include a fair treatment of minority groups not only in the illustrations but also in the story text; and

2. that all textbooks dealing with the history, geography, etc., of California, the United States and the world, should include a just representation of the contributions of members of different minority groups.

If the above criteria are used to measure the adequacy of the 4th grade social studies textbooks now under consideration for adoption by the State Board of Education, the following comments and criticisms may be found both valid and constructive:

1. Although there are several books in the social studies area dealing entirely with foreign cultural groups, namely two books on Japan (Japan by Lena Minugh and Nancy Cory, Franklin Publications, Inc., Pasadena, Calif., 1963) and one on Africa (Africa: With Focus on Nigeria by Clarence and Helen Fielstra, Franklin Publications, Inc., 1963), and although these books are to be used in an inter-cultural comparison study with that of our own American culture, it appears both ironic and unfortunate that the accompanying books dealing with California's own history with one or two exceptions, completely ignore the existence or contributions of the minority groups who have settled in California, namely the Japanes-American and the American-Negro, not to mention other minority groups.

2. One outstanding exception to this general observation is the book entitled California's Own History (by John and LaRae Caughey, the Century Schoolbook Press, San Francisco, 1963). The special attention evidently given to depict accurately and fairly the many different ethnic groups which have shaped California's history is witnessed by the inclusion of minority g oups in the development of our State. Although there may be some minor technical errors in this book, and we admit our limited qualifications to make such judgments, we feel that its positive approaches more than cancels out any small inaccuracies. Furthermore, this book should be adopted by the State Board of Education as a statewide text since it is the only one up for adoption which attempts to objectively execute the provisions set forth in the Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 29. Should any other text dealing with California's history be adopted and this particular one rejected, it would be a grave error in education policy. We hope that the caliber of this book will be kept in mind when other books are considered.

CORE is not the only group which holds these opinions. To quote the December 8, 1963 issue of the San Francisco Chronicle, the recent Los Angeles meeting of the California Teachers Association urged that textbooks and other teaching materials should be chosen "which reflect appropriately and adequately the complex heritage of American culture." In reference to the latter, the San Francisco public school system has been conduction its own educational experiment through the SCIP Program of Compensatory Education, suuported by a Ford Foundation grant. Especially praiseworthy is the high degree of positive progress made on the part of the students who were selected to use these new and experimental materials and who participated in cultural, life-enrichening trips to farms and historical sites in the Bay Area. We hope that this experimental project will be permanently adopted not only by the San Francisco Board of Education but also by all other California School Boards.

Therefore, on the basis of our previous statements and on the weight of our evaluation of several of the 4th grade social studies texts pending adoption we of the Education Committee of San Francisco CORE would advocate the following:

1. that more serious attention and speical efforts be expended by book publishers to objectively portray minority groups in textbooks;

2. that publishers be duly notified and encouraged by the State Concurrent Resolution No. 29 in their textbook materials both literally and pictorially; and

3. that the California State Boare of Education and the State Curriculum Commission do everything within their constitutional powers to initiate, direct and adopt measures for the speedy and effective achievement of these goals.

Respectfully submitted:

_____

Bill Bradley, Chairman, S.F. CORE

New York Herald Tribune
MAY 3, 1964

# Erasing Textbook Bias: A Project for Catholics

By Jo-ann Price
*Of The Herald Tribune Staff*

A three-year study urging revision of Roman Catholic textbook material to erase negative images and distortions relating to Jews and Protestants was released here yesterday by the American Jewish Committee in cooperation with St. Louis University, a Jesuit institution.

The analysis, initiated by the AJC and hailed as long overdue by the St. Louis Jesuits who supervised it, will be distributed as a corrective measure among publishers of Catholic school books. The report's authors hope it will serve as a guide for future manuscripts.

The study consists of dissertations submitted for doctor of philosophy degrees by three teaching nuns supervised by the Rev. Trafford P. Mahar, S. J., director of the university's department of education. Findings were released at the close of the AJC 57th annual meeting at the New York Hilton Hotel.

The study found that Catholic religious textbooks are "overwhelmingly positive" in references to racial and ethnic groups. They also scored high on the plus side in "general" intergroup teachings alluding to "all men."

But when it came to religious references centered on the Jewish rejection of Christianity, the Crucifixion and the Pharisees, many of the authors abounded in bias, inaccuracy and distortion, the report said. They displayed negative attitudes, as well, when they attempted to describe or interpret historical conflicts with Protestants over doctrinal differences with Catholicism, the Reformation and areas of contemporary Catholic-Protestant competition.

"Some of our Catholic materials," Father Mahar said in reference to a series of Catholic Bible history textbooks published 35 to 40 years ago, "were incredibly awful, perfectly horrible, and the art was terrible. They were used in grammar schools and taught to little kids at an impressionable age."

Not infrequently, Catholic children, taught that "the Jews crucified Christ," would become prejudiced toward Jews, he said. "There was never any differentiation that some Jews, in one little moment of history, were at the Crucifixion." Father Mahar said.

Likewise, Catholic textbook references to "hard-hearted" Protestants revolting against Catholicism "never left room for good will, sound motivation and objectively moral principles of conscience."

The nuns participating in the study were Sister Rose Albert Thering, Dominican sister of Madison, Wis.; Sister Rita Mudd of Helena, Mont., and Sister Mary Linus Gleason of Dodge City, Kans.

The analysis is the second of three reports about prejudice in religious teaching. The studies are being made under the sponsorship of the A. J. C., a human relations agency.

One of the other reports is "Faith and Prejudice," a seven-year self-study of Protestant materials completed at Yale University Divinity School and published last year by Yale University Press. A Jewish self-study has been completed at Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, with findings soon to be released.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, AJC Interreligious Affairs director, noted that the wish of religious groups to discover prejudicial teachings in their own ranks "grew out of their common experience in Europe during the Nazi holocaust."

"Christian leaders have tried to find out what it was in their education that caused millions of Christians to reject Jews," he said. Church leaders, notably Jesuits, in Europe and Latin America have spearheaded this research.

The Rev. Paul C. Reinert, president of St. Louis University, commented that while racial prejudice may be America's "most pressing concern" at present, "interreligious relationships pose more complex problems" in the preparation of religious textbooks.

## *From The Textbooks*

*Catholic school textbooks studied by researchers in a 3-year project at St. Louis University, a Jesuit institution, have been found to contain negative teachings and distortions about Jews and Protestants. Here are some examples cited in the study, which urged that Catholic authors and publishers correct such statements:*

**ON PROTESTANTISM:** "Protestantism granted concessions in an attempt to attract all who lacked courage to live up to the high standard proposed by Christ and the Church. Protestantism today is rapidly deteriorating, while the unchanging spiritual Church has grown ever stronger with the years."

**ON NON-CATHOLICS:** "Catholics should avoid all non-Catholics."

**ON MARTIN LUTHER:** "Luther's unrestrained passions led him to sin; and in his pride he refused to have his life be considered sin. He worked out, therefore, a different teaching, in which the ideas of sin and of goodness were changed to correspond to what it pleased him at the time to consider sin or virtue. His pleasure, rather than truth, was to be the standard for measuring right and wrong."

**ON REFORMATION LEADERS:** "Obstinate heretic" . . . "Self-satisfied monarch" . . . "Positively immoral" . . . "Drunken brewer" . . . "Adulterous tyrant."

**ON LATIN-AMERICAN CHURCH:** Protestantism and Communism have hindered the Catholic Church in South America. . . ."

**ON JEWS AND CHRIST:** "Why did the Jews commit the great sin of putting God Himself to death? It was because our Lord told them the Truth, because He preached a divine doctrine that displeased them, and because He told them to give up their wicked ways."

**ON BLAME FOR CHRIST'S DEATH:** "The worst deed of the Jewish people, the Murder of the Messias . . ."

**CRUCIFIXION:** "The Jews wanted to disgrace Christ by having Him die on the Cross."

**JEWISH REJECTION OF CHRISTIANITY:** "The Jews as a Nation refused to accept Christ, and since His time they have been wanderers on the earth without a temple, or a sacrifice, and without the Messias."

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# CATALOGUE OF TRAINING MATERIALS

prepared by:

Parent Leadership Training Program
United Bronx Parents
791 Prospect Avenue
Bronx, New York

Evelina Antonetty
Executive Director

Ellen Lurie
Training Director

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All training material described in this catalogue was prepared for use in the Parent Leadership Training Programs conducted by United Bronx Parents during the 1967 school year and during summer 1967.

Additional material is being written weekly. The United Bronx Parents hopes to get a private or government grant for its training programs, in which case we plan to reduce the prices listed in this catalogue.

Our bi-lingual experienced community organization and training staff is available for consultation services, and we are happy to work with any community or parent group who would like to discuss the various ways in which the enclosed material might be used, or who would like an individual training program especially designed for a specific local need.

Please use the order blank that appears on the last page of this catalogue.

September, 1967

The material listed in this catalogue is available in single copies at the rate of 10¢ per page, or in quantity (6¢ page for 2 - 10 copies); ($_4$¢ page for 11 copies or more).

** Means that both a Spanish and English version are available

Most of the material is incorporated into one of a number of kits. Each kit has a grouping of selected items, geared to cover a particular series of parent edueation workshops. The kits are available as packages and arrangements can be made for discounts to organizations wishing to purchase quantity of any particular kit.

| | | | PRICE FOR SINGLE KIT |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kit # 1: | LEADERSHIP SKILLS | 12 items plus explanation for using the material | $3.90 |
| Kit # 2: | TEACHER KIT | 15 items | $2.85 |
| Kit # 3: | CURRICULUM | 10 Items | $2.70 |
| Kit # 4: | DISCIPLINE & SUSPENSIONS | 7 Items | $1.50 |
| Kit # 5: | HOW TO EVALUATE YOUR SCHOOL | 9 Items | $3,50 |
| Kit # 6: | WHAT TO DO IF YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL IS OVERCROWDED | | $1.00 |

A complete description of the materials in each kit, as well as a list of some miscellaneous material, follows.

KIT #1: LEADERSHIP SKILLS

| ITEM # | TITLE & DESCRIPTION | NO. OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 1-1 | Suggestions for Using Material in This Kit<br>Brief description of how this material was used by United Bronx Parents | 3 |
| 1-2 | What Kind of Situation Helps Adults Learn Easily?<br>A brief list of ingredients ,suggesting some guidelines for adult discussion leaders. Includes some quotes from Dr. Spock concerning the relationship between parents and professionals. | 2 |
| 1-3 | Using Group Selection to Recruit Traininees<br>A list of very specific steps which might be followed in recruiting trainees or staff for any kind of program | 3 |
| 1-4 | How to Take a Problem Inventory<br>A simple outline of five steps community workers or parents might take if they want to find out the kinds of educational problems facing their neighbors. Includes several suggestions for taking a "resource" inventory at the same time | 1 |
| 1-5 | Checklist for Trainees and Community Workers to Help them decide what Educational Issues they Want to study during their training program<br>This is an excellent tool for a trainer or workshop chairman to use. It lists more than 35 current educational issues, and is set up like a "ballot" so that trainees can mark the 5 or 10 issues they want the training program to cover. | 2 |
| 1-6* | Sample Record Forms<br>a) Form to use when taking down a parent-complaint (simplified Spanish-English intake form; good to use for door-to-door interviews also) | 1 |
| | b) Form to help Trainees Categorize problems (Suggests format for a wall chart or newsprint record, summarizing a number of complaints) | 1 |
| | c) Form for each trainee to record weekly summary (Useful for teaching recording skills) (Spanish-English) | 1 |
| 1-7 | Steps to Take to get a Problem Solved<br>This one page chart suggests a referral procedure, showing charts listing possible resources to tap on the local, community and city-wide level. | 1 |

NOTE: It is strongly suggested that all the material in this kit require individual training sessions for each individual skill.

KIT # 1: LEADERSHIP SKILLS (con't.)

| ITEM # | TITLE & DESCRIPTION | NO. OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 1-8 | The Community Speaks (Discussion Stimulator) Copy of a flyer distributed in the South Bronx community designed to stimulate discussion by parents and community workers around their role as "agency staff" and "community representatives" Which gets first priority? | 1 |
| 1-9 | Special Packet of Training Materials to Assist Parents in Preparing for a Meeting with A Board of Education Official | 16 |
| | *a) Suggested Steps to Take to Prepare for Your Meeting (Available in Spanish & English) Seven steps to take before meeting with an Official of the Board of Education | 2 |
| | *b) Role Play Activity to help groups prepare by Practicing or "role-playing" a meeting with the Board of Education. Includes 2 page detailed instructions to trainer, "script" for parents, "script" for Board of Education, and observers checklist. (Spanish and English) | 7 |
| | * c) Form to use to Record what happens in Your Meeting with Board of Education(Spanish & English) | 2 |
| | d) Guide to Board of Education Doubletalk A humorous (but helpful) listing of the kinds of terminology most often used by city "professionals" with an appropriate translation | 2 |
| | e) How To Detect Propaganda An adaptation of the classic political propagenda techniques (i.e. "Name-Calling","Glittering Generalities", etc.) with explanations using current Board of Education examples. | 3 |
| 1-10* | Checklist for Making Sure you Have Good Meetings Seven steps to take to insure a successful meeting, and some questions which probe the meaning of the word "successful"(Available in Spanish & English) | 3 |
| 1-11 | Simulated Field Problem to help trainees analyze the basic requirements for successful community action. This activity is based upon an imaginary invitation to attend a meeting in the Borough Pres! office, and a series of instructions to the trainer help to set up a competitive community situation, useful as a preliminary training session on the requirements of community organization. | 2 |

KIT # 1: LEADERSHIP SKILLS (con't)

| ITEM # | TITLE AND DESCRIPTION | NO. PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 1-12 | Checklist of Crucial Steps to Follow for Successful Community Action | 1 |
| 1-13 | Suggested Steps for Conducting a "Feedback" Session - using an example from a Bronx session, helpful in showing parents value of evaluating training and workshops | 1 |
| ADDITIONAL RELATED MATERIAL | | |
| 1-14A | Outline of Parent Leadership Training Program, Summer 1967 | 5 |
| 1-14B | Brief Description of Summer Training Program - including weekly training topics, field assignments, structure, etc. | 9 |
| 1-15 | Referral Sources - Directory of Public and Private Agencies which might be utilized for problems such as Children with Sight problems, hearing difficulties, reading problems, etc. (Good for New York City only) | 7 |
| 1-16 | Structure of the NYC Board of Education (Prepared by EQUAL for United Bronx Parents) includes outline of Capital and Expense Budget procedures, how Board of Education selected, names and addresses of Board of Estimate, Selection Panel, City Council, City Planning Commission, Board of Examiners, etc. | 27 |

KIT # 2: TEACHER KIT

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2-1 | What is a Good Teacher? A Discussion Stimulator listing 6 successful teacher "types" | 2 |
| 2-2 | What Do Pupils Like and Dislike in Teachers? Discussion Stimulator which helps draw out a discussion of the kind of characteristics parents look for in teachers | 2 |
| 2-3 | Do Teachers Expect High Performance from Ghetto Kids? A Discussion Stimulator excerpt from the book"The School Children" | 1 |
| 2-4 | Copy of an Actual Letter from a NYC Principal to his teachers just before school opens (excerpt from "Pickets at the Gate) | 2 |

KIT # 2: TEACHER KIT

| ITEM # | TITLE AND DESCRIPTION | NO.OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 2-5 | Is There any Difference in the Way Negro and White Teachers View Their Students? Summary of study showing that teachers' race influences their opinion of their students' ability | 2 |
| 2-6 | Copy of United Bronx Parents Press Release during United Federation of Teachers Strike, summarizing Parents' position on strike, and listing some parent demands (Useful also as a discussion stimulator in preparation for a press conference on any subject) | 2 |
| 2-7* | Copy of parent flyer during the strike (Spanish-English) (Good also as a discussion stimulator on topic: How to draw up a good flyer) | 1 |
| 2-8 | Analysis of "What the Teachers Won" | 3 |
| 2-9 | Rights Teachers have that Parents Should Have | 1 |
| 2-10* | Copy of Letter from United Bronx Parents to Parent Volunteers During the Strike (raising the question of the permanent use of parents as teacher assistants in classrooms) | 1 |
| 2-11 | Summary of the Afro-American Teachers Union Position on the UFT strike | 4 |
| 2-12 | What is Merit Pay - Another way to pay Teachers based on performance and ability | 2 |
| 2-13 | A suburban school system's philosophy (What it expects from its teachers) | 1 |
| 2-14 | What is Keeping Us from getting Quality Teachers? A list of the various obstacles | 1 |
| 2-15 | Action Steps for Parents Includes a Checklist for parents to use in evaluating teacher performance; and a questionaire for parents to use to obtain detailed information about the quality of the teaching staff in their school. Also a list of promising new programs for improving teacher performance . | 6 |

KIT # 3: CURRICULUM

| ITEM # | TITLE AND DESCRIPTION, | NO. OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 3-1 * | Standard Curriculum for Grades 1-6 including promotional and homework policy for each grade, based upon NYC Board of Education regulations | 6 |
| 3-2 | Copy of NYC Board of Education Circular: Grade Placement and Promotional Policies | 5 |
| 3-3 | Suggested questions for parents to ask teachers and principals regarding promotional policy (prepared by EQUAL) | 2 |
| 3-4 | Copy of NYC Board of Education Circular: Placement in IGC Classes (Intellectually Gifted Classes) | 4 |
| 3-5 | Copy of NYC Board of Education Circular: Acceleration & Enrichment Policies in Junior High and Intermediate Schools | 3 |
| 3-6 | Copy of NYC Board of Education Circular: Homework Policy in Elementary Schools | 2 |
| 3-7 | Suggestions for Parents who have questions regarding homework policy | 2 |
| 3-8 | Copy of NYC Board of Education: Elementary School Report Card | 1 |
| 3-9 | Suggestions for Parents who have questions regarding report cards | 2 |
| 3-10 | Directory of Names , addresses, and phone numbers of Division Heads, NYC Board of Education Elementary Schools- prepared by EQUAL | 2 |

KIT # 4: DISCIPLINE AND SUSPENSIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4-1 | Explanation and Suggested Use for Materials in this kit | 1 |
| 4-2 | Treasure Hunt for Parents who Blame Themselves An unusual group activity which helps parents who have always lived in a ghetto neighborhood compare the resources available to families in a middle income neighborhood | 2 |
| 4-3 | Role Play Activity for Parents to demonstrate how people in power put pressure on minority groups to conform | 1 |

KIT # 4: DISCIPLINE AND SUSPENSIONS (con't)

| ITEM # | TITLE AND DESCRIPTION | NO. OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 4-4* | A Drop Out Speaks of School - a discussion stimulator - an excerpt from"Pickets at the Gate" | 1 |
| 4-5 | A Checklist: How do you know if your kid is bad, or if your kid has a bad teacher? | 2 |
| 4-6 | Special packet of materials on Suspensions (prepared by EQUAL) includes NYC Board of Education suspension procedures summarized, highlights of court fight to test constitutionality of these procedures, UFT original Delegate Assembly resolution on "Disruptive Child", and suggestions for parents who are faced with a suspension hearing. | 6 |
| 4-7 | Copy of provision in UFT Contract with Board of Education on the "Disruptive Child" Sept 27, 1967 | 2 |
| SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL | | |
| 4-8 | Complete copy of Board of Education Circular on Suspension Procedures | 6 |
| 4-9 | Highlights from the United States Crime Commission Report on Delinquency and the Schools (prepared by EQUAL) | 5 |
| 4-10 | Copy of newspaper article in NY Times, July 23, 1967: Poor Schools Called a Cause of Riots - useful as discussion stimulator on causes behind disruptive behavior in pupils; also useful in discussion of "how to read the newspaper." | 1 |
| 4-11 | Copy of newspaper article in NY Times, June 18, 1967: Schools Accused on Rise in Crime | 1 |

KIT # 5: HOW TO EVALUATE YOUR SCHOOL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5-1 | Three different definitions of Education, including a page listing the NYC Board of Education official educational objectives | 2 |
| 5-2 | How to Make A School Visit--a special booklet which clearly outlines in detail the various steps to take in making a school visit: preparation in advance, what to look for outside the school, in the hallways, in the principal's office, in the classrooms. | 20 |

KIT # 5: HOW TO EVALUATE YOUR SCHOOL (con't)

| ITEM # | TITLE AND DESCRIPTION | NO. OF PAGES |
|---|---|---|
| 5-3* | Checklist for Making First Grade Visits (Particularly helpful for use by pre-school parents who want to look over the local public school before sending their kids) | 2 |
| 5-4* | Report Card for Parents (bi-lingually developed) especially designed to accompany "How to Make a School Visit"; | 2 |
| 5-5 | Elementary School Fact Sheet A form which will enable community workers and parents to ask a school principal a wide variety of statistical and factual information about the school (reading scores, ethnic breakdown of staff and pupils, age of building, etc.) | 3 |
| 5-6 | Some suggestions to help you find out how many children are learning to READ in your school | 2 |
| 5-7 | Why aren't all the children learning? A description of the various barriers which prevent children from learning, and some suggestions to parents for finding out which reasons apply in their local school | 2 |
| 5-8 | Will joining a Parent Association help to improve the quality of education in your school? Includes an excerpt from NYC Board of Education policy re parent associations, and two different opinions of their effectiveness | 2 |
| 5-9 | Copy of NYC Board of Education Policy Statement: The Right of Parents and Community to Full Access to all information | 1 |

KIT # 6: WHAT TO DO IF YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL IS OVERCROWDED?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6-0 | Includes information on short and long range solutions to overcrowding; capital budget procedures, rezoning, annexes, grade reorganization, portables, and who to go to see for further information in each instance | 11 |

MISCELLANEOUS MATERIAL

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| M-1 | Background Information on Puerto Ricans and Education in New York City | 2 |

ORDER FORM

Please fill out this order form, listing SEPARATELY each piece of material of kit which you want. Be sure to include the ITEM NO. , and the QUANTITY you desire. Any item marked with an (*) is available in Spanish, and if you desire the Spanish version, please indicate this also. Make all checks payable to United Bronx Parents, Inc.

TO: UNITED BRONX PARENTS, LEADERSHIP TRAINING MATERIALS
791 Prospect Avenue, Bronx New York

| PLEASE SEND ME THE FOLLOWING KITS | | | ** QUANTITY ** | AMOUNT ENCLOSED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| KIT # 1 | LEADERSHIP SKILLS | @$3.90 | | |
| KIT # 2 | TEACHER KIT | @ 2.85 | | |
| KIT # 3 | CURRICULUM KIT | @$2.70 | | |
| KIT # 4 | DISCIPLINE & SUSPENSION | @$1.50 | | |
| KIT # 6 | HOW TO EVALUATE YOUR SCHOOL | @$3.50 | | |
| KIT # 7 | WHAT TO DO IF YOUR CHILD'S SCHOOL IS OVERCROWDED | @$1.00 | | |

INDIVIDUAL ITEMS IN KITS AS LISTED IN TRAINING MATERIALS CATALOGUE

PRICES: FIRST COPY: 10¢ per page (2 page item = 20¢)
2 - 10 copies: 6¢ per pg ( 10 copies of 2 page item:$1.20)
11 copies or more: 4¢ per page (50 copies of 2 page item:$4.00)

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ADDRESS _____

ORGANIZATION _____ PHONE _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

## EXPLANATION OF TRAINING ACTIVITY - ROLE PLAY

**TRAINING PROBLEM:** To prepare a group of parents and citizens for a meeting with Board of Education officials. (This can be adapted to prepare for a meeting with any establishment group)

**SETTING UP THE SITUATION:**

In this design, all group members, except 4 observers participate in role playing. The training group is divided into two sub-groups ( of equal parts or the parent group may be larger than the "Board" group).
Note: Try to separate the group so that "talkers" and"non-talkers" are equally assigned to both groups.

The groups are told to go into two separate corners (if the room is large) or into two separate rooms.

Take one parent out of the parent group. Give him or her LATECOMER script - not the full parent script.

Give each of the parents a copy of the Parent script.

Give each of the Board staff a copy of the Board script.

Tell them they will have 15 minutes to plan separately and then they will come together for a meeting which will last about 15 minutes.

Assign two observers to the parent group, and two observers to the board group. Give them each an observer's checklist. They are to mark the first half during the initial meeting and the second half while the two groups meet together.

**ACTION:**

AFTER the parent group has selected its chairman and recorder, tell them to raise their hands and the trainer then gives each of these two their individual scripts.

15 minutes

Two separate Planning Meetings

AFTER the Board group has selected who will play which part, tell them to raise their hands and give each of the three special roles (Assistant Superintendent, Spanish Auxiliary Teacher, and Human Relations man) their separate scripts.

followed by

EVERYONE SHOULD PIN ON A NAME TAG TELLING WHO THEY ARE: i.e., PARENT: PARENT CHAIRMAN: PARENT RECORDER: PARENT LATECOMER: BOARD OF EDUCATION SUPERINTENDENT: BOARD STAFF PERSON, ETC.

15 minute meeting with the two groups together

The LATECOMER parent does not join the first group meeting until 5 minutes before it is to break up.

The trainer calls time after 15 minutes, and then the two groups come together for about 15 minutes around a table.

Let the 4 observers sit where they can hear and see everything.

Call time when things are pretty well played out, or after about 15 minutes.

EXPLANATION OF TRAINING ACTIVITY - ROLE PLAY (cont'd)

ANALYSIS: Let everyone take off their name-tags and push the seats back to where they sat before this role play began. (DE-ROLE)

Using a blackboard or newsprint, the trainer asks first those who played the Board and the parents to say how they felt about what happened. Who did they think"won"? Who handled the meeting to get done what they wanted to get done? How did they feel about the Latecomer parent? How did the parent recorder feel? Did she get good notes? How did the various Board people feel?

LET EACH PERSON READ THEIR VARIOUS"PARTS" NOW IF THEY HAVE NOT DONE SO ALREADY.

ALSO, LET SOMEONE FROM EACH "SIDE" READ THE MAIN SCRIPTS.

Were the parents requests clear? Did the Board "hear" everything the parents think they asked for?

Ask the observers what they noted. How did they feel about the pre-planning meeting? How well did that prepare the parents for the encounter with the board? Did they use that planning time well?

How did the Latecomer Parent feel when she arrived?

Draw implications from the discussion. List them for the REAL THING.

COMMENT: The entire training exercise takes from 1½ to 2 hours. If the group wants, it could practice the whole thing once more, switching sides this time.

Note: There are six sheets of paper needed for this exercise:

1. Parent script with enough copies for all the parents except the Latecomer.
2. Individual parent parts (trainer cuts these up and hands them out)
3. Board of Education script - enough for each member
4. Individual staff parts (trainer cuts them up and gives out)
5. Observer's checklist - one copy for each observer
6. Record Form for parent recorder to use.
   This record form has been particularly prepared for use when parents meet with any establishment group in order for them to keep track of demands and what happens.

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

You are a group of parents and community leaders meeting with some Board of Education officials about the schools in your district.

You want to get <u>action</u> from them on two big problems facing you:

1. Many parents have been complaining that the schools either label all Puerto Rican children "retarded" and teach them nothing, or push and skip the children ahead, even when they can't read at all. Several Negro parents you know have complained about the same thing, so you have brought them with you today.

2. The other big complaint coming to you at your Center is that many teachers are hitting the children and calling them names. You want to know what will be done about these abusive teachers this year.

You will have 15 minutes to plan your meeting with the Board of Education people. Decide exactly:

1. What you want to present to them;

2. Who will say what;

3. Who will chair your meeting;

4. Who will take notes at the meeting;

5. What you want the Board of Education people to do about the problems you are bringing to them.

You have promised the other trainees and the parents who came into your Center that you will have FAST ANSWERS FOR THEM AT A MEETING TWO NIGHTS FROM NOW. You must not let the Board of Education people stall you because you have to have at least some specific answers to give your people at the big meeting in two nights.

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

4-1-b
ROLE PLAY

You are all Staff working for the Board of Education. A Puerto Rican parent called the district office the other day and asked for an appointment to discuss some problems in the area. The District Superintendent is on vacation, but the parent was very insistent. So the Assistant to the District Superintendent said OK and asked several other members of the staff who were there for the summer to come to the meeting. You also called downtown to the Human Relations Division and asked them to send someone.

You are very busy right now running summer programs. You have never heard of these women, but you know about Mrs. Antonetty who is head of their program, and you know she is a troublemaker.

You want to handle these people carefully, but really there is very little you can do before the district superintendent comes back from vacation. Also, most of the school principals are away, so if they want to talk about specific schools, it would be best for them to come back in the fall.

YOU HAVE TO FIND SOME WAY TO PUT THEM OFF UNTIL THE FALL WITHOUT SEEMING TO STALL THEM.

You will have 15 minutes to plan your meeting with the parents. Decide exactly:

1/ Who will be the Assistant to the Superintendent and therefore chairman of the meeting;

2/ Who will play each of the other parts:

1. The Non-English Coordinator for the District

2. The Guidance coordinator for the district

3. The person from downtown Human Relations

3/ How you are going to handle the parents so that they will be willing to wait until September for any answers.

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

4-1-c
ROLE PLAY

## OBSERVERS CHECKLIST

Form for Observers to write down notes.

Observers are not allowed to talk during the session. They will comment later.

(USE THIS IN THE FIRST PLANNING MEETING)

1. What helps the group get started with its job? (who does what?)

2. Does anything hinder or interfere with the group doing its job? (who does what?)

3. Any comments? Do you think this group will do what it wants to do when the big meeting takes place later? (Explain)

USE THIS FOR THE SECOND MEETING BETWEEN THE PARENTS AND THE BOARD OF ED.

1. Who do you think CONTROLS this meeting?

   WHY?

2. Who do you think gets what they want out of this meeting?

   WHY?

3. What do you think was the best thing the parents did?

4. What do you think was the best thing the Bord of Education did?

COMMENTS:

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

4-1-d
ROLE PLAY

PARENT WHO WILL CHAIR PARENT MEETING:

You are going to push that you get answers today. You have promised many parents that they will not have to stand to be pushed around any more. Also you feel the Board of Education should at least re-test every child they call retarded, and retest them in Spanish with a Spanish-speaking (preferably Puerto Rican) qualified testing person. And you don't trust Mrs. Rodriguez at the District office at all. If she is at the meeting, she had better not try to interfere. She always seems to worry more about her job than about the children anyway. Your best approach, you think, is to get each parent in your committee to present a specific part of the story, and then push for action!

PARENT WHO WILL RECORD MEETING:

Your job is to pass an attendance sheet and to keep notes. At the meeting to prepare for the meeting with the Board of Education, try to put down on the form what specific problems your committee intends to discuss. Then at the meeting, put down what is done about each problem. Remember, that if the problems are not covered YOUR RECORD WILL BE INCOMPLETE, SO PUSH THE BOARD OF EDUCATION STAFF TO GIVE YOU ANSWERS!!

PARENT WHO COMES IN LATE:

You know that the committee is seeing the Board of Education today, but you could not get to the planning meeting. However, you are determined to go to the meeting at the District Office anyway, because your child Johnny (Juan) never got a chance to eat lunch last year at least 12 or more times. The teachers would punish him by taking lunch away, and he came home crying. You want to make sure that the principal in PS 92 is fired, and that you get the teacher you want for your child. You are so upset that you don't know what to do; this meeting with the Board of Education is your one chance to tell your story and get help.

4 -1-e
ROLE PLAY

UNITED BRONX PARENTS
PARENT LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM

ASSISTANT TO SUPERINTENDENT:

You are very anxious that no trouble come out of this meeting so that when your boss comes back he can be pleased that you took care of this for him. Maybe if you ask your Puerto Rican staff member, Mrs. Rodriguez and the man from downtown, Mr. Johnson, to handle these parents, it will take the pressure off you. For after all, since Mr. Johnson, and Mrs. Rodriguez come from the same background as these parents, they will know how to handle this situation.

MR. JOHNSON, FROM HUMAN RELATIONS DIVISION:

Your boss downtown told you just to come up here and observe, NOT TO TALK. These district people always want to push their problems on you, but they never take your advice about what to do. Anyway, secretly you hope these ghetto parents get more angry and tear the superintendent apart. You know how bad the schools are, but in your job you can't really take sides. But maybe if you pass the buck back to the Assistant Superintendent, at least your hands can stay clean.

MRS. RODRUGUEZ

You are delighted that the Spanish parents are getting organized, but why does this boss of yours only call you in when Spanish kids or parents are involved? He never listens to you any other time, and he won't do what you say now. If only the parents will arrange to see you privately later, maybe you could give them some tips. Right now, though, you are determined to let your boss handle this, you won't cool the parents; in fact, maybe in some way you could let them know you are on their side without letting yourself get in trouble with your boss.

## HOMEWORK POLICIES

1. ATTACHED is a copy of the New York City Elementary Division Directive on Homework Policy.

   1. Of course many teachers assign much more homework than is suggested in that policy statement, and many other teachers assign much less.

   *** For example, we know one first grade teacher who assigned 45 minutes of homework EVERY SINGLE NIGHT to her pupils ... including the responsibility of listening to a nightly TV or radio news report and picking something out to tell the rest of the class about the next day. It was also expressly forbidden in that class to ask for help from your mother or dad!

   *** We know of several schools where 5th and 6th grade teachers give heavy homework assignments all week long, and none on week-ends or holidays; however, we know of other schools where regular homework assignments are given daily, and extra heavy ones handed out week-ends and vacations under the assumption "you'll have more time then to do research."

   2. If homework is assigned, and if you agree that it should be assigned then make sure:

      1. Your child does it the best he can!
      2. Sign it daily or weekly to indicate you have seen it.
      3. Make sure the teacher corrects it regularly!

   4. It is certainly fair, if she doesn't seem to correct it, or if she asks "pupil monitors" to correct it, to ask the teacher to SIGN IT REGULARLY TO INDICATE SHE HAS SEEN IT!
   5. When you have a conference, ask to see her record of your child's homework progress, as well as his class work.

II. THERE IS A BIG CONTROVERSY ABOUT HOMEWORK.

   1. Some people (including some educators) believe that homework should be regularly assigned, in rather heavy loads.

      One part of this "Pro-homework" group says:

      a. HOMEWORK SHOULD NEVER BE PUNISHMENT AND HOMEWORK SHOULD NEVER BE DULL DRILLS OR REPETITIOUS.
      They suggest: "Good homework should include lots of reading or good homework involves children in activities they can't do in school." (like: criticize a special TV program, measure all windows and floors at home; visit older citizens in your community to find out what they know about history, etc.) Many people in this group suggest that PARENTS SHOULD PROVIDE A QUIET PLACE FOR THE HOMEWORK BUT SHOULD NOT HELP THE CHILD.

      b. The other pro-homework group takes a different approach: "DON'T DEPEND ON THE SCHOOL TO GIVE YOUR CHILD ADEQUATE DRILL IN SPELLING, HANDWRITING AND MATH. If the teacher does not assign enough homework, get workbooks and other material and drill and coach your child. Go to the school and get additional work. Insist on it. Prepare flash cards and go over and over the areas he needs help in. Teach your child study habits. Don't settle for "busy-work" but insist upon a heavy schedule each day where he can improve his basic skills. Help your child when he says he needs help. He will thrive if you show how concerned you are.

HOMEWORK POLICIES (CONT'D)

2. Other people (including some educators) do not believe that there should be any homework!

   a. "What cannot be done in school should not have to be done at home", they say.

   b. They cite studies which show that homework doesn't help a child achieve in school, but rather often starts tension at home.

   c. Some such educators feel that the parents will only confuse the children by using different methods.

   d. Others say that kids learn the most when left alone to explore in their own way the world around them.

   e. Others say that in urban areas, where many parents have not had a formal education, homework is obsolete. They remind us that many European and South American countries don't assign homework at all (of course, many others do).

III. SUGGESTIONS TO PARENTS

A. Get together and decide if you think homework is important.
B. You might want to look over some sample homework assignments in your own school (check various classes on the same grade) and maybe, if you can hold on them, compare with parochial and private schools nearby.
C. Find out what the school policy is "theoretically."
D. Debate it -- call in some "experts" of your own.
E. Develop your own policy -- and then insist that the school follow through.
   1. How much homework daily? Week-ends? Vacations?
   2. What kind of homework?
   3. Role of parents clarified: To allow help from them or not?
   4. Who should correct homework? How often?
   5. What assurance can the principal give you that this policy will be carried out? Will it be standard for every class in a grade?
   6. What record should be kept?
   7. After six months of your new system, what way could you evaluate your new policy?

NEWS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary

RE Education

USDL--5995

FOR RELEASE: Sunday Editions
November 10, 1963

Excerpts from Remarks
by
Arthur A. Chapin
Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor
before the
Greater New Orleans Urban League Motivation Conference
Xavier University
November 9, 1963

Your chosen theme: "Education--The Negro's Tool for Economic Advancement During the Critical 60's," is very timely, and of great importance to all of us.

Like all great battle, we have to fight on many fronts and the one you selected for this program is of primary importance--to get the education we need, despite all obstacles, so that we are ready. Let us send our children into the employment arena with a chance for survival.

What a shame, what a wasted opportunity it is, when the employer finally says "Yes, I won't discriminate, I'll look for Negroes for these jobs," and none is available.

For example, only one out of 100 engineers in the United States is a Negro--we have lost a golden opportunity.

What are the basic facts that demonstrate the need for more education and better education? As we in the Department of Labor see the picture, education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For the man who has not completed grade school will earn

$100,000 less in his lifetime than the high school graduate: the high school graduate will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. The youth who completes one of our retraining projects will earn as a result, $50,000 more in his lifetime.

The Negro with an elementary school education is likely to have an income of $3,400 while the high school graduate is likely to have an income of $4,600 and those with a college degree will probably earn $7,900. Education does pay off. It is worth struggling for, sacrificing for.

Let me make this same point in other terms. The unemployment rate for workers between 25 and 54 who have less than a grade school education is twice as high as the rate for high school graduates and four times as high as the rate for workers with some college education.

Let me give you the same figures but for young Negroes only. One out of every 3 Negro youths with only an eighth grade education is unemployed compared with one out of 6 for the high school graduate and one out of 8 for those with one or more years of college. And note that less than one out of 22 Negroes over 24 years of age with one or more years of college is unemployed.

The more education a Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of the white. The Negro elementary school graduate gets only 68 percent of the income of the white with the same education; this increases to 71 percent for the Negro high school graduate and to 85 percent for the Negro college graduate.

Keep in mind that these figures are based on the situation today. As automation increases, as jobs become even more complex, the relative income of the uneducated will become lower and their unemployment rate will become

higher. There is no future for the unskilled, unskilled, unschooled worker. Blue collar jobs are expected to increase by only 14 percent in the 60's, and these will be mainly skilled jobs requiring an education, but white-collar jobs will increase by 30 percent.

About one-quarter of a million Negroes are today, attending colleges and universities, of whom 100,000 are in the South or the District of Columbia. Negro enrollment in higher education is higher than total enrollment in Great Britain or Italy, and nearly as high as in West Germany or France even though the Negro population in America is less than half the population of any of these nations.

But the high financial cost of certain types of professional education, such as medicine, is a serious obstacle to Negro youth--34 percent of the Negro youth compared with the 13 percent of white youth report financial handicaps as barring the way for graduate and professional school. Part of our efforts must therefore be to get special funds provided for the post-graduate education of Negro youths; they must study harder so that they can get more scholarships.

An interesting and significantly development is the interest of the white student in attending colleges which were formerly all Negro; Lincoln University in Missouri reports more than 500 white students and West Virginia State College is now evenly split between Negroes and whites.

More barriers are breaking down. For the first time in history, three outstanding medical schools with southern traditions--Johns Hopkins, Duke, and Emory, have admitted Negroes on a competitive basis. Each of them had won a National Medical Fellowship.

What has the Government done? Many things.

For the first time in American history, we have a positive program to get more qualified Negroes into the Federal Government, and to get them into better jobs.

By a positive program we mean recruiting at Negro schools, looking over personnel records to find cases of under-utilization, making clear to all levels of management that equal opportunity means equal opportunity, and providing counseling and training to employees to help them get ahead.

The percentage of Negroes in responsible positions in the U.S. Department of Labor has doubled--a 100 percent increase in less than three years. In many places in the Government, for the first time in history, there are Negroes in supervisory jobs and in management jobs.

One of the most important activities of the Department of Labor related to the theme of this meeting is in advising schools and colleges which Negroes attend on the educational requirements to increase their employability. As part of this effort, under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor, Mr. W. Willard Wirtz, we conducted conferences at four locations this winter and spring where the top officials of Negro colleges and the Federal Government met so that college officials could discuss their curriculum, counseling, and placement needs in order to increase the utilization of their students.

The same Federal leadership applies to Federal Government contractors. They are no longer allowed to say that they have no Negroes because no Negroes applied; they are no longer allowed to say that they have Negroes only in menial jobs because no trained Negroes are available. They are told that they can't expect Negroes, trained or untrained, to apply to an employer who has practices discrimination. It's the employers's job to find the Negro and

and to train him. Employers spend millions in recruiting on colleges campuses and in advertising for employees; and then training these young graduates. They spend millions to test and to train the people of foreign countries in which they operate. Equal opportunity means that they will use positive efforts to find Negroes, adapt their selection methods, as they have done overseas, in evaluating them, and then train them for their first jobs and for upgrading. This is the program of the Federal Government--the leadership for this program goes right to the top.

We have another special training program that can mean a lot to the Negro--training done under the Manpower Development and Training Act. More than 20 percent of all trainees in this program are Negroes.

This program is important because it places special emphasis on those people who are now qualified only for jobs that don't exist anymore. It upgrades them, helps to make them employable and at a higher level, and it gives them an allowance while they are being trained. We have, for example, recently completed work with the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation in Mississippi to provide training under this Act for people in low-level jobs to qualify them for skilled jobs.

It is now the firm policy of the U.S. Department of Labor to insure that the employment services of the States operate on a nondiscriminatory basis; that they will not accept orders from employers which prescribe race or color and that they will not refer applicants on this basis.

We have recently established procedures to insure that we do not certify apprenticeship programs that discrimination; more important, our field representatives have a mandate from the Secretary of Labor to promote equal opportunity on a positive basis.

# # # # #  (S64-1150)

Secretary Wirtz Says Nonwhite Child Does Not Lack Ability, Only Opportunity

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, speaking before the National Committee on Employment of Youth and calling for "emergency measures" in combatting youth unemployment, said of minority group youth:

"We are approaching the point where the key element in what we call racial discrimination is the denial of motivation to the nonwhite child. It isn't lack of ability. If there was inequality of opportunity before--and there was--this inequality is being rapidly reduced. What remains is primarily that form of discrimination, or disadvantage, which puts him at his desk in the first grade with no more motivation than what he brings from a home which was blighted by discrimination.

"Rather than a race problem it is more a poverty problem. There are about 11 million youngsters in this country today who are members of families whose annual family incomes are less than $3,000. We must some way break the cycle of their disillusionment, and get through to them the fact that they can push open doors in what they know only as walls.

"A distressingly large number of boys and girls are isolated, more dangerously than we realize, from the healthy society we know. Many of them have in a very real sense inherited their present condition--not through human genes, but through the social and economic genes of slums, broken homes, discrimination, and a poverty that snuffs out the essential spark of

(MORE)

motivation. A boy whose father has not been able to support his family thinks of welfare payments and unemployment compensation as a way of life. He actually knows nothing of what work really is, or nothing at least of the dignity and satisfaction of it.

"It is not only the absence of the roots of family life that causes these young reeds to be shaken in the winds. It is often also the absence of any other effective social organizations; no union, for they have no jobs, no church, for poverty inhibits the building of churches as it does living by our moral code. A boy finds that only gangs made up of others like himself will welcome him. He may face, ironically, the alternative of a disciplined life in crime or an aimless existence of marginal employment.

"We don't know how to speak to these youth. As our experience in life has not been theirs, so neither are our language nor our customs, nor our dress, nor our goals theirs.

"The person who is best able to stop the minority-group inheritance of poverty and ignorance is the teacher. She can take the boy or girl who comes into her classroom knowing no reason to try--because life at home offers no reason--and give that handicapped child the motivation which the American majority has as its birthright. But this won't happen in classrooms in which one teacher faces 40 children, and works through a course of study based on the fallacious assumption that they are all going on to college. Today's educational system is designed for winners, and it ignores losers--perhaps because we don't like to admit there are losers in our society.

"Think what would happen in this country if we declared war on ignorance--by elevating the standards of teachers to the levels the importance of their job demands, by paying them the salaries which the required skills

(MORE)

would warrant, by cutting the students-to-teachers ratio to the point good sense would require, by building the schoolrooms which are needed, and by giving every child in the country the educational opportunity--from first grade through college--which a few have today. Education would become our largest economic enterprise, as it ought to be. This would, in itself, create full employment. It would wipe out ignorance. It would virtually end the intolerance and bigotry of racial and religious discrimination. It would give young Americans the skills they need in an automated work force, and the broader knowledge a working majority of people must have if a government by the people is to make sense in a world where most of nature's forces are now being brought within human control."

* * * * *

Arthur Chapin Addresses the Greater New Orleans Urban League Conference

Excerpts from an address by Arthur A. Chapin, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor before a Motivation Workshop and Conference by the Greater New Orleans Urban League at Xavier University in New Orleans:

"Your chosen them: 'Education--The Negro's Tool for Economic Advancement During the Critical 60's,' is very timely, and of great importance to all of us.

"Let us send our children into the employment arena with a chance for survival.

"What a shame, what a wasted opportunity it is, when the employer finally says 'Yes, I won't discriminate, I'll look for Negroes for these jobs,' and none is available.

"For example, only one out of 100 engineers in the United States is a Negro--we have lost a golden opportunity.

(MORE)

"As we in the Department of Labor see the picture, education for today's youth cannot be overly stated, particularly for Negro boys and girls. For the man who has not completed grade school will earn $100,000 less in his lifetime than the high school graduate; the high school grade will earn $140,000 less than the college graduate. The youth who completes one of our retraining projects will earn as a result, $50,000 more in his lifetime.

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"The more education a Negro gets, the nearer his income approaches that of the white. The Negro elementary school graduate gets only 68 percent of the income of the white with the same education; this increases to 71 percent for the Negro high school graduate and to 85 percent for the Negro college graduate.

(MORE)

"Keep in mind that these fitures are based on the situation today. As automation increases, as jobs become even more complex, the relative income of the uneducated will become lower and their unemployment rate will become higher. There is no future for the unskilled, unschooled worker. Blue collar jobs are expected to increase by only 14 percent in the 60's, and these will be mainly skilled jobs requiring an education, but white collar jobs will increase by 30 percent.

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"One of the most important activities of the Department of Labor related to the theme of this meeting is in advising schools and colleges which Negroes

(MORE)

attend on the educational requirements to increase their employability. Under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor, we conducted conferences at four locations this winter and spring where the top officials of Negro colleges and the Federal Government met so that college officials could discuss their curriculum, counseling, and placement needs in order to increase the utilization of their students.

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"We have another special training program that can mean a lot to the Negro--training done under the Manpower Development and Training Act. More than 20 percent of all trainees in this program are Negroes. We have, for example, recently completed work with the Ingalls Shipbuilding Corporation in Mississippi to provide training under this Act for people in low-level jobs to qualify them for skilled jobs.

"It is now the firm policy of the U.S. Department of Labor to insure that the employment services of the States operate on a nondiscriminatory basis; that they will not accept orders from employers which prescribe race or color and that they will not refer applicants on this basis.

"We have recently established procedures to insure that we do not certify apprenticeship programs that discrimination; more important, our field representatives have a mandate from the Secretary of Labor to promote equal opportunity on a positive basis."

# # # # #

MAY 29 1964

# TEACHER INSTITUTES: AN OUTLINE

A proposed approach for

teachers of urban disadvantaged children

Frank Riessman

URBAN STUDIES CENTER
Rutgers - The State University
New Brunswick, N. J.

May, 1964

The proposed outline is intended for teachers of disadvantaged children in integrated, multi-classed schools and classrooms. While the approaches suggested may be especially suited for low-income children, they should also be extremely valuable for middle-class white youngsters in terms of broadening their styles of learning and general outlook.

# Teacher Institutes

Frank Riessman
Rutgers University
May, 1964

The aim would be to provide teacher and other school personnel with knowledge about low income cultures and styles, particularly the strengths in this culture (attitudes toward education, cooperativeness, extended family, physical style, etc.).

1. Through reading and discussion of relevant novels (e.g., Warren Miller, The Cool World), hiptionary, seeing films, other art forms.

2. Through reading relevant urban sociology (e.g., Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers).

3. Through an introduction to Negro history, using the magazine, Negro Heritage for example. The aim is to develop interest in and respect for low income culture; as distinct from appreciation of the difficulties of the low income environment. The theory is that this will lead to an honest "expect more and get more" from the children and their parents.

In addition, various technologies that seem suited to low income children will be discussed and where possible, illustrated. The reasons for special technologies being especially useful for this population will be elaborated in terms of these children's physical style, games - orientation, down-to-earth informality, etc. Among the technologies to be introduced are:

1. Organics -- S. A. Warner (also Senesch)
2. Montessori techniques.
3. Role playing
4. Use of "hip" language.
5. Games such as "In the manner of the Adverb."
6. Robbins' technique for developing auditory set.
7. Methods of diagnosing strengths of disadvantaged children.
8. Team learning and the "helper" principle.

Role Play techniques would be used to have teachers try out new approaches to classroom teaching and to develop their own individual styles and repertoire (to fashion the techniques to their own potential).

Various "successful" styles for teaching low income children would be presented (the "compulsive," the "maverick," the "coach," the "quiet one," the "secular intellectual," etc.). Teachers would have an opportunity to actually observe some of these styles, or see films of them in action, or have them role played. The aim is to suggest a range of possibilities from which the teachers could then develop their own repertoires.

Finally, the Institutes would include consideration of ways in which teachers can multiply their effectiveness by the extensive use of helping technicians -- nonprofessional teacher aides.

5/7/64
dmg

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, INC.,
*Washington, D.C., March 8, 1963.*

Subject: Statement regarding bill on S. 1, Youth Employment Act, submitted to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare by the Institute of Educational Research, Inc., and the Occupational Training Center.

Mr. EDWARD FRIEDMAN,
*Counsel, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. FRIEDMAN: Pursuant to our conversations of recent weeks, the undersigned are submitting herein a statement regarding bill S. 1, the Youth Employment Act.

The proposed Youth Employment Act has been analyzed and reviewed by the undersigned. We are in full agreement with its purposes and goals and consider that it could offer a powerful instrument for providing many young men with their only chance to become productive members of our society. The alternative to education and training will often be the greater cost of relief, institutionalization, and the transmission of squalor, crime, and dependency to the young.

In our judgment, the most important problem is to provide means to insure that these young men return to their home communities with greater employability than when they left. The development of modern job skills requires classification, specification of job training goals, efficient methods of training, and objective evaluation directed to continuous program improvement.

In addition, modern educational technology has advanced to the point where programed learning methods offer great advantages over conventional methods where large-scale training is required. The mass training demanded by the Youth Employment Act requires rapid and economical training and is ideally suited to these new methods. Appendix A ("Some Operational Recommendations") is an attempt to picture how these new methods could function to both simplify and accelerate this program.

Sincerely yours,

MYRON WOOLMAN, Ph. D.,
*Director, Institute of Educational Research, Inc.*
JEROME BERNSTEIN, M.A.,
*Director, Occupational Training Center.*

## APPENDIX A

### SOME OPERATIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR S. 1 YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT

The following points have been discussed at some length with various specialists in the field of education with special emphasis on the use of new methods in development of literacy and job skills. The following individuals represent a cross section of those with whom this general problem area has been discussed:

Dr. Edward Brice, Director, Adult Education, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; Mr. Raymond Larsen, Assistant to the Director, Automation and Manpower, Department of Labor; Dr. Harold Hildreth, Office of Program Development, National Institute of Mental Health; and Dr. Donald Stedman, Director of Research, Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation.

1. Training methods should be economical, flexible, and provide for different rates of growth of proficiency, skill development, and understanding. Present classroom methods of vocational training tend to be inefficient.

(*a*) They force all students to move at relatively similar rates of speed.

(*b*) They require extensive physical plants, large numbers of trained instructors and large masses of specialized equipment.

(*c*) Teaching effectiveness of instructors varies widely, with many instructors having minimal instructor capabilities.

(*d*) Training is expensive, time consuming, and often limited to highly specific job skills which limit learner opportunity.

(*e*) Training tends to be artificial and reflects school methods rather than those in actual use.

(*f*) Industrial school methods tend to reflect industrial practices based on obsolete equipment.

2. The hard-core problem is one which focuses on men and women who have failed to obtain the necessary minimum of skills required for economic survival in technological age.

(*a*) The program should be directed to those persons who have been economically disenfranchised by reason of (1) literacy level, (2) dropouts from public school, (3) shifts in industrial characteristics of the community and (4) undertraining.

(*b*) Fundamental problems of motivation exist and methods must be incorporated into the training in order to overcome inertia and defeatism.

(*c*) The training must be designed to accommodate flexibly to persons of vastly differing intelligence, interests, and backgrounds; it must also be synchronous with existing and projected industrial requirements.

3. Programmatic training methods can provide mass training at relatively low cost. This training can be made practical, job related, and reflect current methods and practices. Programmatic methods can increase training efficiency by:

(*a*) Permitting enrollees to progress at their own rate based on experience, capacity, and motivation.

(*b*) Using nonprofessional teachers to provide instruction. This reduces costs and reduces the ratio of students to instructors.

(*c*) Training reflects actual practices; enrollees can be trained in the work setting. This reduces school cost while increasing the realism of the training provided.

(*d*) Training can be provided for:

(1) training of illiterates and functional illiterates in the development of reading skills necessary for job performance.

(2) training of job skills involving the use of names, procedures, and techniques.

(3) training for learning of concepts necessary for job performance (basic electricity, computer programing, drafting, etc.)

4. Enrollees should initially be evaluated with reference to their backgrounds, interests, and general level of capability. These factors should then be considered with relation to the job needs existing in the community to which the enrollee expects to return. The enrollee should then be assigned to a job area which—

(1) is expected to increase his employability on discharge, and

(2) is consistent with his own interests and capabilities as possible.

The enrollee should enter the program to achieve a job skill consistent with his general capabilities and existing job requirements. His work as a trainee should be systematically evaluated to determine the degree to which he progresses to the point of full employability on discharge. A quality control program should be performed by a nongovernmental agency.

The evaluation of programs under the Youth Employment Act should be objective, systematic, and thorough. The training methods, levels of proficiency attained by graduates, proportion of graduates employed, areas of skill deficiency in graduates, etc., should be made available to responsible Youth Conservation Corps personnel and other officials responsible for elimination of defects in the interest of systematic program improvement. It is necessary that these evaluations be performed by an objective nongovernmental agency to avoid confusing evaluation with justification of policy, or rationalizing the necessity for an existing state of affairs to avoid embarrassing a superior, etc., etc. Objective evaluation of the program should provide the basis for continuous program improvement and reduced program cost per enrollee.

5. All training should be directed to the enrollee's ultimate employment in his home community. During the period of enrollment the enrollee should learn a number of job tasks within a job area, such as carpentering. The enrollee must ultimately straddle the inner face between the Youth Conservation Corps and his ultimate responsibilities as a citizen. All training within the corps should be directed toward simplify this step across the inner face between these two discrete phases of the enrollee's career. Thus the Youth Conservation Corps objectives are specifiable in the requirement for simplifying this transition.

THE CENTER FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING (PCVT)

The manor vehicle for carrying out the present plan is a facility designed to develop, test, and revise training programs. This facility, the Programmatic Center for Vocational Training (PCVT) would be responsible for:

1. Developing programs to produce reading skills.
2. Developing programs to produce academic certification (high school diploma).
3. Developing programs to produce job skills.
4. Developing methods of evaluating programs and enrollees.
5. Developing methods for overall program evaluation.

(*a*) *Level I, basic reading level.*—Illiterate persons can be taught to read by means of programs. The content should be related to adult interests and is focused on developing job-related reading skills. Enrollee change in reading skills will be evaluated frequently by methods intrinsic to the reading program. Various motivational devices would then be used to develop and maintain a reasonable rate of progress. Basic reading level materials will be written for adults. Enrollees will remain in the program until they attain approximately a fourth-grade reading level which it is estimated should require approximately 3 months for normally motivated learners. At this point, these enrollees become functionally literate and proceed to level II where reading skills function to increase their rate of progress toward developing job proficiency.

(*b*) *Level II, elementary vocational training.*—Reading: Low-skilled readers will be phased into vocational areas which require learning of (1) names of job-related objects, (2) job-rated actions and behaviors, and (3) critical supervisory worker relationships.

The reading materials in level II require the enrollee to master such materials as:

(1) The most important 100 terms (realistically and concretely defined) in the particular trade he is studying.

(2) Typical pieces of equipment, pictured and described along with functions and critical terminology.

(3) The steps involved in the process of manufacture (nontechnical presentation) of typical items produced in the trade.

(4) The typical supervisory structures which he would most likely find in the job situation along with titles, responsibilities, and critical aspects of various job descriptions.

(*c*) *Level III, operational context training.*—After the enrollee has mastered the basic terms and relationships involved in a job area such as fire protection, construction worker, carpenter, etc., steps should be taken to have him function in the more specific context. Enrollees would work in their job work situations for a minimum of 5 to 6 hours a day when they satisfied the level III criteria. For the remaining hours of each day they would (1) perform calisthenics and competitive sports, (2) work in other job areas, (3) discuss job-related problems such as how to get along on the job, and (4) contact home community for job opportunities, etc. In the work situation itself, trainees would be assigned to already skilled persons (two trainees to one skilled person). The skills they learn are specific to the needs of current industrial production methods. The object of the vocational training would be to assure enrollees at least a level II achievement (familiarization with names, objects, functions, and supervisory structures characteristic of a semiskilled vocational area). Men who attained level II or level III could be given certificates establishing the fact which could be used by USES to certify competency in the job area; they would also receive emphasis by USES for job placement. Where the evaluation indicated competency, efforts would be made to (1) obtain jobs in adjoining

job and geographic areas, or (2) extend the training to a related job skill to provide a dual jobholding capability, or (3) increase the depth of training in the area by additional programs with greater technical and informational scope. This would provide the enrollee with a specialized high-strength area within the job area as a whole.

(*d*) *Level IV, technical skill programs.*—Reading skills represent a necessary but not a sufficient ground for employment. Men who possess adequate reading skills may be unemployable for many reasons such as:

(1) Lack of specific area of specialized knowledge and/or skills.

(2) Possession of archaic and/or obsolete skills with lack of opportunity to learn new skills.

(3) Lack of motivation for seeking employment; feelings of apprehension and general uncertainty.

(4) Inability to cope with other workers and/or supervisors in the job environment.

Thus, there are large numbers of youth who possess the basic level of literacy necessary to absorb information rapidly who nevertheless remain unemployed because of factors related to training, personality, geography, and our rapidly changing technology. We can make rapid attack in these areas as the necessary reading skills would already be available; the enrollee can move into higher level technical training which takes advantage of his existing higher literacy level.

The basic area of emphasis in these programs should be related to the ever-increasing requirement for technologists. However, clearly, those who can learn technical materials can learn level II and level III materials and could be assigned to these training areas where appropriate. The effort, however, should be (within limits) to provide opportunities for learning consistent with learner capability. Several illustrative level IV type programs follow:

TECHNICAL ELECTRICITY

A series of programs would be developed to provide understanding and skills in areas requiring comprehension of practical electrical concepts necessary for skills in both title I and title II of this act. This training would be functional in both rural and urban areas, as modern industry on the farm, the field, and in the city is largely powered by electricity. These fundamental concepts are basic to modern technology at every level and should therefore be an important training area for the Youth Conservation Corps.

*Program A, basic electricity.*—This program would be modeled on program developed for industry. Certain features would differ: (*a*) it would be more concrete and provide more work-related illustrations; (*b*) certain areas would be eliminated as they are specific to the company rather than job relevant; (*c*) certain pedagogical changes would be made to reduce time and improve comprehension. However, the program would still provide (1) progress based on demonstrated proficiency, (2) continuous evaluation, (3) internal motivational devices, (4) continuing evaluation of performance, and (5) features to provide continuing revision and improvement.

*Program B, basic electronics.*—This program would be an extension of electronics (involving diodes, triodes) of program A and would be available only to students who satisfactorily completed program A.

*Program C, basic transistors.*—This program would involve recent changes in basic theroy connected with solid-state physics (transistors and dielectrics) which would make the trainee conversant with terminology, basic concepts, circuitry, and computations.

In programs A, B, and C, the learners would be required to work on actual materials as well as perform the abstract manipulations involved in the formulas and definitions. These materials should be economical, specially designed to illustrate the points covered in the course, should be sturdy enough to take continued abuse, should be reusable, and above all, should be typical of job-related skills in the field.

The use of programatic methods should permit very rapid training. It is estimated that literate motivated trainees could complete the three programs within a 6-month period. On completion, they should be familiar with current electrical concepts, basic computations, and useful methods for adjusting and correcting typical malfunctions.

Some areas would tend to emphasize program A only; some programs A and B; in some areas it might be necessary to provide all three levels to a large proportion of trainees. The employment situation in the home community must, of course, contribute to the training which would be given.

### COMPUTER INFORMATION AND SKILLS

*Program D.*—This program would provide basic information relating to the function of computers, including the rudiments of computer logic and an overview of computer programing methods and techniques.

*Program E.*—This program would provide computer information relative to computer board-diagrams, board-wiring techniques and associated technical language, definitions, etc. Programs A, B, and C could be presented also where appropriate and necessary for enriching computer training.

### KEYBOARD AND KEYBOARD-RELATED SKILLS

*Program F.*—This is a programatic method for teaching typing based on the use of a machine developed to teach typing skills programatically. This method should be rapid, economical, and self-pacing. Equipment is now being patented and should be available shortly.

*Program G, stenographic and shorthand programs.*—These materials are readily programed and could be taught with very few instructors through tape-recording techniques synchronized with written programs. Monitors could be used to insure proper operation of the equipment, standardization of testing procedures, classroom attendance, etc.

*Program H.*—This is training in areas such as IBM key punch, typing and coding, use in accounting machines, desk computers, etc.; can also be accomplished programatically. Cooperating of manufacturers in this area of the enterprise should be sought to reduce costs of equipment and to obtain resource personnel. However, the methods used for training should be developed rather than adapted from current techniques as training methods in these areas tend to be overly elaborate, very sketchy, or sales related.

### SUMMARY

The PCVT would of course provide an ever-expanding and ever-changing body of programs. Each of these programs would be continuously tested and revised. New programs would emerge and old programs dissipate in response to changes in the job requirements through continuous evaluation of the programs and the enrollees in their home communities. The programs would evolve in the direction of increased efficiency.

Programed method is economical, direct, and suited to large-scale mass training of the type required by this act.

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youth
- Employment

# YOUTH AND THE CHANGING SOCIETY

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Morgan, Kolko, et al.--has led to the awareness that at least one of every five Americans lives as an outsider, frequently "invisible" to mainstream Americans. It is shocking to learn that one of every 25 Americans in 1961 was on some form of welfare assistance (excluding social security and unemployment insurance payments); it may well be that one of every 15 Americans has had to rely on welfare aid at some point in his life. The problems of obtaining and keeping employment are difficult for many youth; they are especially acute for the children of the poor, many of whom also suffer from the doubled handicap of ethnic and racial discrimination.

The great changes taking place especially impinge upon youth as they enter the labor market. We cannot adequately understand the processes of youth development and the future of youth without understanding the economic, political and social systems which structure their experiences. It is the purpose of this article to provide some general background for the understanding of problems of youth born into low-income families.

## The Weight of Uncertainty

Youth face an uncertain future. The labor force is changing rapidly and probably will be changing even more rapidly. Several forces are affecting the composition of the labor force. Basic economic changes are driving many from the land into cities, which no longer have a use for their labor in contrast to the past. Within manufacturing, a major reshuffling seems to be occurring: once important industries are dying while new ones are reaching their apogee; many established communities are losing their economic base as out-moded plants and

declining firms are closed. Parelleling the changing nature of economic activity are the changing technological demands within both new and old industries, due to the introduction of various kinds of machinery and procedures. In many industries, the occupational mix is shifting so that the percentage of white-collar workers, especially the technical and professional salaried, is increasing. Many of these changes have been crudely subsumed under the term "automation", covering all types of technological changes as well as the more limited cases of the introduction of self-regulatory processes. Despite confident statements about the skill impact of automation, narrowly defined, a clear and consistent picture of increased demand for high-level skills has not emerged. It seems to be premature to make firm predictions about automation skill demands, particularly since automation installations vary enormously. What does seem to be definite is that many of today's jobs will soon not be in demand while many new jobs--at what skill level is still unclear--will appear.

In this situation, the young job-holder has to face the prospect over his working life-time of not only changing employers but, more importantly, changing skills. Apprenticeships, in the form of graded training for specific skills, will decline even further; indeed, it is not much of an exaggeration to contend that apprenticeships exist mainly in occupations which have been able to insulate themselves from technological innovations and thereby maintain old craft skills. Outside of apprenticeable occupations, the flow of occupational movement is not clear and predictable. Though it is customary to speak of "entry" jobs for young workers, it is unclear what they enter into except the general domain of paid work. While there is a pyramid of wage scales, systematic and graded progression

within it is limited.

Dahrendorf has contended that for much of British industry the unskilled category is a temporary occupation which people work at during relatively short periods of crisis (beginning job, after loss of long-term job, in old age). In the United States, it seems that for many, especially those in service occupations and for ethnic groups affected by strong discrimination, the unskilled category, an omnibus classification, is not a temporary refuge but a permanent level of operation. The demand for unskilled labor is drying up and intermittent or chronic unemployment may become even more important in this group. At the same time, those in skilled and semi-skilled occupations may also face more frequent or more prolonged unemployment as technological and economic changes redirect labor demand.

Little is being done to handle these problems of vast social change. The burdens of adjusting to change will rest most heavily on those least able to afford these additional pressures.

The need is for a "training in versatility", but the low-income group that needs it most is least likely to have this kind of training and the requisites for rapid adjustment to new training.[2] Those who are in a risk situation in regard to one job may not be the most rapid to move to another job which may have more long-run but not short-run stability.

Clearly, the demand for versatility is in conflict at many points with the demand for security. The latter, the over-riding demand of workers, requires seniority and long-term service in today's industrial structure. Job versatility and flexibility--which may yield more security over the long-run--may require giving up a present job for

a future possibility. Irving Bluestone, Special Assistant to Walter Reuther, has recognized these problems and has suggested that long-service workers may be benefited if they are laid off first rather than the traditional last if defense industries cut back. An early release would give them a better chance to get jobs in other industries. If they used their seniority to keep their jobs as long as possible in declining defense industries, then their chances of relocating might be reduced. Such a suggestion is unlikely to be institutionalized as traditional methods are maintained in changed circumstances.

It is not only that short-run and long-run security may be in conflict but that the unpredictability of events is pronounced. In these circumstances, the possibility of building walls of protection is limited. Those who recognize the precariousness of their situation become anxious.

Youth, faced with this uncharted and choppy sea of expectations, may figure that not having an emotional investment in work is the best protection.

## The Instability of Stability

The post-war period has been marked by what have been euphemistically called "recessions" in which sizable numbers of people have been unemployed, especially youth. The rate of unemployment among youth is more than twice that of adult workers and the rate is even higher among minority youths. The likelihood is that at least those who enter non-white collar occupations will suffer recurring periods of unemployment.[3] And not a few white-collar occupations will be faced with periods of unemployment as the overhead costs of office work increase.

The hope that the post-war period would see the elimination or at least sharp dampening of unemployment has proven illusory. True,

massive unemployment of the order of the 1930's has not occurred but the notions that governmental intervention through fiscal policy, monetary manipulation or public works would serve to prevent sizable unemployment have proven illusory. In recent years, the fear of deflation on the part of certain interest groups, especially in the banking field but not restricted to it, has dominated national economic policy regardless of which political party has controlled the White House or Congress. At best, and this is a sad best at the current writing, some attempt is made to stimulate economic activity and thereby reduce unemployment only after the fact of unemployment. Our efforts are not preventive but remedial in regard to the economy. The halcyon hopes of the '40's have been supplanted by the dismal acceptance of unemployment and economic stagnation in the '60's. In February, 1963 the Kennedy administration's private hope was that the unemployment rate might drop to 4% in 1965 from its then current rate of almost 6%! These policies may change but seem at present unlikely to be reshaped. In this context youth entering the labor market, especially at the lower levels where unemployment is heaviest, will face recurring crises of unemployment with their attending emotional strain for the individuals involved and their their families.

One of the few certainties for youth in the coming days is that if they are not able to get certain kinds of white-collar jobs, they face the likelihood of repeated crises of unemployment.

The Credential Society

There is increasing stress on credentials rather than performance in American society. Emphasis is on the possession of formal qualifications as certified by diplomas rather than on the evidence of the

ability to perform at a particular level. Those who can do a satisfactory job but who do not possess educational credentials are ruled out of consideration for certain jobs. At dramatic levels, an Admiral Rickover or an Einstein would have been barred from teaching in a public school because they did not have required courses in pedagogy or in their "specialty." At less spectacular but more important levels, those who cannot make it on the educational track are barred from a whole host of jobs by virtue of their lack of a satisfactory educational credential.

Education increasingly becomes the route for social advance and in doing so it forces youth to do satisfactorily in school in order to be eligible for a whole host of jobs. As Abramovitz has said:

> "...if one side of the coin of industrialization is the greater opportunity which is afforded to skill and education, the reverse is the barrier it sets up against the employment and advancement of young people who are deprived of formal training." The extension of training "...has aggravated the disabilities imposed on the sustantial fractions of our youth who may be deprived of a chance to gain all the formal training from which they are able to benefit."[4]

Many youth who do poorly in school are able to perform well in many jobs. Nonetheless they cannot obtain these jobs. Higher demands are being placed on students at the same time that educational achievement becomes more important. The effects are to retard advance for those who are not able to fit readily into the school mold.

The variety of routes to social and economic advance which once existed in American life have been narrowed down to mainly one, the educational route. Consequently, the character of social stratification in the United States will be sharply attuned to the pattern of educational stratification. If schools are unable to operate so that

those from low-income families stay in schools and benefit from educational processes, then the pool of long-term problems of American society will deepen.

Growing Income Differentiation

Income data by level of education show the advantage of increasing education, with the exception that those with "some college" but not a college diploma do not have an income advantage over high school graduates who have not gone on to college. (The high dropout rate from college as well as from high school is usually ignored in statements about what percentage of a high school graduating class have enetered college.) The "break" in the income statistics is between, in Vance Packard's phrase, the "diploma elite" of college graduates and all the others. The former are distinctly advantaged.

This advantage of the diploma elite is increasing. Consequently, we are facing the likelihood in the United States of increasing income differentiation. The long-term decline in wage differentials between skilled and unskilled blue collar workers has been reversed in the last decade and the spread is increasing. The narrowing of the gap between white and blue collar workers has also been reversed. The income advantage of high-level white collar workers over low-level white collar workers is also increasing. These occurrences may be temporary reversals of the 1900-44 equalization trend, but the likelihood is that they are harbingers of long-term developments which will accentuate income inequality in the United States.

While there has been a pronounced general shoring up of income levels in the United States, high-income and especially middle-income families are improving more rapidly than low-income families.

Relative deprivation may become, therefore, more accentuated.

The Wastage

American society is suffering an enormous underutilization of human resources. John Miner, in a neglected book (Intelligence in the United States) has estimated that 85% of all those in unskilled labor have the capacity to do high level work. William V. Lockwood, in a doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins University ("Realism in Vocational Choice") gauged Baltimore high school students' occupational expectations against their occupational potentials, as judged by three knowledgeable judges. The surprising conclusions were that only 5% of the students were unduly optimistic, while 37% were aiming below their potential. At least one-third of all youth do not complete high school; the vast majority of them are intellectually capable of graduating from high school. These data reveal the wastage in American society. Changing the job prospects and possibilities of many low-income youth requires action at both national and community levels.

Two Types of Welfare States

In Britain, Titmuss and his associates have written of "the casualties of the welfare state", those who are getting inadequate help from the government to meet their needs. In this country, the high, sustained level of unemployment has been disturbing in that it has revealed that economic conditions will not improve mainly through the operation of the private economy without intensive efforts on the part of the federal government, efforts which appear to be politically unlikely. The recent rediscovery of "the other America", has shocked many into a recognition that our "welfare state" is not operating very

effectively. While we have a substantial poor, they are no longer a majority as they were in industrial life a century ago. Nontheless, there is little hope that they are rapidly declining in numbers and that their plight is being adequately handled by the various governmental assistance schemes. Indeed, "the other America" --Harrington's counterpart to Disraeli's depiction in the last century of the "two nations", divided by class, that made up England--raises severe doubts about whether we have a "welfare state" except in slogan.

The concept of welfare state is an amorphous one. It has been used to refer to a wide variety of nations and conditions: its implications are varied. To some, it seems to mean that "poverty", as defined by a particular society, has been eliminated; to others, the stress is on the willingness of the government to assume responsibility to alleviate the economic distress by providing funds and/or social services. To the extent that we can speak of the United States having a welfare state, it is that we have a limited commitment to do something about the impact of the market economy. Our welfare state does not attempt to regulate in great detail the operations of the private economy, though certainly more than formerly. While the Employment Act of 1946 charges the government with the responsibility in insuring that high-level employment occurs, the absence of action is shown by the effort of a group of economists to plan a conference with the theme, Implementing the Full Employment Act of 1946. The welfare state apparatus is primarily to clean and clear up some of the social debris produced by the operation of the private economy, rather than to prevent such debris from being created. One indication of this perspective is that it probably is easier to get appropriations for welfare assistance and the

like to youth than it is to secure legislation which will provide jobs for youth. The fear of inflation has supplanted the fear of unemployment and has overwhelmed attempts to do something effective about faltering growth and high unemployment, especially among youth and minority persons.

Political Directions

The likelihood of a redirection of national economic policy depends, to a large extent, on whether low-income groups become politically effective in insisting on change. A large-scale politicalization of the low income in the United States is a real possibility. Racial and ethnic factors are important among the poor, interweaving class (economic) issues of poverty with ethnic and racial issues. The intermeshing of these concerns may lead to the political mobilization of the poor. Mexican-Americans are becoming politically active and winning office; Negroes, a rapidly growing segment of the urban poor, are likely to be exercising more effective political citizenship rights. If political movements of the poor grow and are more sharply related to class as well as to ethnic issues, then the economic environment in which youth have to operate may change drastically.

Youth Employment Programs

One of the difficult problems of the present is to gauge with some precision what problems of youth are amenable to changes in the stance and behavior of professionals and their helping organizations and to what extent and what kind of national economic action is necessary.

Obviously, job opportunities have to increase if youth are to be employed but their increase does not automatically insure that jobs will

be available for low skilled, minority youth. With the changing occupational mix of industry and the dimunition of jobs for the low-skilled, the prospect may be that even a general overall increase in production will not bring about more jobs for youth of little skill. The existence of openings for skilled workers at the same time that many are unemployed underlines the absence of a rational, organized labor market. If those presently employed at limited jobs below their skill potential (as is true of a great variety of individuals in mass production and other industries) were to move up and obtain the more skilled jobs, then the jobs they vacated might be available for the young unskilled. But this is unlikely to happen because of the balkanization of labor markets, the absence of organized, structured recruitment and promotion procedures, the breaking of accumulated seniority reducing security and a host of other factors.

It may consequently be necessary to develop work programs specifically beamed at providing employment for low-skilled youth and coupling these programs with training so that these youth have a chance to break out of the cycle of low income, low education, low-level, insecure jobs breeding low income with its consequences.

Variation Among Youth

The variability among low-income youth is enormous and it is important to avoid stereotyping all of them into "hard-core unemployables." Many school dropouts of low skill are able to obtain fairly good jobs without any help; others, even though they find jobs or are placed on jobs by agencies are unable to keep them. Our studies in Syracuse suggest that the difficulty of these "hard-to-employ" youth is not

that they have values of anti-authority and anti-restraint which bar them from working smoothly in many places; indeed, they recognize, for example, that authority and punctuality are important. Their difficulties seem to be much more dealing with issues at a concrete level; for example, they recognize that a boss may have to criticize but they may find it difficult in practice to accept such criticism, for it seems frequently to be a personal indictment or perhaps indication of weakness to accept it without a strong response. Various kinds of training, sheltered experiences, may be necessary in order to make some low-income youth more permanently employable.

Robert Schrank has pointed out that many of the problems of low-income youth are age problems, that if they could be "aged" to 25, many of their difficulties in employment would be eliminated: employers would be more willing to hire them, they would be more accepting of the routine and demands of working. Is there a functional equivalent of aging that can be developed? Can youth learn to accept work more easily? And be more easily accepted for work?

## The Limits of Professionalism

One implication of the foregoing analysis is that the traditional operations of the professions oriented to youth will not be adequate. If the behavior of the economy is such as to limit the opportunities of youth, then the effectiveness of the remedial services of the professions is severely restricted. Existing services have the danger of "cooling out the mark" if they continue to operate as though they are of substantial help when, in actuality, they may be able to accomplish little or are effective with only very limited numbers of their clientele. This stricture

applies to vocational guidance personnel, school officials and teachers, psychologists offering therapy, and the like.

The changed nature of the economic setting--one which provides limited rather than broad chances for many--requires that the outlook of the "helping professions" be widened. Occupations have gained professional status by an interwoven process of expansion and concentration--expansion to claim that certain tasks are theirs exclusively, concentration by focusing on certain activities as central to the professional role. We are at a point where an expansion is needed in professional focus. Today, in many professions it is necessary to recognize how the matrix of the larger society is affecting (and frequently limiting) the operation of the profession. If one is concerned, for example, with improving guidance for low-income youth, one must be concerned with the limited opportunities that many face. And the profession as a profession should be in the forefront of active (including political) concern about these issues, just as many are about licensure provisions affecting the status of the members of the profession.

What seems to have happened in many professions that are presumably beamed at a clientele with many difficulties is that the profession has less and less dealt with those in greatest difficulty. Rather, the concentration is upon those who are already in more advantaged circumstances or upon those disadvantaged who have extremely good chances of moving in to middle class styles. (Recently, there does seem to be a counter-movement aiming at working with those in most dire straits, e.g., the "hard-to-reach", "multi-problems", "hard-core cases." In some situations, however, this movement seems to reflect a new "glamour" group and activity for the professional and ignores the wide range of youth and of the poor who are

not in the worse circumstances but needful of help.)

In general, the emphasis on the techniques and methods of the profession has led away from working with the disadvantaged. This is not because of repugnance with the disadvantaged (though for some professionals that may be a problem) but that in the nature of the changes in American economy and society, the effectiveness of these professional approaches and techniques is frequently limited or useless for the disadvantaged. It is a tragedy that the improvement in the quality of professional work has not directed the professions towards those who most need help.

For the professions to be more effective with the disadvantaged, important changes must take place in American life. And the professions as professional pressure groups should have a significant role in trying to promote action which would enhance the possibilities and opportunities of the disadvantaged.

Professionalism is having a negative role in another regard. The so-called "helping professions" are in great demand at the same time. Shortages of personnel are acute and growing. What is the response of many professions to this demand for more trained personnel? To upgrade standards of entrance into training and requirements for completion of training. The result is frequently to increase even further the shortage of skilled personnel. One cannot argue as such against having highly qualified people in professions. If the more highly trained people functioned so as to make it possible for more people to operate at some level in providing the services which concern the profession, then the improved training could meet the social need of increased personnel. Such a step would involve a finer graduation of activities so that the

professional task is broken down in to a series of tasks which less trained people could perform under the supervision of the more highly trained. But this is frequently not the case.

Another effect of the increased training is that it leads many professionals to want to respond to the prestige status of tasks as defined by the profession rather than to the social needs as defined by society. For example, as psychotherapy becomes treasured by social workers, less social workers become available for other kinds of tasks which do not involve this activity. Since there is a shortage of psychotherapists, the likelihood of moving out of other activities grows. The possibilities decline of recruiting staff mainly concerned with the needs of wide numbers of people.

Further, if only highly trained people are available, they are unwilling to perform the variety of tasks which may be important for youth. For example, a special experimental employment program had social workers who were in close contact with potential dropout students. One social worker reported that a girl was flunking out of school because of her deficient performance in shorthand classes. The supervisor inquired if the social worker knew shorthand. She did, but sharply and immediately refused the suggestion that she help the girl in shorthand. It would be "unprofessional" to provide this kind of direct aid. It may well be that such aid would have been undesirable, but the important thing is that there was not even consideration of the possibilities of direct aid in this particular case.

Frequently, highly trained professionals may not be willing to act as intercessors, as "fixers" to help youth over the bureaucratic hurdles,

when they have the training and capacity to do more subtle and sensitive operations.

Professions are in tension between their internal needs and development and the needs and demands of the community. Acceeding automatically to the demands of communities can be extremely detrimental to the effective development and behavior of a profession. Responding mainly or exclusively to the exigencies of the professions internal development and codes may lead to its becoming irrelevant and self-seeking. At various points one side or the other of the tension has been accentuated. In the post-war years the emphasis has been by and large on the internal professional development with limited concern for changing social needs. Less and less attention was paid in our "semi-affluent society" to those below the poverty line. Recently there has been criticism within many professions of the lack of attention to broader community problems, especially the inappropriateness or non-usufulness of many professional tactics and strategy for the "other America" of the poor. This tendency needs strengthening; particularly in terms of changing professional strategy and tactics so that the professions become more directly aimed at the target population of the poor.

## Conclusion

Melvin Herman has told me of a revealing incident: The work programs of Mobilization for Youth obtained work uniforms for neighborhood youth employed in various work projects. The uniforms were too large for the 16 and 17 year olds since it is impossible today to obtain work uniforms in the small sizes which fit youth.

Our society does not have a clearcut role for those who have been pushed or have pulled themselves out of school--they are frequently "too old for school, too young for work." If strong attempts are not made to find or make work for youth (including more effective training), then many will be direct charges to the state. Perhaps, alternative roles and routes may be developed but they are unlikely to occur without conscious effort. We are not failing in diagnoses and jeremiads but in concerted action.

Footnotes

[1]On-going research at the Syracuse University Youth Development Center on school dropouts and their prospects (supported by the Social Security Administration and the New York State Division for Youth) and on the problems of poverty underlines many of the conclusions reported here. The work of my colleagues, Betty Saleem and Ira Harrison, has been particularly stimulating. Some of the ideas presented here have developed in my role as a consultant to Mobilization for Youth where I have had intensive discussions with the heads of its World of Work programs--Melvin Herman, Robert Schrank, and Martin Moed. I am, of course, alone responsible for the formulations of the present paper.

[2]The age at which adjustments have to be made may be important, though the notion of the decline with age of versatility or flexibility undoubtedly has been overstressed.

[3]Harold Wilensky has analyzed work lives and has argued that professionals have less time for leisure than blue collar workers. Among other reasons, he argues that workers are frequently unemployed (i.e., not working) during their work careers while professionals are continuously employed. Nels Anderson (Work and Leisure) has suggested that not working because one is unemployed is not the same thing as having leisure time above and beyond the work time.

[4]Moses Abromovitz, "Growing Up in an Affluent Society," in Eli Ginzberg, ed., The Nation's Children, Vol. 1: "The Family and Social Change," New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, pp. 167, 164.

SEPTEMBER 1964

# HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

Vol. 6 Employment No. 5

PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

## 8 Skilled Trades Admit First Negroes

Negroes have been admitted into eight skilled trades in the Chicago area that previously had no Negro members.

These breakthroughs have taken place since the first of 1963, according to Jim Burns, coordinator of the investigations and law enforcement division of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

Burns, who directs the Commission's intensive program in the building trades, said recent developments indicate the admittance of Negroes to trade unions seems to be on the upswing.

Since the first of 1963, Negroes have become the following:

- An apprentice tilesetter, a member of Tile Layers and Helpers—Mosaic and Acoustical, Local 25.
- An apprentice architectural ironworker, in the Architectural and Ornamental Iron Workers Union, Local 63.
- Two apprentice sprinkler fitters, in the Sprinkler Fitters and Apprentices Union, Local 281.
- Two apprentice pipe coverers in the Heat, Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers Union, Local 17.
- Two sheet metal workers, who are currently employed and who are scheduled to take trade entrance examinations on October 15.
- Four elevator constructor helpers, in Elevator Constructors Local 2, who have been hired by Westinghouse and Otis Elevator.
- Operating engineer, a member of International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 150, who has been promoted by the City of Chicago.
- An oiler, in training to be an operating engineer, a member of International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 150, also hired by the City.
- A machine shop apprentice, in training at Washburne Trade School.

Negroes are on the waiting lists for indentureship in the following unions for the first time: Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, Local 1; Pipefitters Association, Local 597, and Composition Roofers, Local 11.

## Commission Seeks Nominees For Human Relations Awards

It's time once again to nominate candidates for the Chicago Commission on Human Relations annual awards in human relations.

Awards are given annually by the Commission to individuals and organizations that have made outstanding contributions to the improvement of human relations in Chicago.

A special award, a memorial to the late Thomas and Eleanor Wright, is given to a professional human relations worker. Mr. Wright was at one time executive director of the Commission and his wife was director of public information.

"We need your help in locating those who deserve to be so honored," Lee Schooler, chairman of the awards committee, said. "Your nominations are the basis for selections. We invite you to send us your choices for the awards on nomination forms available from the Commission."

Entry forms can be obtained from the Commission, Room 1310, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606, telephone 236-4912. Nominations must be in the Commission office by Monday, October 5.

The awards will be presented at the Commission's Nineteenth Annual Awards Luncheon which will be held at noon Wednesday, December 2, in the Grand Ballroom of the Sherman House.

Those eligible for an award are any business or industrial enterprise, any civic or community organization, religious institution, organ of communication, government department, trade union, or any individual who has made an outstanding contribution to good human relations in Chicago. Human relations agencies and organizations are not eligible.

Schooler, who is president of the Public Relations Board, Inc., heads the committee of 13 who will select the winners.

Members of the committee are: Charles A. Davis, of Charles A. Davis and Associates; the Rev. William E. Hogan, of St. Martin Church; Howard G. Mayer, of Mayer and O'Brien, Inc.; Sister Mary Ann Ida, of Mundelein College; Attorney Lewis Manilow; Irwin Klass, of

*(Continued on Page 4)*

*The Mayor's Committee on New Residents' eight-panel, revolving exhibit on the volunteer tutoring program in Chicago is currently in the main corridor of City Hall where it will remain until September 28. In photo at left, Robert C. McNamara, Jr., left, chairman of the Mayor's Committee, discusses one of the photographs on the exhibit with Miss Adrienne Griffin and Miss Helen Beck, volunteer tutors at Hyde Park Neighborhood Club Center. Miss Griffin is a personnel counselor at Star Employment Service. Miss Beck is a teacher at Burke Elementary School. In photo at right, Miss Carol Scalamera, a junior at the Art Institute of Chicago, and Leonard Greetis, an actuarial technician for Continental Assurance Company, view the display. Both are volunteer tutors at centers directed by Chicago Area Lay Movement; Miss Scalamera at Our Lady of Sorrows parish and Mr. Greetis at St. Agatha parish. After September 28, the exhibit will be in the Museum of Science and Industry.*

# CIC to Honor M. L. King

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will receive the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago's 1964 John F. Kennedy Award.

Dr. King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will be given the award at the CIC's annual benefit dinner to be held October 29 at the Pick-Congress Hotel.

Edward M. Kralovec, Jr., president of the Catholic Interracial Council, said Dr. King will receive the award as a tribute to his distinguished leadership on behalf of the dignity of all men.

## Lawyers Volunteer to Serve As Defense Counsel in Rights Cases

American Jewish Congress, Council of Greater Chicago, has announced that a group of lawyers have volunteered to serve as defense counsel in litigation arising from civil rights activity in this area and in the South.

Paul H. Vishny, president, said 21 lawyers have indicated a desire to make themselves available to serve as trial lawyers, or in a research capacity, to indigent defendants in such litigation.

Maurice Klinger, executive director of the Congress, asks that persons and organizations that know of such cases advise the Congress office, 22 W. Monroe Street, telephone 332-7355.

# *Annual High School Press Conference Set for Oct. 12*

The fourth annual Chicago Commission on Human Relations press conference for high school students will be held from 10 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. October 12 in the Prudential Building auditorium at Prudential Plaza.

Student editors and student council presidents from city and county public, private, and parochial schools have been invited to attend the event.

Hale Nelson, a member of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations and a vice president of Illinois Bell Telephone Company, will serve as conference chairman.

Ely M. Aaron, Commission chairman, other Commission officials and staff members, will report on the status of human relations in Chicago today. Students will have an opportunity to question the officials.

The conference will subdivide into smaller workshops on such areas of Commission work as housing, education, civil rights, health, aid to newcomers, and employment. In each of these workshops, students will have an opportunity for intensive questioning of Commission staff.

A buffet luncheon will be served the pupils.

A contest for the best news story or editorial on human relations will be held following the conference. Last year, four high school seniors won the contest and were honored at a regional dinner meeting of Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism society.

# Record More 'Firsts' In Jobs for Non-Whites

Chicago Commission on Human Relations records show that since the first of 1964, numerous business firms throughout the city have hired Negro men and women for positions—mostly white-collar—never before filled by them.

The Commission has assisted in many of these placements, along with other government and private agencies.

The firms and the positions include:

Sinclair Refining Company, 155 N. Wacker Drive, hired a Negro secretary in May and now employs 12 Negro white collar workers.

Acme Steel Company, 135th Street and Perry Avenue, hired two Negro secretaries—one in industrial relations and another in the safety department.

United States Steel Corporation and its division American Bridge, 208 S. La Salle Street, has hired 19 Negroes for white collar jobs.

Chicago Teachers Pension Fund, 228 N. LaSalle Street, hired a Negro woman as a counsellor on retirement plans.

Stop & Shop, 16 W. Washington Street, hired a Negro management trainee.

Material Service Division of General Dynamics Corporation, 300 W. Washington Street, hired a Negro as a dispatcher.

Beverly Bank, 1357 W. 103rd Street, hired a Negro teller trainee.

Sherman House, Clark and Randolph Streets, hired a Negro desk clerk.

Lambrecht Food Company, 2334 N. Kilbourne Avenue, hired a Negro receptionist.

Seymour Richards Construction Company, 7127 N. Clark Street, hired two carpenter apprentices.

Borg-Warner Corporation, 200 S. Michigan Avenue, hired a Negro secretary in the sales department, and later hired five more Negroes in various departments of the office.

Inland Steel Company, 30 W. Monroe Street, hired two Negroes as engineer trainees working on their fleet of Great Lakes ore boats.

Quaker Oats Coporation, with offices in the Merchandise Mart, hired a Negro secretary in its public relations department.

Fred S. James and Company, insurance, 1 N. LaSalle Street, hired a Negro clerk-typist.

Skil Corporation, 5033 N. Elston Avenue, hired a Negro secretary in industrial relations.

James Lyon Company, 310 S. Peoria Street, hired a Negro plasterer, truck driver and carpenter apprentice.

American National Bank, 33 N. LaSalle Street, hired 12 Negroes this year in various white collar capacities.

Pullman Bank and Trust Company, 400 E. 111th Street, hired two Negro tellers, a secretary and an office clerk.

# 20 Cities Adopt Fair Housing Laws in Past 17 Months

Twenty-four cities and fourteen states throughout the nation now have fair housing practices laws, a continuing survey by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations reveals.

Twenty of these cities, including Chicago, and two states, adopted fair housing legislation since April 1, 1963.

The cities are: Akron, Ohio; Albuquerque, N. M.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Beloit, Wis.; Chicago; Des Moines, Ia.; Duluth, Minn.; East St. Louis, Ill.; Erie, Penna.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Madison, Wis.; New Haven, Conn.; New London, Conn.; Peoria, Ill.; Philadelphia, Penna.; St. Louis, Mo.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Washington, D. C., and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The four cities that earlier passed fair housing practices ordinances are: New York City; Pittsburgh, Penna.; Toledo and Oberlin, Ohio.

Fair housing practices legislation takes consideration of race or religion out of the housing market.

The two states in which fair housing legislation was passed in the last seventeen months are California, whose law became effective September 20, 1963, and Michigan, by virtue of a new state constitution which went into effect at the first of 1964.

King County, Washington, adopted a fair housing practices law which went into effect March 3, 1964.

The City Council of Freeport, Ill., adopted on November 5, 1963, a resolution urging fair housing practices.

Three cities adopted laws which are limited to outlawing "panic peddling." They are: Kansas City, Mo., effective January 20, 1964; Buffalo, N. Y., enacted January 7, 1964, and Wichita, Kan., effective June 5, 1964. Four other cities adopted "panic peddling" laws earlier.

"Panic peddling" is the term used to describe the process of exploitation of racial prejudices by real estate brokers in an effort to obtain property listings from white homeowners in a racially changing neighborhood.

Copies of the original fair housing survey, "A Report to the Mayor and the City Council of Chicago on the Present Status and Effectiveness of Existing Fair Housing Practices Legislation in the United States as of April 1, 1963," and the latest memorandum, are available from the Commission, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606.

# Annual Report

Copies of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations *Annual Report for 1963* are available at the Commission, 211 West Wacker Drive, Room 1310, Chicago, Illinois 60606, telephone 236-4912.

OCT 9 1964

# List CCHR Publications Available to Public

The following is a list of publications produced by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations which are available without charge to the public upon request.

General

*Your Civil Rights*, 1964 edition
*Annual Report/1963*
*The Growing Negro Middle Class in Chicago*, 1962

Housing

*A Report on the Present Status and Effectiveness of Existing Fair Housing Practices Legislation in the U. S., as of April 1, 1963*
*Increasing Housing Opportunities for Nonwhites—Near Northside*, a survey
*Fair Housing Legislation Passed and Defeated Since April 1, 1963*
*Policies and Practices of Newspapers in Real Estate Advertising*, December, 1963
*Report on Complaints Received Under the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance for the Period Ending June 30, 1964*
*Rules Governing Practice and Procedure before the Chicago Commission on Human Relations Relating to the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance*
*A Guide to Chicago's Fair Housing Ordinance*, prepared by the League of Women Voters of Chicago
*Know Your Rights in the Sale, Buying and Renting of Property* (in Spanish)

Employment

*Annual Contractor Employment Practices Report*, a survey to determine compliance with the non-discriminatory clause in government contracts.
*Trade Union Survey: Racial, Religious and Nationality Membership in 44 Trades*, a survey of trades covered by prevailing wage ordinances

Health

*Negro Births in Chicago Hospitals Providing Maternity Services*, a statistical report for the years 1953, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1963
*Negro Physicians and Medical Students Affiliated With Chicago Hospitals and Medical Schools*, a survey of 67 hospitals
*Births By Race in Chicago—1950-1963*

New Residents

*Adult-Educational Services Inventory*, resources of four community areas: Grand Boulevard, Near North, Lincoln Park and North Lawndale
*The Volunteer Tutoring Program: Who and Where*, a report of tutoring services throughout the Chicago area
*The Volunteer Tutoring Program August 1964 Supplement*
*You and Chicago*, English and Spanish editions

## Fair Housing Handbook

A "Fair Housing Handbook" has just been published by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

"A practical manual for those who are working to create and maintain inclusive communities," the handbook contains guidelines and program activities for those who wish to organize a local fair housing committee, and for new groups which may feel a need for guidance.

The book states that the number of voluntary citizens groups working for fair housing practices grew from 18 in 1959 to approximately 400 in 1964.

Copies are available from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Single copies cost 50 cents each; in quantities of 100 or more, 35 cents each.

## Study Metropolitan Chicago

A course designed for persons who have a civic or professional interest in the Chicago metropolitan area will be given at the University of Chicago downtown center, 64 E. Lake Street, from 7 to 9 p.m. beginning Monday, October 5.

Entitled "Metropolitan Chicago," it will seek to place the current problems of the city and the region into the perspective of long-range development, past as well as future.

Professor Harold M. Mayer of the department of geography, formerly research director for the Chicago Plan Commission, is in charge.

## Annual Awards

*(Continued from Page 1)*

Federation News; Claude J. Peck, Jr., of Joseph T. Ryerson & Sons, Inc.; Clyde Reynolds, of Provident Hospital; Rabbi Irving J. Rosenbaum; Mrs. William Saphir, of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers; Rabbi Ralph Simon, and Mrs. David Wallerstein.

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HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
211 West Wacker Drive • Chicago, Illinois 60606
Telephone: 236-4912

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Ralph D. Robinson, Secretary
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Augustine J. Bowe
Dr. Preston Bradley
William G. Caples
Lester Crown
Jerome J. Friedman
Mrs. Wendell E. Green
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# Your Civil Rights

# your civil rights

laws and regulations for protecting persons from discriminatory actions based upon race, color, creed or national origin

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## Chicago Commission on Human Relations

211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606

Phone: 236-4912

24 Hour Service

**Ely M. Aaron**
Chairman

**Ralph D. Robinson**
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**Dr. Marshal L. Scott**

Director of Human Relations
**Edward A. Marciniak**

**First Printing 1948;**
**Revised 1951, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, and 1964**

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

CITY OF CHICAGO

RICHARD J. DALEY
MAYOR

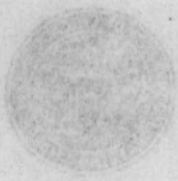
To The People of Chicago:

Our city has risen to greatness through the vigor and the spirit of millions of people from all parts of the globe. Their ambitions, their hopes and their ideals brought these people to Chicago where a climate of democratic freedom has permitted them to grow, along with the city.

We are determined that the rights and privileges and opportunities of all the citizens of Chicago shall be protected equally. The Chicago Commission on Human Relations is an official arm of the city government created to see that no individual or group is the victim of unfair treatment for reason of race, religion or place of birth. The city administration stands firmly behind this purpose and program.

Sincerely,

RICHARD J. DALEY
Mayor



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# COMPLAINTS

**Take your complaint to the**
**CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS**

However, before making a complaint, there are several basic steps which should be taken when you believe you have been discriminated against because of your race, religion or nationality.

1. **Get the names and exact addresses** of those you believe to be guilty of discrimination. For example, the names of business organizations or companies, real estate brokers, public or private institutions or agencies. Get the name of the person who refused to employ you or refused service to you in a restaurant, tavern, theater, hotel, etc. If you have been refused emergency treatment in a hospital get the name of the doctors, nurses or clerks involved. If a real estate broker has refused service to you, get his name. If you have been refused admission to a private school, get the name of the principal, dean, or clerk refusing you.

2. **Gather evidence**—any evidence that seems important to you. Describe what happened in detail. Write down the job for which you applied and your qualifications for it. If the complaint involves a public place, record whether there were empty seats, tables or hotel rooms. Indicate if there was an attempt to charge you more than the regular charge. In all cases include any statements made by those you believe guilty of discriminating against you.

3. **Keep, and have ready for use, all written evidence** including letters, printed material, and statements by those involved. If you have written in advance for reservations or for admission to a hospital or school and received a reply, keep it as part of the evidence.

4. **You can call and ask for help from the Police Department** in a public accommodation

complaint—they can help you.

5. **Remember—report your complaint to the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.** You can call any time of the day or night—the Commission has 24-hour telephone service. A complaint under the Chicago Fair Housing ordinance must state the name and address of the person making the complaint and of the persons you believe to be guilty of discrimination. Give the facts concerning the alleged violation of the ordinance. It must be written and signed. There is a variety of city, state and federal ordinances, laws and executive orders which deal with civil rights matters. If you think your rights have been violated you may not know which law or which government agency is involved. The staff of the Chicago Commission will refer you to the proper person or agency.

# RESPONSIBILITIES OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The Chicago Commission on Human Relations has jurisdiction within the city. The Illinois Commission on Human Relations operates throughout the state. The Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission has jurisdiction in cases of employment discrimination anywhere in the state.

In general, it is the duty of the attorney general or the state's attorney in the county where the offense occurred to prosecute an offender as the law provides.

Some of the laws and administrative rulings in this book, however, specify other agencies or officers to carry out enforcement procedure. So you will make no mistake in informing the right public office, call the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

# PUBLIC PLACES

(privately owned)

## do you know that

Under the Illinois civil rights law all persons without regard to race, color, creed, or national ancestry are entitled to full and equal enjoyment of all public transportation operating under public license; all places of public accommodation such as restaurants, hotels, taverns, cafes; all stores where merchandise is sold; all service establishments such as barber shops, and rest rooms; all public places of recreation such as theaters, skating and bicycle rinks, golf driving ranges, public golf courses, and swimming pools.

Persons violating this law by denying to others full and equal enjoyment of these places may be arrested for each offense; and, upon conviction, may be fined any amount up to one thousand dollars ($1,000) or imprisoned for a period not greater than six months, or both.

The law requires the state's attorney or the attorney general to take steps to halt the discrimination or to prosecute the offender in the name of the state.

Also a civil suit may be started. If the offender is found guilty, the court must order the payment of from one hundred ($100) to one thousand dollars ($1,000) to the person against whom the discrimination was directed.

Licenses to sell alcoholic beverages may be revoked if a tavern keeper or other license holder permits race or color discrimination.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 17**

# PUBLIC PLACES

(publicly owned)

## do you know that

All facilities under the care of the city, park district, county, or state are open to full and equal use by all persons without regard to race, color, or religion. This includes services offered to the general public in city halls, county buildings, and state buildings. It also includes all services and facilities offered in public educational institutions and services rendered by city fire departments, street cleaning units, garbage disposal units, and the like.

It is unlawful for any public employee to compel people, because of their race, color or religion, to confine their recreational activities to any specific public park, forest preserve district, beach, or playground, or to specific portions of such public areas.

If any employee of the state, county, or city is found guilty of practicing discrimination, the head of the department, or agency, must discharge the offender. If he fails to discharge the offender, the person discriminated against can file a complaint for enforcement in the circuit court of the county in which the offender is employed. If the offender is an appointed head of a department, the law requires that he be discharged by the officer who appointed him.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 17**

# EMPLOYMENT

## do you know that

Discrimination because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry is forbidden in employment by the City of Chicago, the State of Illinois, and the United States government, and in companies holding contracts with them; and, in Illinois, by a large number of private employers, employment agencies and labor unions.

### UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established in 1961, recommends steps which should be taken by executive departments and agencies to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the government.

In addition, it provides that all contracts with business organizations made by the federal government shall include an agreement by the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

• **For Executive Order See Page 21**

### STATE OF ILLINOIS

Strong and broad protection is given workers by the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Act. The measure prohibits discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry. The law applies to employers, State of Illinois government bodies, employment agencies, and labor unions.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 25**

No person may be refused employment or be discriminated against because of race or color, in the course of any employment, work, or

service performed for the state or a political subdivision of the state.
This law forbids discrimination by public officers, and by private contractors and subcontractors who perform work for the state. The provisions of the statute automatically become a part of any contract or agreement to perform public work. For each calendar day of discrimination and for each person discriminated against, the state or the political subdivision concerned must subtract five dollars ($5) from the amount due the contractor. Under this law, any person discriminated against may file civil suit for damages against the persons who take part in the discrimination. For each act of discrimination, damages may be from one hundred ($100) to five hundred dollars ($500).
In criminal proceedings, the offender may be fined from one hundred ($100) to five hundred dollars ($500) or imprisoned from 30 to 90 days, or both fined and imprisoned.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 29**

**STATE CIVIL SERVICE.**

No questions in any State Civil Service examination may relate to religious opinions or affiliations.
A penalty of from fifty dollars ($50) to one thousand dollars ($1,000) or imprisonment up to six months or both may be imposed upon any person who willfully or through culpable negligence violates this provision of the Civil Service Act.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 30**

**TEACHERS.**

It is illegal in Illinois for a school board member or employee to inquire into the race, religion or religious affiliation of a teacher or teacher applicant.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 31**

**HOUSING CORPORATIONS.**

No housing corporation organized under the State Housing Act nor any contractor employed by it may deny employment to any person because of race, creed, or color.
Discrimination under this law requires the State Housing Board to file a complaint in the Circuit Court to stop or prevent it.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 31**

## CITY OF CHICAGO

By ordinance, it is unlawful in the City of Chicago for any city department, official, or employee to refuse employment to any person because of his race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry, or to discriminate in any way as to terms or conditions of employment. Nor may any person, for such reason, be denied

promotion or salary increases, or otherwise penalized. Violators may be fined up to two hundred dollars ($200).
Under a clause in his contract with the City every contractor and subcontractor is forbidden to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, creed or national origin.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 32**

**TAXI DRIVERS.**

There shall be no discrimination against taxi drivers because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry with respect to hire, promotion, tenure, terms, conditions and places of employment.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 33**

# HOSPITALS

## do you know that

Chicago hospitals are prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin in the admission of persons, employment of physicians, and appointment of medical staffs. Any hospital, or hospital official, violating the anti-discrimination amendment of the hospital ordinance, or which fails to post the penalties for violation of them in the proper places, is subject to a fine of from one hundred ($100) to two hundred dollars ($200).

• **For Legal Reference See Page 33**

A state law requires hospitals to give emergency medical treatment or first aid to any person who has been injured in an accident or who suffers from an acute medical condition which could result in death, severe injury, or serious illness.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 34**

# SCHOOLS

## do you know that

Persons excluding, or helping to exclude, because of color, any child entitled to the benefits of the public schools are subject to being fined from five dollars ($5) to one hundred dollars ($100). Also, anyone who, by threats or intimidation, prevents any child because of his color from attending any public school which he is entitled to attend, is subject to a fine up to twenty-five dollars ($25). It is unlawful for any public Board of Education to exclude any pupil from any school, or to segregate any pupil, because of his color, race or nationality. The Illinois Department of Registration and Education has the responsibility of determining which schools preparing students for certain trades, professions or occupations are to be considered as reputable and in good standing. No such school or college is to be considered reputable and in good standing if it refuses to admit applicants solely because of color.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 35**

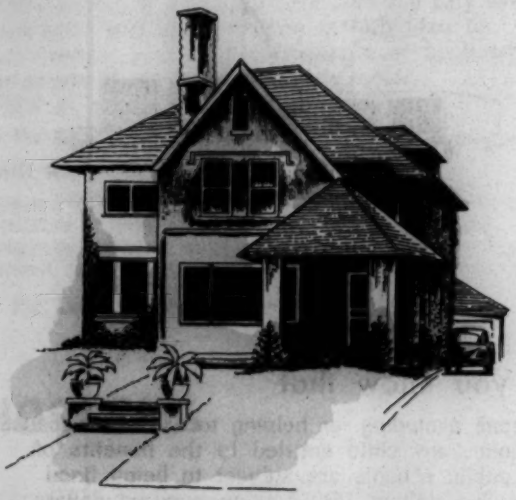
School boards are required from time to time to change attendance units or create new units in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 35**

The Illinois Private Business School Board may refuse to issue a certificate of approval or permit or may revoke a permit of any school which refuses to admit applicants solely on account of race, color or creed.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 36**

# HOUSING



## do you know that

Discrimination on the grounds of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry is forbidden in all federally owned and some federally assisted housing, and is forbidden in the sale and rental by real estate brokers of residential real estate in the city of Chicago.

Executive orders by the President of the United States forbid discrimination in all public housing and in properties repossessed by the Veterans Administration or by the Federal Housing Administration.

• **For Executive Order See Page 41**

The Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance forbids "panic peddling" and bars discrimination by real estate brokers in the sale or rental of residential real estate for reasons of race, creed, color or national origin. The ordinance declares it to be the policy of the city of Chicago to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the city to obtain fair and adequate housing without discrimination.

• **For Legal Reference See Page 37**

# LEGAL REFERENCES

## public places and services both publicly and privately owned

### VIOLATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

**Chapter 38—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**
**13-1. Definitions.)**

(a) **Public Place of Accommodation or Amusement.** A public place of accommodation or amusement includes: inns, restaurants, eating houses, hotels, soda fountains, soft drink parlors, taverns, roadhouses, barber shops, department stores, clothing stores, hat stores, shoe stores, bathrooms, restrooms, theaters, skating rinks, public golf courses, public golf driving ranges, concerts, cafes, bicycle rinks, elevators, ice cream parlors or rooms, railroads, omnibusses, busses, stages, airplanes, street cars, boats, funeral hearses, crematories, cemeteries, and public conveyances on land, water, or air, public swimming pools, and other places of public accommodation and amusement.

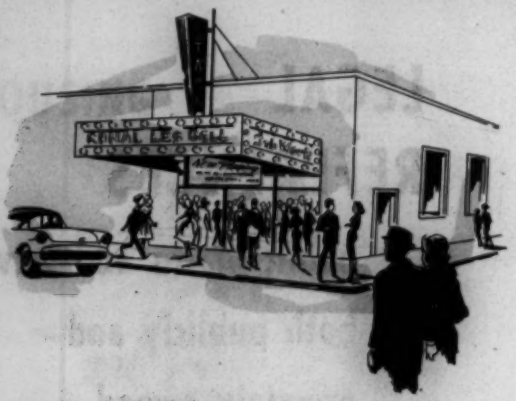
(b) **Operator of a Public Place of Accommodation or Amusement.** An operator of a public place of accommodation or amusement is any owner, lessee, proprietor, manager, superintendent, agent, or occupant of the public place of accommodation or amusement, or an employee of any such person or persons.

(c) **Official.** An official is any officer or employee of the State of Illinois or any agency thereof, including state political divisions, municipal corporations, park districts, forest preserve districts, educational institutions and schools.

**13-2. Elements of the Offense.)**
**A person commits a violation of civil rights when:**

(a) He denies to another the full and equal enjoyment of the facilities and services of any public place of accommodation or amusement because of race, religion, color or national ancestry; or

(b) He, as the operator of a public place of accommodation or amusement, directly or indirect-



ly, publishes, circulates, displays or mails any written communication, except a private communication sent in response to a specific inquiry, which he knows is to the effect that any of the facilities of the public place of accommodation or amusement will be denied to any person because of race, religion, color, or national ancestry or that the patronage of a person is unwelcome, objectionable, or unacceptable for any of those reasons; or

(c) He, as an official, refuses to employ, or discriminates in the employment of another for any work relief project because of race, religion, color, or national ancestry; or

(d) He, as an official, denies or refuses to any person the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of his office or services or of any property under his care because of race, religion, color, or national ancestry.

13-3. Sanctions.)

(a) **Criminal Penalty.** A person convicted of a violation of civil rights may be fined not to exceed one thousand dollars ($1000), or may be imprisoned not more than six months, or both.

(b) **Suit for Damages.** Any operator of a public place of accommodation or amusement who commits a violation of civil rights shall be liable to the person aggrieved thereby for not less than one hundred dollars ($100) nor more than one thousand dollars ($1000) to be recovered in an action at law in any court of competent jurisdiction.

(c) **Enjoining as Public Nuisance.** Any public place of accommodation or amusement in which a violation of civil rights occurs is a public nuisance which may be abated in the manner provided by law for the abatement of public nuisances. The operator of any such public place of accommodation or amusement shall be deemed guilty of maintaining a public nuisance and may be enjoined as hereinafter provided.

(d) **Discharge of Officials.** Any violation of civil rights by an official may be reported, in writing, to the head of the department or agency in which the official committing said violation is employed. It shall be his duty to investigate the complaint thoroughly. If he determines that a violation has been committed, he shall immediately discharge the guilty official if said official is not employed under civil service law. If said official is employed under civil service law, then the head of the department or agency in which such offending official is employed shall file or cause to be filed with the proper person the proper and necessary papers, charging such official with a violation of civil rights. Said papers filed shall be in conformity with the provisions of the Civil Service Act, under which such official is employed. If the head of the department or agency determines no violation has been committed, he shall so notify the complainant by registered mail.

(1) **Petition to Circuit Court.** Where no violation is found by the head of the proper department or agency, the aggrieved party may file a petition in the Circuit Court of the county wherein the official complained of is employed. Such official and the department agency head shall be named as respondents. . . . The head of the department or agency shall be bound by the court's decision and may be held in contempt for failure to obey the same.

(2) **Violation of Court's Order.** Whenever any appointed head of a department or agency violates the provisions of this section or refuses to abide by the courts' decision, he shall be removed from office by the officer who appointed him.

13.4 **Enforcement.)**

(a) **Responsibility for Enforcement.** It shall be the duty of all state, county, and municipal officials to cooperate in the enforcement of this Article. If any sheriff, deputy sheriff, chief of police, marshal, policeman, constable, or other peace officer shall have knowledge or information of any violation of any provision of this Article, he shall diligently investigate and secure evidence of the same and shall, before the proper officer, make and sign a complaint against the offending person, anything in the ordinance or by-laws of any municipality to the contrary notwithstanding.

**LIQUOR CONTROL ACT**

**Chapter 43—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

**133. Civil rights in licensed premises.)**

No licensee licensed under the provisions of this Act shall deny or permit his agents and employees to deny any person the full and equal enjoyment

of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any premises in which alcoholic liquors are authorized to be sold subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens.

149. Revocation of local license.)

The local liquor control commissioner may revoke or suspend any license issued by him if he determines that the licensee has violated any of the provisions of this Act or of any valid ordinance or resolution enacted by the particular city council, president, or board of trustees or county board (as the case may be) or any applicable rule or regulations established by the local liquor control commissioner or the state commission which is not inconsistent with law.

## DISCRIMINATION BY CONCESSIONS

### Chapter 105—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)

468.1. Discrimination by concessions on account of race, etc.)

It shall be the duty of the governor and the director of the department in charge of the administration of this Act to cancel immediately the lease on any concession when the person holding the concession or an employee thereof discriminates on the basis of race, color or creed against any patron thereof.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

### Chapter 199A—Municipal Code of Chicago (Excerpts)

1. All persons within the jurisdiction of the City of Chicago shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, soda fountains, soft drink parlors, taverns, roadhouses, barber shops, department stores, clothing stores, hat stores, shoe stores, bathrooms, restrooms, theaters, skating rinks, public golf courses, public golf driving ranges, concerts, cafes, bicycle rinks, elevators, ice cream parlors or rooms, railroads, omnibusses, busses, stages, aeroplanes, street cars, boats, funeral hearses and public conveyances on land, water, or air, and all other places of public accommodations and amusement subject only to the conditions and limitations established by laws and applicable alike to all citizens; and there shall not be any discrimination on account of race or color in the sale of lots or graves or in the price to be charged and paid for lots or graves in any cemetery or place for burying the dead nor in the use of cemeteries or crematories.

3. Any person violating any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars ($200) for each offense, and a separate and distinct offense shall be considered as having been committed for each and every day on which any person shall be guilty of any such violation.

# employment

## THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

### EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925 as amended (Excerpts) Establishing the Committee

**WHEREAS discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin is contrary to the constitutional principles and policies of the United States; . . .**

**NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:**

**PART I—Establishment of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity**

101. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

**PART II—Nondiscrimination in Government Employment**

201. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established by this order is directed immediately to scrutinize and study employment practices of the government of the United States, and to consider and recommend additional affirmative steps which should be taken by executive departments and agencies to realize more fully the national policy of nondiscrimination within the executive branch of the government.

**PART III—Obligations of Government Contractors and Subcontractors**

**SUBPART A—Contractors' Agreements**

301. (as amended) except in contracts exempted in accordance with section 303 of this order, all Government contracting agencies shall include in every Government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

During the performance of this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be

limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this non-discrimination clause.

(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the said labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under this section, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, as amended, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity created thereby.

(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, as amended, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the said Committee, or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contracting agency and the Committee for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

(6) In the event of the contractor's noncompliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of the said rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled, terminated, or suspended in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further Government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, as amended, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies invoked as provided in the said Executive Order or by rule, regulation, or order of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, or as otherwise provided by law.

(7) The contractor will include the provisions of paragraphs (1) through (7) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity issued pursuant to section 303 of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, as amended, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions, including sanctions for noncompliance: *Provided, however,* that in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States.

**SUBPART C—Powers and Duties of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and of Contracting agenices**

**309.** (a) The Committee may itself investigate the employment practices of any government contractor or subcontractor, or initiate such investigation by the appropriate contracting agency or through the secretary of labor, to determine whether or not the contractual provisions specified in Section 301 of this order have been violated. Such investigation shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures established by the Committee, and the investigating agency shall report to the Committee any action taken or recommended.

(b) The Committee may receive and cause to be investigated complaints by employees or prospective employees of a government contractor or subcontractor which allege discrimination contrary to the contractual provisions specified in Section 301 of this Order. The appropriate contracting agency or the secretary of labor, as the case may be, shall report to the Committee what action has been taken or is recommended with regard to such complaints.

**310.** (a) The Committee, or any agency or officer of the United States designated by rule, regulation, or order of the Committee, may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

(b) The Committee may hold, or cause to be held, hearings in accordance with subsection (a) of this section prior to imposing, ordering, or recommending the imposition of penalties and sanctions under this order, except that no order for debarment of any contractor from further government contracts shall be made without a hearing.

311. The Committee shall encourage the furtherance of an educational program by employer, labor, civic, educational, religious, and other nongovernmental groups in order to eliminate or reduce the basic causes of discrimination in employment on the ground of race, creed, color, or national origin.

**EXECUTIVE ORDER 11114 (Excerpts)**
**Extending the Authority of the Committee**

Whereas it is the policy of the United States Government to encourage by affirmative action the elimination of discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin in employment on work involving Federal financial assistance, to the end that employment opportunities created by Federal funds shall be equally available to all qualified persons; . . .

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

**PART I—Non-Discrimination Provisions in Federally Assisted Construction Contracts**

101. Each executive department and agency which administers a program involving Federal financial assistance shall, insofar as it may be consistent with law, require as a condition for the approval of any grant, contract, loan, insurance or guarantee thereunder which may involve a construction contract that the applicant for Federal assistance undertake and agree to incorporate, or cause to be incorporated, into all construction contracts paid for in whole or in part with funds obtained from the Federal Government or borrowed on the Credit of the Federal Government pursuant to such grant, contract, loan, insurance or guarantee, or undertaken pursuant to any Federal program involving such grant, contract, loan, insurance or guarantee, the provisions prescribed for Government contracts by section 301 of Executive Order No. 10925 or such modification thereof, preserving in substance the contractor's obligations thereunder. . . . Each such applicant shall also undertake and agree (i) to assist and cooperate actively with the administering department or agency and the Committee in obtaining

the compliance of contractors and subcontractors with said contract provisions and with the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the Committee, (ii) to obtain and to furnish to the administering department or agency and to the Committee such information as they may require for the supervision of such compliance, (iii) to enforce the obligations of contractors and subcontractors under such provisions, rules, regulations, and orders.

## FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

### Chapter 48—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)

**851. Declaration of Policy.)**

Whereas denial of equal employment opportunity because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry with consequent failure to utilize the productive capacities of individuals to the fullest extent deprives a portion of the population of the state of earnings necessary to maintain a reasonable standard of living, thereby tending to cause resort to public charity and may cause conflicts and controversies resulting in grave injury to the public safety, health and welfare:

Therefore, it is declared to be the public policy of this state that without in any way precluding any employer from selecting between persons of equal merit, ability, and capabilities, equal employment opportunity or apprenticeship opportunity without discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry should be protected by state law.

It is also the public policy of this state to protect employers, labor organizations and employment agencies from unfounded charges of discrimination.

**852. Definitions.)**

When used in this Act, unless the context otherwise requires, the term:

(a) "Commission" means the Fair Employment Practices Commission created by this Act.

(b) "Complainant" means any individual charging on his own behalf to have been personally aggrieved by an unfair employment practice.

(c) "Employee" includes and means any individual performing services for remuneration within this state for an employer, or who is an apprentice, or who is an applicant for any apprenticeship; except that the term "employee" does not include domestic servants in private homes, individuals employed by persons who are not employers as defined by this Act, or persons employed in "agricultural labor" as that term is defined in The Unemployment Compensation Act, as now or hereafter amended.

(d) "Employer" includes and means the State of Illinois and any political subdivision, municipal corporation or other governmental unit or agency thereof and all persons, including any labor organization, labor union, or labor association employing more than 100 persons within the state within each of 20 or more calendar weeks, within either the current or preceding calendar year prior to January 1, 1963; or so employing 75 or more persons after December 31, 1962 and prior to January 1, 1965; or so employing 50 or more persons after December 31, 1964; except that the term "employer" does not include any not for profit corporation or association organized for fraternal or religious purposes, nor any school, educational or charitable institution owned and conducted by, or affiliated with, a church or religious institution, nor any exclusively social club, corporation or association that is not organized for profit.

(e) "Employment Agency" includes both public and private employment agencies and any person, and any labor organization or labor union having a hiring hall or hiring office regularly undertaking, with or without compensation, to procure opportunities to work, or to procure, recruit, refer or place employees.

(f) "Labor Organization" includes any organization, or labor union, craft union, or any voluntary unincorporated association designed to further the cause of the rights of union labor which is constituted for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms, or conditions of employment, or apprenticeships or applications for apprenticeships, or of other mutual aid or protection in connection with employment, including apprenticeships or applications for apprenticeships.

(g) "Person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations or organizations, labor organizations, labor unions, or union labor associations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees in bankruptcy or receivers.

(h) "Unfair Employment Practices" includes only those practices specified in Section 3 of this Act.

**853. Unfair Employment Practices.)**
It is an unfair employment practice:

(a) For any employer, because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of an individual to refuse to hire, to segregate, or otherwise to discriminate against such individual with respect to hire, selection and training for apprenticeship in any trade or craft, tenure, terms or conditions of employment; or

(b) For any employment agency to fail to refuse to classify properly, refer for employment, refer for apprenticeship, or accept applications for any apprenticeship, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry; or

(c) For any labor organization because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of any person to discriminate against such person, or to limit, segregate or classify its membership with respect to such person, or to limit such person's employment opportunities, such person's selection and training for apprenticeship in any trade or craft, or otherwise to take, or fail to take, any action which affects adversely such person's status as an employee or as an applicant for employment or as an apprentice, or as applicant for apprenticeships, or such person's wages, tenure, hours or employment or apprenticeships conditions; or

(d) For any employer, employment agency or labor organization to discriminate against any person because he or she, reasonably and in good faith, has opposed any practice forbidden in this Act, or because he or she, reasonably and in good faith, has made a charge, testified or assisted in any investigation, proceeding or hearing under this Act; or

(e) For any person to compel or coerce any person to engage in any of the acts declared by this Act to be unfair employment practices.

Nothing in this Act shall preclude an employer from firing or selecting between persons for (1) any reason except for the unfair employment practices specifically prohibited by this Act, or (2) a bona fide occupational qualification.

854. Public Contracts.)

Every contract to which the state, any of its political subdivisions or any municipal corporation is a party shall be conditioned upon the requirement that the supplier of materials or services or the contractor and his subcontractors, and all labor organizations furnishing skilled, unskilled, and craft union skilled labor, or who may perform any such labor or services, as the case may be, shall not commit an unfair employment practice in this state as defined in this Act. To the full extent to which the state may have authority with respect to such contracts, this section shall be applicable.

855. Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission.)

(a) The Fair Employment Practices Commission is created, to consist of five members, all of whom shall be bona fide residents of Illinois for five years last past, appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the Senate, no more

than three of whom shall be of the same political party and one of whom shall be designated by the governor as chairman. If the Senate is not in session at the time this Act takes effect, the governor shall make temporary appointments as in the case of a vacancy with the advice and consent of an interim committee composed of three members of the Senate appointed by the president pro tempore thereof and three members of the House of Representatives appointed by the speaker thereof.

856. Powers and Duties of the Commission.)
In addition to other powers and duties prescribed in this Act, the Commission shall have the following powers and duties:

(a) To meet and function at any place within the state.

(b) To establish and maintain offices in Springfield and Chicago.

(c) To select and fix the compensation of an executive director, which shall not exceed $15,000 per year, of hearing examiners who shall be attorneys duly licensed to practice law in this state, technical advisors and such other employees as it may deem necessary.

(d) To adopt, promulgate, amend and rescind rules and regulations not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act.

(e) To receive, investigate and determine charges filed by complainants with it in conformity with this Act.

(f) To report to the governor and the General Assembly at the beginning of each General Assembly and upon request.

857. Educational Program.)
For the purpose of promoting equal employment opportunity, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, and to create and to maintain better community understanding, the Commission may issue such publications, conduct such research, and make such surveys as in the judgment of the Commission will tend to promote equality of employment opportunity, including apprenticeship, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

860. Judicial Review.)
Any complainant or respondent may apply for and obtain judicial review of an order of the Commission entered under this Act in accordance with the provisions of the "Administrative Review Act," approved May 8, 1945, as heretofore or hereafter amended; and the Commission in proceedings under this section may obtain an order of court for the enforcement of its order.

863. Service of process or notice—Sufficiency.)

For the purposes of this Act, summonses, notices or writs served upon any officer of any labor organization shall be sufficient to acquire jurisdiction against such labor organization, or labor union, or voluntary unincorporated union association, and all of its officers, members and representatives.

## STATE CONTRACTS

**Chapter 29—Illinois Revised Statutes. (Excerpts)**

17. Race or color discrimination prohibited in contracts for public work.)

No person shall be refused or denied employment in any capacity on the ground of race or color, nor be discriminated against in any manner by reason thereof, in connection with the contracting for or the performance of any work or service of any kind, by, for, on behalf of, or for the benefit of this state, or of any department, bureau, commission, board, or other political subdivision or agency thereof.

18. Deemed incorporated in contract.)

The provisions of this Act shall automatically enter into and become a part of each and every contract or other agreement hereafter entered into by, with, for, on behalf of, or for the benefit of this state, or of any department, bureau, commission, board, other political subdivision or agency, officer or agent thereof, providing for or relating to the performance of any of the said work or services or of any part thereof.

19. Includes independent contractors, etc.)

The provisions of this Act also shall apply to all contracts entered into by or on behalf of all independent contractors, subcontractors, and any and all other persons, associations or corporations, providing for or relating to the doing of any of the said work or the performance of any of the said services, or any part thereof.

20. Deduction from compensation.)

No contractor, subcontractor, nor any person on his behalf shall, in any manner discriminate against or intimidate any employee hired for the performance of work for the benefit of the state or for any department, bureau, commission, board, other political subdivision or agency, officer or agent thereof, on account of race or color; and there may be deducted from the amount payable to the contractor by the State of Illinois or by any municipal corporation thereof, under this contract, a penalty of five dollars ($5) for each person for each calendar day during which such person was discriminated against or intimidated in violation of the provisions of this Act.

21. Recovery by injured person.)

Any person who or any agency, corporation or association which shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing sections, or who or which shall aid, abet, incite or otherwise participate in the violation of any of the said provisions, whether the said violation or participation therein shall occur through action in a private, in a public, or in any official capacity, shall be liable to a penalty of not less than one hundred ($100) nor more than five hundred dollars ($500) for each and every said violation or participation therein with respect to each person aggrieved thereby, to be recovered by each such aggrieved person, or by any other person to whom such aggrieved person shall assign his cause of action, in any court of competent jurisdiction in the county in which the plaintiff or the defendant shall reside.

22. Criminal penalty.)

Any person who or any agency, corporation or association which shall violate any of the provisions of the foregoing sections, or who or which shall aid, abet, incite or otherwise participate in the violation of any of the said provisions, whether the said violation or participation therein shall occur through action in a private, in a public, or in any official capacity, shall also be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor for each and every said violation or participation and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred ($100) nor more than five hundred dollars ($500), or, in the case of non-corporate violators, or participators, by imprisonment for not less than 30 nor more than 90 days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

## CIVIL SERVICE

**Chapter 24½—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

84. Examinations for Applicants—Qualifications—Fees.)

All applicants for offices or places in said classified civil service shall be citizens of the United States of America and residents of the State of Illinois and shall be subjected to examination, which shall be public and competitive with limitations specified in the rules of the board as to residence, age, sex, health, habits, moral character and qualifications to perform the duties of the office or place to be filled, which qualifications shall be prescribed in advance of such examination. . . . No question in any examination shall relate to political or religious opinions or affiliations.

## EMPLOYMENT BY SCHOOLS

**Chapter 122—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

**24-4. Color, Race, Nationality, Religion, or Religious Affiliation.)**

The color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation of any applicant seeking employment either as a superintendent, principal, teacher or otherwise in the public elementary or high schools, shall not be considered either a qualification or disqualification for any such employment. Nor shall color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation be considered in assigning any person to an office or position or to any school in the school system. If any member of a school board, superintendent, principal or other school officer violates the foregoing provision or directly or indirectly requires, asks or seeks information concerning the color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation of any person in connection with his employment or assignment, or if any person, agency, bureau, corporation or association employed or maintained to obtain or aid in obtaining employment of the kind described, directly or indirectly requires, asks, seeks, indicates or transmits orally or in writing information concerning the color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation of an applicant for such employment, with the intent to influence such appointment, he shall be liable to a penalty of not less than one hundred ($100) nor more than five hundred dollars ($500) to be recovered by the person aggrieved thereby in any court of competent jurisdiction, and he shall also be fined not less than one hundred dollars ($100) nor more than five hundred dollars ($500) or imprisoned not less than 30 days nor more than 90 days, or be both so fined and imprisoned.

## HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT

**Chapter 67½—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

**157. Acts prohibited.)**

No housing corporation shall . . . (9) Enter into contracts for the construction of buildings or for the payment of salaries to officers or employees, or for the purchase of materials, equipment or supplies, except subject to the inspection and revision of the State Housing Board and under such regulations as the board may from time to time prescribe.

No housing corporation or contractor employed thereby shall deny employment to any person on account of race, creed or color.

## CITY EMPLOYMENT AND CONTRACTS

### Chapter 198.7A—Municipal Code of Chicago

1. Whereas, it is the policy of the United States government in furtherance of the sucessful winning of the peace to insure the maximum participation of all available workers in production, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders, the City of Chicago, to cooperate with the United States government, by eliminating possible discrimination in public and private employment, enacts this ordinance to be known as the Fair Employment Practices Ordinance.

2. It shall be unlawful for any department of the City of Chicago, or any city official, his agent, or employee, for or on behalf of the City of Chicago, involving any public works of the City of Chicago to refuse to employ or to discharge any person, otherwise qualified, on account of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry; to discriminate for the same reasons in regard to tenure, terms or conditions of employment; to deny promotion or increase in compensation solely for these reasons, to publish offer of employment based on such discrimination; to adopt or enforce any rule, or employment policy which discriminates between employees on account of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry; to seek such information as to any employee as a condition of employment; to penalize any employee or discriminate in the selection of personnel for training, solely on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

3. All contracting agencies of the City of Chicago, or any department thereof, shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color or national origin and shall require him to include a similar provision in all sub-contracts.

4. It shall be unlawful for any person to discriminate against any other person by reason of race, creed, color or national origin, with respect to the hiring, application for employment, tenure, terms or conditions of employment.

5. Any person, firm or corporation who shall violate or fail to comply with any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine in any sum not exceeding two hundred dollars ($200).

6. If any part of this ordinance shall be declared invalid the balance of the ordinance shall remain in full force and effect.

## TAXI DRIVERS

**Chapter 28—Municipal Code of Chicago**

28.9. There shall be no discrimination by any busman, cabman or coachman against any person employed or seeking employment as a chauffeur with respect to hire, promotion, tenure, terms, conditions and places of employment on account of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry.

# hospitals

**Chapter 137—Municipal Code of Chicago (Excerpts)**

13.1. No hospital, nor any person acting as superintendent or manager, or who is otherwise in charge or control of any hospital, nor any person connected with or rendering service in any hospital in any capacity whatsoever, nor any agent or employee thereof shall deny to any person admission for care or treatment, equality of care or treatment in a hospital, or the use of any of the hospital facilities and services relating to care or treatment of such person, on account of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry, provided that a member of the medical staff of said hospital or an authorized physician designated to act for him may examine such person and determine the need of such person for medical care or treatment.

13.2. No hospital, and no person who is acting as superintendent or manager or who is otherwise in charge or control of any hospital or in charge or control of employment by the hospital or of appointments to the staff of the hospital shall, in the employment of any physician or the appointment of any person to the medical staff of the hospital, discriminate against any person on account of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry.

13.3. It is unlawful, prior to admission of a patient, for any hospital or agent of a hospital directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, by any method whatsoever, including inquiries or requests made directly or indirectly to a patient, a physician or the agent or representative of any patient or physician, to make inquiry or request information as to the race or color of any person seeking to become a patient or about to become a patient.

13.4 Each hospital shall post, in its room clerk's office and in its admission office, a copy of the penalty prescribed by law for any violation of the provisions of this ordinance.

No hospital, either public or private, where surgical operations are performed, operating in this state shall refuse to give emergency medical treatment or first aid to any applicant who applies for the same in case of injury or serious medical disability where the same is liable to cause death or is a severe injury or serious illness.

19. Any person violating any of the provisions of this chapter shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars ($100) nor more than two hundred dollars ($200) for each offense, and a separate and distinct offense shall be considered as having been committed for each and every day on which any person shall be guilty of any such violation. . . .

**EMERGENCY MEDICAL TREATMENT**

**Chapter 111½—Illinois Revised Statutes**

**86. Hospital to furnish first aid.)**

No hospital, either public or private, where surgical operations are performed, operating in this state shall refuse to give emergency medical treatment or first aid to any applicant who applies for the same in case of injury or acute medical condition where the same is liable to cause death or is a severe injury or serious illness.

**87. Penalty for violation.)**

Any such hospital violating any of the provisions of this Act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars ($50) nor more than two hundred dollars ($200) for each offense, which fine shall be paid into the general corporate funds of the city, incorporated town, or village in which the hospital is located, or of the county, in case such hospital is outside the limits of any incorporated municipality.

**TAX EXEMPT STATUS**

**Chapter 120—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

**500.7 Property exempt from taxation.)**

. . . no hospital, however, which has been adjudicated by a court of competent jurisdiction to have denied admission to any person because of race, color or creed shall be exempt from taxation.

# schools

**EDUCATION**

**Chapter 122—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)**

**10-20.11 School houses.**

. . . In erecting, purchasing or otherwise acquiring buildings for school purposes, the board shall not do so in such a manner as to promote segre-

gation and separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality. All records of the board pertaining to the erecting, purchasing or otherwise acquiring of buildings for school purposes shall be open to the public.

**10-21.3 Attendance units.**

. . . As soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter, the board shall change or revise existing units or create new units in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality. All records pertaining to the creation, alteration or revision of attendance units shall be open to the public.

**22-11. Exclusion of children on account of color.)**
Any school officer or other person who excludes or aids in excluding from the public schools, on account of color, any child who is entitled to the benefits of such school shall be fined not less than five dollars ($5) nor more than one hundred dollars ($100).

**22-12. Preventing colored child from attending school.)**
Whoever by threat, menace or intimidation prevents any colored child entitled to attend a public school in this state from attending such school shall be fined not exceeding twenty-five dollars ($25).

**22-19. Discrimination — Complaint — Hearing — Notice — Procedure.)**
Upon the filing of a complaint with the superintendent of public instruction, executed in duplicate and subscribed with the names and addresses of at least 50 residents of a school district or 10 percent, which ever is lesser, alleging that any pupil has been excluded from or segregated in any school on account of his color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation, or that any employee of or applicant for employment or assignment with any such school district has been questioned concerning his color, race, nationality, religion or religious affiliation or subjected to discrimination by reason thereof, by or on behalf of the school board of such district, the superintendent of public instruction shall promptly mail a copy of such complaint to the secretary or clerk of such school board.

The superintendent of public instruction shall fix a date, not less than 20 nor more than 30 days from the date of filing such complaint, for a hearing on the allegations therein. He may also fix a date for a hearing whenever he has reason to believe that such discrimination may exist in any school district.

The hearing officer shall report a summary of the testimony to the superintendent of public instruction who shall determine whether the allegations of the complaint are substantially correct. The superintendent of public instruction shall notify both parties of his decision. If he so determines, he shall request the attorney general to apply to the appropriate Circuit court for such injunctive or other relief as may be necessary to rectify the practices complained of.

**34-18. Powers of the board.)**

The board shall exercise general supervision and management of the public education and the public school system of the city, and shall have power: . . . (7) To divide the city into sub-districts and apportion the pupils to the several schools, but no pupil shall be excluded from or segregated in any such school on account of his color, race or nationality; . . .

The board shall, as soon as practicable, and from time to time thereafter, change or revise existing sub-districts or create new sub-districts in a manner which will take into consideration the prevention of segregation and the elimination of separation of children in public schools because of color, race or nationality. All records pertaining to the creation, alteration or revision of sub-districts shall be open to the public; . . .

## DEPARTMENT OF REGISTRATION AND EDUCATION

**Chapter 127 — Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**

**60. Additional powers conferred in administration of laws regulating professions, trades and occupations.)**

The Department of Registration and Education shall . . . exercise, in its name, but subject to the provisions of this Act, the following powers: . . . (3) Prescribe rules and regulations defining, for the respective professions, trades and occupations, what shall constitute a school, college or university, or department of a university, or other institutions, reputable and in good standing and to determine the reputability and good standing of a school, college or university, or department of a university, or other institution, reputable and in good standing by reference to a compliance with such rules and regulations: provided, that no school, college or university, or department of a university or other institution that refuses admittance to applicants solely on account of race, color or creed shall be considered reputable and in good standing . . .

# housing

## CHICAGO FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE

### Chapter 198.7-B—Municipal Code of Chicago

### DECLARATION OF POLICY

1. It is hereby declared the policy of the City of Chicago to assure full and equal opportunity to all residents of the City to obtain fair and adequate housing for themselves and their families in the City of Chicago without discrimination against them because of their race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

2. It is further declared to be the policy of the City of Chicago that no owner, lessee, sublessee, assignee, managing agent, or other person, firm or corporation having the right to sell, rent or lease any housing accomodation, within the City of Chicago, or any agent of any of these, should refuse to sell, rent, lease, or otherwise deny or withhold from any person or group of persons such housing accomodations because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of such person or persons or discriminate against any person because of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the terms, conditions, or privileges of the sale, rental or lease of any housing accommodation or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith.

3. In order to effectuate this policy and to eliminate as far as legislatively permissible, all forms of discrimination and segregation in the field of housing,

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO:

That it shall be an unfair housing practice and unlawful for any real estate broker licensed as such by the City of Chicago:

A. To make any distinction, discrimination or restriction against any person in the price, terms, conditions or privileges of any kind relating to the sale, rental, lease or occupancy of any real estate used for residential purposes in the City of Chicago or in the furnishing of any facilities or services in connection therewith, predicated upon the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of the prospective or actual buyer or tenant thereof.

B. To publish, circulate, issue or display, or cause to be published, circulated, issued or displayed, any communication, notice, advertisement, sign or other writing of any kind relating to the sale, rental or leasing of any residential real

property within the city of Chicago which will indicate or express any limitation or discrimination in the sale, rental or leasing of such residential real estate, predicated upon the race, color, religion or the national origin or ancestry of any prospective buyer, lessee or renter of such property.

C. To refuse to sell, lease or rent, any real estate for residential purposes within the City of Chicago because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of the proposed buyer or renter.

D. To discriminate or to participate in discrimination in connection with borrowing or lending money, guaranteeing loans, accepting mortgages or otherwise obtaining or making available funds for the purchase, acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, repair or maintenance of any residential housing unit or housing accommodation in the City of Chicago because of race, color, religion or national origin or ancestry.

E. To cheat, exploit or overcharge any person for residential housing accommodations in the City of Chicago because of race, color, religion, or national origin or ancestry.

F. To solicit for sale, lease or listing for sale or lease, residential real estate within the City of Chicago on the ground of loss of value due to the present or prospective entry into any neighborhood of any person or persons of any particular race, color, religion or national origin or ancestry.

G. To distribute or cause to be distributed, written material or statements designed to induce any owner of residential real estate in the City of Chicago to sell or lease his property because of any present or prospective change in the race, color, religion or national origin or ancestry of persons in the neighborhood.

H. To deliberately and knowingly refuse examination of any listing of residential real estate within the City of Chicago to any person because of race, color, religion or national origin or ancestry.

4. Any real estate broker not licensed by the City of Chicago who shall exercise any function of a real estate broker within the City of Chicago, shall be deemed a broker hereunder and subject to all applicable provisions hereof.

5. It shall be the duty of the Commission on Human Relations to:

A. Initiate or receive and investigate complaints charging unlawful housing practices;

B. Seek conciliation of such complaint, hold hearings, make findings of fact, issue orders and publish its findings of fact and orders in accordance with the provisions of this ordinance and with the ordinance establishing the Commission;

C. Render from time to time, but not less than once a year, a written report of its activities and recommendations with respect to fair housing practices to the Mayor and to the City Council; and

D. Adopt such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes and provisions of this ordinance.

6. Any person aggrieved in any manner by any violation of any provision of the above ordinance may file a written complaint setting forth his grievance with the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. Said complaint shall state the name and address of the complainant and of the persons against whom the complaint is brought and shall also state the alleged facts surrounding the alleged violation of this ordinance.

7. Said Commission is hereby fully authorized immediately to investigate every such complaint thus filed. If the Commission determines that the respondent has not engaged in any unlawful practice, it shall state its findings of fact in writing and dismiss the complaint. If the Commission determines after such investigation that probable cause exists for the allegations made in the complaint, the Commission shall set a date for a conciliation hearing. At such hearing, the Commission or any member thereof shall interview the complainant and the person or persons against whom the complaint has been directed and shall attempt to resolve the complaint by all proper methods of conciliation and persuasion. If such attempts at conciliation are not successful within sixty days after the date of filing of the complaint, the Commission shall then proceed promptly with full hearing of the complaint.

8. Such hearing shall be conducted by the Commission, or any member thereof, upon due and reasonable notice to all parties. The Commission shall have full power to subpoena witnesses and pertinent documents, which power may be enforced by the Commission by proper petition to any court of competent jurisdiction. The Commission shall have power to administer oaths and to take sworn testimony. At the conclusion of the hearings, the Commission shall render a written report and recommendations, which shall be served by mail upon the complainant and the respondent. No report shall be delayed more than sixty days after the date of the issuance of notice for commencement of the first hearing.

9. The Commission shall be empowered at the conclusion of such proceedings and as part of its report, to recommend to the Mayor of the City of Chicago the suspension or revocation of the broker's license of any broker licensed by the City of Chicago who shall have been a respondent to any proceedings thus filed and found guilty of violation of any applicable provision of the within ordinance. Any broker whose license has been suspended or revoked by the Mayor, or any complainant aggrieved by the decision of the Mayor, shall have full right to appeal from such order of suspension or revocation in accordance with procedure specified in the Administrative Review Act of Illinois. The order of the Mayor shall be final and transmitted to the Commission as part of its record and it shall serve a copy thereof upon the respondent, and any appeal may be taken thereafter.

10. In addition thereto, the Mayor may direct the Corporation Counsel to file with the Department of Registration and Education of the State of Illinois a complaint against any real estate broker found guilty of violating any provision of this ordinance, seeking suspension or revocation of the license issued to such broker by the State of Illinois.

11. If any section, subdivision, paragraph, sentence or clause of this ordinance is for any reason held to be invalid or unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect any remaining portion, section or part thereof.

12. This ordinance shall take effect upon its passage and due publication.

## PUBLIC HOUSING

Resolution adopted on April 7, 1954, by the Chicago City Council: Resolved that the members of the City Council of Chicago reaffirm that it is the policy of this city that public housing should be available to all eligible applicants without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

## CHICAGO DWELLINGS ASSOCIATION

Resolution adopted on March 18, 1949, by the Chicago Dwellings Association: Be it and it is hereby resolved that it be the declared policy of the Chicago Dwellings Association that there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color with respect to the rental of properties to be owned, improved and managed by the corporation.

**URBAN RENEWAL LAND REDEVELOPMENT**

The form of the Quitclaim Deed between the City of Chicago and a redeveloper requires the following clauses: 'The grantee, for itself and its successors and assigns, in pursuance of the objects and purposes of the Illinois Urban Community Conservation Act of 1953, as amended, and the Federal Housing Act of 1949, as amended, covenants that: . . . (f) the grantee and its successors or assigns shall not discriminate against any person on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin, in the subsequent sale or lease of the property and the improvement constructed thereon.

**RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS PROHIBITED**

**Chapter 67½—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**
91.13 . . . No lease or deed of conveyance either by the (Conservation) Board or any subsequent owner shall contain a covenant running with the land or other provision prohibiting occupancy of the premises by any person because of race, creed or color.

**Executive Order 11063 (Excerpts)**

**ISSUED BY PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**

**Establishing the President's COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING**

WHEREAS the granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws . . .

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

**PART I—PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION**

Section 101. I hereby direct all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government, insofar as their functions relate to the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin—

(a) in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use), or in the use or occupancy thereof, if such property and related facilities are—

(i) owned or operated by the Federal Government, or

(ii) provided in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants, or contributions hereafter agreed to be made by the Federal Government, or

(iii) provided in whole or in part by loans hereafter insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government, or

(iv) provided by the development or the redevelopment of real property purchased, leased, or otherwise obtained from a State or local public agency receiving Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal with respect to such real property under a loan or grant contract hereafter entered into; and

(b) in the lending practices with respect to residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use) of lending institutions, insofar as such practices relate to loans hereafter insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government.

Sec. 102. I hereby direct the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities heretofore provided with Federal financial assistance of the types referred to in Section 101 (a)(ii),(iii), and (iv).

## PART II—IMPLEMENTATION BY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Sec. 202. Each such department and agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of this order as the order applies to programs administered by it; and is directed to cooperate with the Committee, to furnish it, in accordance with law, such information and assistance as it may request in the performance of its functions, and to report to it at such intervals as the Committee may require.

## PART III—ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 301. The Committee, any subcommittee thereof, and any officer or employee designated by any executive department or agency subject to this order may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee, department, or agency may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

Sec. 302. If any executive department or agency subject to this order concludes that any person or firm (including but not limited to any individual, partnership, association, trust, or corporation) or any State or local public agency has violated any rule, regulation, or procedure issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or any nondiscrimination provision included in any agreement or contract pursuant to any such rule, regulation, or procedure, it shall endeavor to end and remedy such violation by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion unless similar efforts made by another Federal department or agency have been unsuccessful. In conformity with rules, regulations, procedures, or policies issued or adopted by it pursuant to Section 203 hereof, a department or agency may take such action as may be appropriate under its governing laws, including, but not limited to, the following:

It may—

(a) cancel or terminate in whole or in part any agreement or contract with such person, firm, or State or local public agency providing for a loan, grant, contribution, or other Federal aid, or for the payment of a commission or fee;

(b) refrain from extending any further aid under any program administered by it and affected by this order until it is satisfied that the affected person, firm, or State or local public agency will comply with the rules, regulations, and procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, and any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract;

(c) refuse to approve a lending institution or any other lender as a beneficiary under any program administered by it which is affected by this order or revoke such approval if previously given.

Sec. 304. Any executive department or agency affected by this order may also invoke the sanctions provided in Section 302 where any person or firm, including a lender, has violated the rules,

regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or the nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, with respect to any program affected by this order administered by any other executive department or agency.

## PART IV—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Sec. 401. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing which shall be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; the Administrator of Veterans Affairs; the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President to be assigned to the Committee by direction of the President, and such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public. The member assigned by the President from the staff of the Executive Office shall serve as the Chairman and Executive Director of the Committee. Each department or agency head may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

## PART V—POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Sec. 501 . . . A report to the President shall be made at least once annually and shall include references to the actions taken and results achieved by departments and agencies subject to this order.

Sec. 502 (a) The Committee shall take such steps as it deems necessary and appropriate to promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under this order. In so doing, the Committee shall consider the overall objectives of Federal legislation relating to housing and the right of every individual to participate without discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the ultimate benefits of the Federal programs subject to this order.

(b) The Committee may confer with representatives of any department or agency, State or local public agency, civic, industry, or labor group, or any other group directly or indirectly affected by this order; examine the relevant rules, regulations, procedures, policies, and practices of any

department or agency subject to this order and make such recommendations as may be necessary or desirable to achieve the purposes of this order.

(c) The Committee shall encourage educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor, and other nongovernmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance.

# other laws

## VOTING ON RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS

**Chapter 46—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**

**19-2. Application for ballots.)**

. . . any such elector who because of . . . the tenets of his religion in the observance of a religious holiday will be unable to be present at the polls on the day of such election may, not more than 30 nor less than five days prior to the date of such election make application to the county clerk or, where existing, to the Board of Election Commissioners, or other officer or officers charged with the duty of furnishing ballots for such election in his voting precinct, for an official ballot for such precinct to be voted at such election . . .

## PUBLIC AID

**Chapter 23 — Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**

**111. No discrimination on account of race, religion, etc.)**

There shall be no discrimination and no denial of assistance or general assistance provided for in this Code on account of the race, religion, color, national origin, or political affiliation of any applicant or recipient.

## STATE MILITIA

**Chapter 129—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**

**220.07. Composition—Racial segregation.)**

The organized militia shall consist of the Illinois National Guard and the Illinois Naval Militia. There shall be no racial segregation nor shall there be any discrimination in the service of any detachment, company, regiment, division, department or any other subdivision of the Illinois National Guard or Illinois Naval Militia because of race, creed or color.

## INSURANCE

**Chapter 73—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpt)**

848. Discrimination Prohibited.)

No life company doing business in this state shall make or permit any distinction or discrimination in favor of individuals among insured persons of the same class and equal expectation of life in the amount of payment of premiums or rates charged for policies of insurance, in the amount of any dividends or other benefits payable thereon, or in any other of the terms and conditions of the contracts it makes.

## ANTI-DESECRATION ORDINANCE

**Chapter 193—Municipal Code of Chicago (Excerpt)**

1.3 Any person who wilfully defaces, mars, injures, destroys or removes any vault, tomb, monument, gravestone, memorial of the dead, church, synagogue, or any other place of worship of any religion, sect or group, or any part or any contents thereof, or any fence, tree, shrub or plant appurtenant thereto, shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars ($25) nor more than two hundred dollars ($200), or imprisoned for not more than six months, or both such fine and imprisonment, for each offense. Each such act of marring, injuring, destroying or removal shall constitute a separate offense.

## ANTI-RIOT ORDINANCE

**Chapter 193—Municipal Code of Chicago**

1.1 It is unlawful to create a clear and present danger of a riot or assault, battery, or other unlawful trespass against any person or group of persons because of his or their race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry, or to create a clear and present danger of arson, vandalism, defacement, or other unlawful trespass against property because of the race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry of the owner, possessor, or authorized user or users of said property, or, in the case of a cemetery, of the decedent buried therein.

The term "person" as used in this section shall include one or more individuals, co-partnerships, corporations, firms, organizations, associations, leagues, or other bodies.

Any person violating the provisions of this section shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars ($25) nor more than two hundred dollars ($200) or imprisoned for not less than 10 days or more than six months, or both, for each offense.

## MOB ACTION AND RELATED OFFENSES

### Chapter 38—Illinois Revised Statutes (Excerpts)

**25-1—Mob Action.)**

(a) Mob action consists of any of the following:
(1) The use of force or violence disturbing the public peace by two or more persons acting together and without authority of law; or
(2) The assembly of two or more persons to do an unlawful act; or
(3) The assembly of two or more persons, without authority of law, for the purpose of doing violence to the person or property of any one supposed to have been guilty of a violation of the law, or for the purpose of exercising correctional powers or regulative powers over any person by violence.

(b) Any person engaged in mob action shall be fined not to exceed five hundred dollars ($500) or imprisoned in a penal institution other than the penitentiary not to exceed 30 days, or both.

(c) Any participant in a mob action which shall by violence inflict injury to the person or property of another shall be fined not to exceed one thousand dollars ($1,000) or imprisoned in a penal institution other than the penitentiary not to exceed one year, or in the penitentiary from one to five years, or both fined and imprisoned.

(d) Any participant in a mob action who does not withdraw on being commanded to do so by any peace officer shall be fined not to exceed five hundred dollars ($500) or imprisoned in a penal institution other than the penitentiary not to exceed one year, or both.

**25-3. Recovery of Damages.)**

(a) Any person suffering material damage to property, injury to person or death as a result of any of the following unlawful activities shall have an action against the county in which such damage or injury is inflicted, or if inflicted in an incorporated city, town or village whose population is in excess of 5,000, then against such city, town or village:

(1) Mob action by six or more persons;

(2) Lynching; or

(3) Unlawful taking from the custody of any person legally exercising such custody.

In the event of death of the person injured the action authorized by this subsection shall sur-

vive to a spouse or if there is no surviving spouse then to any person dependent for support upon the victim; provided that recovery under this subsection shall be limited to an amount not exceeding $30,000.

(b) A person may recover under Subsection 25-3 (a) providing:
(1) He was not a participant in the mob action that produced the harm; and
(2) Notice of claim for damages is presented to the defendant city, town or village or county within six months after such wrong occurs; and
(3) Suit is filed within 12 months after such wrong occurs.

(c) An action under Subsection 25-3 (a) shall not bar any injured party from maintaining an action or actions against any person or persons, participating in such mob action for recovery of damages sustained thereby. Any county, city, town or village which under Subsection 25-3 (a) has paid any monies shall have a lien to the amount of such sum on any monies recovered by the Subsection 25-3 (a) plaintiff against any persons participating in such mob action. Any county, city, town or village recovered against under Subsection 25-3 (a) or voluntarily settling any claim arising under Subsection 25-3 (a) shall have an action to recover any such sums with all costs paid by it from any persons participating in such mob action.

## CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The following ordinance was passed unanimously by the City Council on December 12, 1947, establishing the Commission on Human Relations as an integral part of the Municipal Government of the City of Chicago.

**Chapter 21—Municipal Code of Chicago**

49. **(Declaration of Policy—Establishment of Commission.)** The city council finds that prejudice and the practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry menace peace and public welfare; that to eliminate such prejudice and discrimination an instrumentality should be established through which the citizens of Chicago may be kept informed of developments in human relations, the officers and departments of the city may obtain expert advice and assistance in ameliorative practices to keep peace and good order and private persons and groups may be officially encouraged to promote tolerance and good will toward all people.

There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Commission on Human Relations

consisting of fifteen members, one of which members shall be designated as chairman, to be appointed by the mayor and with the advice and consent of the City Council. They shall serve without compensation but may be reimbursed for any personal expense incurred in the performance of their duties. The Commission shall appoint, according to law, an executive director and such other persons as are provided for in the annual appropriation ordinance to direct its activities.

50. **(Duties and Functions.)** The Commission shall cooperate with the mayor, City Council, city departments, agencies and officials in: securing the furnishing of equal services to all residents, and where the need is greater, in meeting that need with added services; training city employees to use methods of dealing with intergroup relations which develop respect for equal rights and which result in equal treatment without regard to race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry; assuring fair and equal treatment under the law to all citizens; protecting the rights of all persons to enjoy public accommodations and facilities and to receive equal treatment from all holders of licenses, contracts or privileges from the city; and maintaining equality of opportunity for employment and advancement in the city government.

The services of all city departments and agencies shall be made available by their respective heads to the Commission at its request, and information in the hands of any department or agency shall be furnished to the Commission when requested. Upon receipt of recommendations in writing from the Commission, each department or agency shall submit a reply in writing indicating the disposition of and action taken with regard to such recommendations.

The Commission shall advise and consult with the mayor and City Council on all matters involving racial, religious or ethnic prejudice or discrimination and recommend such legislative action as it may deem appropriate to effectuate the policy of this ordinance. The Commission shall render an annual report to the Mayor and City Council which shall be published.

51. **(Cooperation with Civic Groups and Governmental Agencies.)** The Commission shall invite and enlist the cooperation of racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor and business organizations, fraternal and benevolent societies, veterans organizations, professional and technical organizations, and other groups in the City of Chicago in carrying on its work. The Commission may aid in the formation of local community

groups in such neighborhoods as it may deem necessary or desirable to carry out specific programs designed to lessen tensions or improve understanding in the community.

The Commission shall cooperate with state and federal agencies whenever it deems such action appropriate in effectuating the policy of this ordinance.

52. (Investigations, Research and Publications.) The Commission shall receive and investigate complaints and initiate its own investigations of tensions, practices of discrimination and acts or prejudice against any person or group because of race, religion or ethnic origin and may conduct public hearings with regard thereto; carry on research, obtain factual data and conduct public hearings to ascertain the status and treatment of racial, religious and ethnic groups in the city, and the best means of progressively improving human relations in the entire city; and issue such publications and such results of investigations and public hearings and make such recommendations to the mayor and City Council as in its judgment will effectuate the policy of this ordinance.

## ILLINOIS COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

### Chapter 127—Illinois Revised Statutes

214.1. Commission on Human Relations.)

There is created a Commission on Human Relations composed of 20 members to be appointed by the governor. The terms of the members shall commence on July 1, of each odd numbered year and shall be of two years duration. The governor shall designate the chairman of the Commission from among the members thereof.

214.2. Compensation—Expenses.)

None of the members except the chairman may receive any compensation for his services but all members shall be reimbursed for expenses incurred in the performance of their duties.

214.3. Secretary.)

As soon as practicable, after this Act becomes effective, the members shall meet and organize and designate, by majority vote, some person to act as secretary, who shall keep a record of all proceedings. The Commission shall act officially only in a meeting duly called by the chairman, or at a regular meeting fixed by resolution of the Commission, adopted by majority vote.

214.4. Powers and duties of Commission.)

The Commission shall have the following powers and shall perform the following duties: (a) investigate the most effective means of affording

opportunity in profitable employment to all persons, with particular reference to training and placement; (b) cooperate with civic, religious and educational organizations in promoting tolerance and good will; (c) promote and encourage interfaith and interracial harmony and good will; and (d) report to the governor and to the legislature biennially, on or about the third Monday in January of each odd numbered year, the results of its investigations.

214.5. Employees—Report to Governor.)

The Commission may employ necessary secretarial, stenographic and clerical help, and may submit to the director of finance, for publication, its report made to the governor. Such report shall contain factual findings only.

## ATTORNEY GENERAL

Chapter 14—Illinois Revised Statutes

9. Division for enforcement of civil and equal rights —Duties.)

There is created in the office of the attorney general a division to be known as the Division for the Enforcement of Civil and Equal Rights. The division, under the supervision and direction of the attorney general, shall investigate all violations of the laws relating to civil rights and the prevention of discriminations against persons by reason of race, color, or creed, and shall, whenever such violations are established, undertake necessary enforcement measures.

# GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

**THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS**
**211 West Wacker Drive**
**Room 1310**
**Chicago, Illinois 60606**
**Telephone: 236-4912**

**Mayor's Committee on New Residents**
**211 West Wacker Drive**
**Room 1310**

**Neighborhood Information Center**
**622 East 63rd Street**
**Telephone: PL 2-8808**

**Attorney General of Illinois**
160 North LaSalle St.
FI 6-2000

**Bureau of Human Relations**
**Chicago Board of Education**
228 North LaSalle St.
DE 2-7801

**Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare**
185 North Wabash Ave.
FI 6-8450

**Chicago Park District**
425 East 14th Blvd.
HA 7-5252

**Commonwealth of Puerto Rico**
**Department of Labor, Migration Division**
28 East 8th Street
WE 9-5837

**Corporation Counsel of Chicago**
City Hall, Room 511
121 North LaSalle St.
RA 6-8000

**Illinois Commission on Human Relations**
160 North LaSalle St.
FI 6-2000

**Illinois Department of Registration and Education**
160 North LaSalle St.
FI 6-2000

**Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission**
205 West Wacker Drive
726-4464

**Police Department of Chicago**
1121 South State St.
WA 2-4747
(Emergency: POlice 5-1313)

**State's Attorney of Cook County**
Criminal Court Building
2600 South California Ave.
BI 7-6600

**President's Committee on**
**Equal Employment Opportunity**
Washington 25, D.C.

# PRIVATE AGENCIES

The following is not an exhaustive list. See the Social Service Directory of Chicago, published by the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, 123 West Madison Street. Phone: FRanklin 2-6911

**American Civil Liberties Union, Chicago Division**
19 South LaSalle Street
AN 3-6883

*Promotes individual freedoms and racial justice; arranges for legal counsel and other assistance in discrimination and other civil liberties cases.*

**American Friends Service Committee**
431 South Dearborn Street
HA 7-2535

*The American Friends Service Committee is a Quaker organization which attempts to relieve suffering and seek non-violent solutions to conflicts between individual groups and nations. A Housing Opportunities Program works to expand areas of integrated living by working with members of the housing industry and concerned citizens and organizations.*

**American Indian Center, Inc.**
738 West Sheridan Road
935-9061

*Serves as a meeting place for Indians and their friends and strives to bring about understanding and cooperation between Indians of different tribes and between Indians and non-Indians.*

**American Jewish Committee**
28 E. Jackson Blvd.
WE 9-2676

*The objects of the American Jewish Committee are the achievement of personal freedom and equality of opportunity for all; and the rendering of assistance and appropriate remedial action to secure the civil, religious, economic, and social rights of Jews.*

**American Jewish Congress**
189 West Madison Street
DE 2-7355

*To combat any doctrine or principle or any practices arising therefrom which impute inferiority to the members of any religious, ethnic, or racial group; to help secure and maintain equality of opportunity; and to safeguard the civil, political, economic and religious rights of Jews and other minorities wherever they may be threatened, in order that we may help preserve, maintain, and extend the democratic way of life to all people.*

**Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith**
343 South Dearborn Street
WE 9-5288

*To strengthen national unity by promoting better human relations among all Americans through education and social action. Seeks to eliminate discrimination in employment, housing, public accommodations and schools. Creates materials and program ideas, and cooperates with churches of all denominations, educational and civic groups. Nominal charges for films and other program materials.*

**Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems**
22 West Monroe Street
RA 6-9817

*To investigate and study conditions of employment, particularly in relation to minority groups; to engage in work and activities to eliminate discrimination in employment against Jews and other minority groups; to stimulate and promote educational measures and programs to accomplish the above objectives.*

**Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish Speaking in Chicago**
1300 South Wabash Avenue
HA 7-7078

*To coordinate all the facilities and services of the various parishes, institutions, and agencies of the Archdiocese toward the integration of the Spanish-speaking in-migrant into the religious and civic life of the community.*

**Catholic Interracial Council**
**21 West Superior Street**
DE 7-1025

***A tax-exempt, non-profit, educational agency founded in 1946. Has as its purpose: "to achieve a spiritual unity between people of different races so that in their dealings with each other they will be actuated by the Divine precepts of Charity and Justice." Conducts an active program on the grade, high school, college and community level to promote interracial justice and charity.***

**Chicago Conference on Religion & Race**
21 West Superior Street
664-7501

*An interreligious organization sponsored by the Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Chicago Board of Rabbis, and the Church Federation of Greater Chicago; and dedicated to interreligious cooperation for racial justice and harmony.*

**Chicago Urban League**
**2410 South Michigan Avenue**
CA 5-0600

***Organized in 1916, affiliated with the National Urban League. One of the cardinal functions is to aid Negro citizens in their problems of adjustment and integration in an urban environment. Attention is given to opening doors of employment for qualified workers.***

**Chinese-American Civic Council of Chicago**
2249 Wentworth Avenue
CA 5-0234

*To foster better citizenship by encouraging its members to exercise their civil rights, to provide information and services to those wishing to know more about Chinese Americans, and to promote intergroup understanding.*

**Congress of Racial Equality, Chicago Office**
54 W. Randolph Street
372-4251

*The Congress of Racial Equality is a national organization working to erase the color line through direct, non-violent action.*

**Friendship House**
4233 South Indiana Avenue
OA 4-7700

*A lay Catholic movement working in the field of race relations through the sponsoring and participation in conferences, weekends, and other educational programs. Publishes a monthly magazine, Community; stimulates home visiting programs, and works with all agencies, public and private, in bringing about salutary social changes.*

**Immigrants' Service League**
608 South Dearborn Street
HA 7-7694

*A community fund agency established in 1908, to apply social and legal resources of the city and state to the needs of foreigners; to protect them from exploitation; to cooperate with the federal, state, and local authorities, and to protect the right of asylum. Multi-lingual staff.*

**Japanese American Service Committee of Chicago**
1110 N. LaSalle Street
DE 7-1076

*To join with all Americans regardless of race, creed or color; to promote social and economic progress and to eliminate discrimination; and to mobilize Americans of Japanese ancestry toward the strengthening of the forces of democracy.*

**Jewish Labor Committee**
127 North Dearborn Street
AN 3-1394

*A national civic, defense, education, and relief organization formed in 1933. Actively engaged in combating discrimination and bigotry, and in bettering human relations; consultant to AFL-CIO and its affiliated bodies.*

**National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Chicago Branch**
431 South Dearborn Street
939-5365

*To secure and insure the civil rights of Negroes and to integrate them wholesomely into American life. Activities are directed toward areas in which there is discrimination against Negroes because of race.*

**National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice**
21 West Superior Street
MO 4-8222

*The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice is a federation of Catholic organizations which have educational programs to obtain interracial justice. It makes literature, program aids, technical skills, organizational help and consultation available to member Councils and other interested groups.*

**National Conference of Christians and Jews**
203 North Wabash Ave.
CE 6-9272

***To promote justice, amity and understanding among Protestants, Catholics and Jews of all races and nationalities.***

* * *

**Sections of the Municipal Code of Chicago and the Illinois Revised Statutes which provide for**

# Equal Rights In Hospitals

## PATIENT CARE

No hospital, nor any person acting as superintendent or manager, or who is otherwise in charge or control of any hospital, nor any person connected with or rendering service in any hospital in any capacity whatsoever, nor any agent or employee thereof shall deny to any person admission for care or treatment, equality of care or treatment in a hospital, or the use of any of the hospital facilities and services relating to care or treatment of such person, on account of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry, provided that a member of the medical staff of said hospital or an authorized physician designated to act for him may examine such person and determine the need of such person for medical care or treatment. (Section 137-13.1, Municipal Code of Chicago.)

## OPPORTUNITY FOR PHYSICIANS

No hospital, and no person who is acting as superintendent or manager or who is otherwise in charge or control of any hospital or in charge or control of employment by the hospital or of appointments to the staff of the hospital shall, in the employment of any physician or the appointment of any person to the medical staff of the hospital, discriminate against any person on account of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry. (Section 137-13.2, Municipal Code of Chicago.)

## EMERGENCY CARE

No hospital, either public or private, where surgical operations are performed, operating in this state shall refuse to give emergency medical treatment or first aid to any applicant who applies for the same in case of injury or acute medical condition where the same is liable to cause death or is a severe injury or serious illness. (Section 86, Chapter 111½, Illinois Revised Statutes.)

## LEGAL PENALTIES

Any person violating any of the provisions of this chapter shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than two hundred dollars for each offense, and a separate and distinct offense shall be considered as having been committed for each and every day on which any person shall be guilty of any such violation; provided, that in the event of a conviction of any such person relating to the safety and accommodations of patients, it shall be the duty of the board of health, and it is hereby authorized and empowered to close such hospital conducted, managed, or maintained by any such person convicted as aforesaid, and to cause its vacation pending the repairs, alterations, or additions necessary to make it safe and proper for the occupancy of its inmates and to make it comply with the terms of this code. (Section 137-19, Municipal Code of Chicago.)

## TAX EXEMPTION

. . . No hospital . . . which has been adjudicated by a court of competent jurisdiction to have denied admission to any person because of race, color, or creed shall be exempt from taxation. (Section 500.7, Chapter 120, Illinois Revised Statutes—excerpts.)

## RACIAL INFORMATION

It is unlawful, prior to admission of a patient, for any hospital or agent of a hospital directly or indirectly, overtly or covertly, by any method whatsoever, including inquiries or requests made directly or indirectly to a patient, a physician or the agent or representative of any patient or physician, to make inquiry or request information as to the race or color of any person seeking to become a patient or about to become a patient in such hospital. (Section 137-13.3, Municipal Code of Chicago.)

Each hospital shall also post, in its room clerk's office and in its admission office, a copy of the penalty prescribed by law for any violation of the provisions of this ordinance. (Section 137-13.4, Municipal Code of Chicago.)

**ANY VIOLATION OF THESE LAWS SHOULD BE REPORTED TO THE**

**Chicago Commission on Human Relations**
**211 West Wacker Drive**
**Chicago, Illinois 60606**

**Twenty-four hour telephone service:**
**Call 236-4912**

Chicago Commission on Human Relations
211 West Wacker Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60606
Phone: 236-4912

# THE CHICAGO FAIR HOUSING ORDINANCE

**WHAT DOES THE ORDINANCE DO?**

It prohibits real estate brokers from discriminating because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the sale or rental of residential real estate in the City of Chicago. It also provides that no real estate broker may solicit residential real estate on the basis that its value will be lessened because of the entry into the neighborhood of persons of a particular race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry ("Panic Peddling").

**WHAT DO I DO IF I BELIEVE I HAVE BEEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST?**

Anyone who believes he has been discriminated against because of his race, religion or nationality in his search for housing should file a complaint with the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. This is easily done by contacting the Commission and asking for the Director of Housing.

**WHAT DO I DO IF MY NEIGHBORHOOD IS BOTHERED BY A "PANIC PEDDLER"?**

A complaint should be filed with the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

**WHAT HAPPENS TO A COMPLAINT THAT IS FILED WITH THE COMMISSION?**

The Commission will investigate any complaint charging unlawful housing practices. The Commission will seek to adjust such complaints, hold hearings if necessary and make findings of fact. The Mayor is empowered to suspend or revoke the broker's license of any broker found by the Commission to be violating the ordinance. Steps also can be taken to revoke a broker's state license.

Empl Comm

Lycoming Division

AVCO Corporation

550 South Main Street

Stratford, Connecticut

Applicants may apply at the Employment Office, located at the North End of the Plant. The Employment Office is open from 8:15 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. Monday through Friday and on Saturdays from 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon.

Listed below are positions presently available:

HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

Clerk Typists
Stenographers
Laboratory Assistants
Trainees (Machine areas)

COLLEGE GRADUATES

Various Engineering positions:

Mechanical
Electrical
Metallurgical
Plastics
Electrical Design
Mechanical Design
Test

All above require experience in the field.

10/5/63

People's Savings Bank - Bridgeport

Employment Information

Applications for employment should be filed at the Bank's Main Office located at the corner of State and Main Streets, Bridgeport. The hostess in the banking lobby, or any of the uniformed guards will direct an applicant to the area where an application may be obtained and filled out.

Interviews - Applicants will be also interviewed at the Main Office of the Bank after completion of an application form.

Hours - The office is open on Mondays through Thursdays from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., and on Fridays from 9 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. It is not open Saturdays or Sundays.

Job Opportunities - Tellers, Secretaries, Stenographers, Typists, General Office Workers, Tabulating Machine Operators, Key Punch Machine Operators, Switchboard Operators, Guards, Custodial Workers, Accountants, Loan Interviewers, Mortgage Appraisers, Department Supervisors and General Management.

Requirements - Good references, educationally - at least a high school graduate, and for women, typing ability. Dexterity on an adding machine helpful, but not required.

Officer in Charge: G. B. Longstreth

10/5/63

# The Southern New England Telephone Company

## General

High school diploma is generally required for all starting jobs. All job applicants are welcome to file at our employment offices. The Bridgeport office is located at 30 Courtland Street. Each applicant is interviewed by the Employment Representative regardless of current job openings. As openings occur, applicants are contacted to set up test appointments. Pre-employment tests of three basic types are required where appropriate:

a. General Ability Tests
b. Aptitude Tests
c. Skill Tests (typing, shorthand, etc.)

## Local Starting Job Opportunities - High School Graduates

| Male | Requirements |
|---|---|
| Auto Messenger | Aptitude for Craft Jobs |
| Crafts: | |
| Lineman | Minimum 5' 8" in height, 150 lbs. Tested for general ability and aptitude for work with circuits, wiring diagrams, special relationships, etc. |
| Installer | Same as above - Electrical or Electronic experience or training is helpful |
| Frameman | No height and weight requirement - otherwise same as Installer |
| Splicer's Helper | Same as Lineman. |

| Female | Requirements |
|---|---|
| Operator | Tested for general and clerical abilities. |
| Typist | Same as above plus speed and accuracy typing test. |
| Teller | Tested for general and clerical abilities. |
| Service Representative | Tested for general and clerical abilities and aptitude for public contact work involving sales. |

## Local Starting Job Opportunities - College

| Male | Requirements |
|---|---|
| Management Trainee | Four year degree - high class standing - demonstrated leadership ability. |
| Communications Consultant or Directory Representative | Two years of college or equivalent - tested aptitude for sales. |
| Technical Assistant | Two years of technical college |

| Female | Requirements |
|---|---|
| Traffic Usage Counselor | Four year degree - high class standing. Ability for public contact work involving public speaking. |

10/5/63

# Civil Service Commission
City of Bridgeport, Connecticut

The Commission is the official personnel agency for the City of Bridgeport whose employees number approximately 2300, exclusive of teachers. All applicants for City employment must clear through this office, which is located on the second floor of the Barnum Museum Building, 804 Main Street, at the southeast corner of Main and Gilbert Streets. The office is open from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

Applicants fall into two broad categories: (1) Those filing to compete in civil service examinations; (2) Those filing for employment where no competitive examination is required. (Most of these openings are in the laborer category).

All competitive examinations are announced in the legal notices of the Bridgeport Post, at least two weeks before the actual test. The official announcement sets forth in detail when and where the examination will be held, the closing date for application, the duties of the particular job we are attempting to fill, the minimum requirements an applicant must meet to be allowed to compete, and the general type of test to be given, whether written or oral, and the weights (or relative importance) of the various subjects.

One important point: we do not issue applications for an examination unless there has been an official announcement of that examination. We do not maintain a mailing list of prospective applicants. The responsibility rests with the applicant to keep track of our announcements and to apply at the proper time.

Applicants for all employment with the City must meet certain common requirements, such as U.S. citizenship, Bridgeport residence for at least one year, good health and physical condition and good character. Beyond this, each examination has important requirements as to education and/or experience and it is by a reference to the formal announcement that the applicant may determine what these requirements are. An official application blank must be secured from the Commission's office.

Openings are available most often for female high school graduates in the classes of typist, stenographer and library assistant; for both male and female college graduates as social workers; for female public health nurses and staff nurses at Hillside Hospital. Young men, between the ages of 22 and 35, from time to time have the opportunity to compete for patrolman or fire fighter positions. While there is no formal education requirement for these two examinations, a high school education unquestionably gives one an advantage, both from the point of performance in the written test and also the rating granted for education and training.

Typical openings available in the non-competitive area of employment are for laborers in our Park and Public Works Department. Almost all of the jobs above the laborer level are filled from within the department organization, so that a young man who begins as a laborer may find it possible to advance. Work is available for women as attendants at Hillside or as janitresses in the schools.

10/5/63

# Howland's - Genung's

## How To Go About Applying for a Job

Those seeking employment may apply at the Personnel Office on the fourth floor at Howland's. After filling out a screening application, each applicant is interviewed and gives information about the kind of work he would like and the hours he is available. In the course of the interview questions are asked about the kind of work he has done previously, the courses he took in school, and any physical limitations to be considered in placing him in a job. To be ready for an interview, each applicant should make notes in advance of the dates of entering and leaving former places of employment. Also, it is advisable to ask in advance permission to use the names given as references. Each person should be sure to have his Social Security card with him.

Each applicant should be neatly dressed and business-like in their manner and appearance. Curlers in hair and gum chewing do not make a good impression. It is better not to have a group of friends along when applying for employment.

## For High School Graduates - What are the Qualifications for Employment

The first important qualification is attitude - a sincere interest in working, willingness to learn, an alert manner, and a sense of responsibility. Many jobs require no previous experience and on the job training is given. Selling jobs and office jobs require some previous experience, an aptitude for accuracy and the use of good judgment under pressure. A short, simple test is given to determine these qualifications. The Distributive Education Department in some high schools offers courses in merchandising, selling techniques, and fabric identification, all of which are helpful in qualifying for a selling job. The business courses given in our high schools qualify high school graduates for jobs in the office. Office visitation weeks, where students spend time in the office observing, are helpful in preparing for employment. High school courses in printing and art help applicants qualify for jobs in the Sign Shop and Display Department.

## Post Secondary Education - What are the Qualifications for Employment

Again, the first important qualification is attitude. Post secondary education provides more specialized training for starting employment on a higher level. In the office such jobs are billers, key punch operators, comptometer operators, and credit interviewers. To qualify for jobs as displaymen, artists, and copywriters post secondary education is necessary, and also for those in the Executive Training Group who are all management trainees.

10/5/63

Carpenters' District Council of Bridgeport and Vicinity

Building Trades Systems of hiring is largely controlled by the agreements that are negotiated between the Contractors and the 12 separate Unions that comprise the Building Trades.

In general, the employer hires who he wants and will request from the Union office any additional help that may be needed. Those Contracts that use the hiring hall system as perscribed by law and for hiring practices, must govern themselves accordingly.

All our agreements have clauses of the following nature:

There shall be no discrimination against any employee as to any term of employment or otherwise, by reason of race, color, creed, sex, age or political or religious affiliation.

All applications for apprenticeship will be given equal opportunity under standards that are set up by the Joint Apprenticeship Training Committee as set forth by the National Labor Department, the State Labor Department and the Unions General Constitutions.

In all cases, apprenticeship applications having equal opportunity without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, must be between the ages of 17 and 24 years of age, of good health, moral character and require high school or vocational school training, or take an aptitude test to show that his ability is being put to the proper use.

Our jurisdiction which covers the Greater Bridgeport area, has been one of the hard areas pressed for jobs. Our people have been forced to find employment in other fields and have gone out of the area and out of the State to earn a living. It also proves fact that the competition in our industry has produced highly skilled workmen.

If you feel you are qualified and can fill any one of the jobs in the Building Trades, I believe that our doors are open to you.

Robert J. McLevy
Business Representative

10/5/63

# Sikorsky Aircraft, Division of United Aircraft Corporation

It is a basic policy of Sikorsky Aircraft to treat all applicants for employment and all employees on the basis of their ability and qualifications without regard to race, religion, color, or national origin. This company's business is such as to demand trained, skilled, and dedicated personnel. In both the hiring and the advancement of employees, there can be no basis for selection other than the capability and the performance of the individual. This is one of the fundamental policies of United Aircraft Corporation, and it exists in all divisions of the corporation.

Where to apply: Employment Office, Stratford Plant, North Main Street (just north of Merritt Parkway) in Stratford, Connecticut.

How to apply: Requires completed application form which can be obtained by writing to or by personal appearance at the Employment Office. In either case, a personal interview is required. Every applicant is granted such an interview whether or not there are immediate openings.

Educational qualifications and starting opportunities for high school graduates:

Training in English is important to all jobs as it enables the reading and interpretation of instructions. It makes possible communication with others.

Training in mathematics enables one to read blueprints and to use precision-measuring instruments. This can qualify one for factory jobs such as assembler, riveter, wire man, press hand, drill-press operator, and stock chaser.

Training in typing and bookkeeping can qualify one for a great variety of clerical, typing, and record-keeping positions in office departments, such as Engineering, Sales, Production Control, and Accounting.

Opportunities requiring formal education after high school graduation:

Graduates of apprenticeship courses can qualify as toolmakers.

Graduates of two-year courses in aircraft technology (leading to FAA licensing as aircraft and power plant mechanics) can qualify as aircraft mechanics, crew chiefs, and flight inspectors.

Graduates of courses in electronic technology can qualify as test lab technicians or flight systems technicians.

Training in state or privately operated technical institutes can qualify one for such jobs as engineering assistant, draftsman, junior engineer, and stress analyst.

Business courses leading to associate degrees or certificates can qualify one as junior accountant, production control specialist, tabulating or computer specialist, and other positions involving assistance to professional, administrative, and executive personnel.

With few expections, a college education is required for professional, administrative, and executive positions:

College degrees in Engineering can qualify one for starting positions as test engineer, systems engineer, flight operations analyst, time-study analyst, and manufacturing process engineer.

Other types of college degrees can qualify one for starting positions of assistant buyer, material controller, assistant scheduler, and accountant.

10/5/63

United Parcel Service

May 31, 1964

Mr. Edward Salem
Employment Chairman
Norwalk CORE
7 Elm Street
Norwalk, Conn

Dear Mr. Salem:

You should go ahead with your project to open up the hiring of the United Parcel Services. Because the New York City Area chapters are committed to a munber of projects now, it is very difficult to begin this project with you. We have no reccord of discrimination at this office; however the State Commission is investigating one case now. If any more information is available, it will be sent on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Norman Hill
Director
Program Dept.

NH/ja

5

M N Katz

MAY 22 1964

Go on

May 19, 1964

Mr. Norman Hill
Program Director
38 Park Row
New York, NY

Dear Mr. Hill:

Our Employment committee at Norwalk CORE is about to begin work at obtaining jobs at United Parcel Service in this area. We are currently in the process of gathering material, as well as obtaining one or two test cases with the company. As of yet, we have not notified the Company of our plans.

We have been informed that UPS is to be given a new territory soon in the Washington, Maryland, Virginia area. They are, of course, regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission. In light of this, I would assume that the company would be prime target for my committee at this time. They undoubtedly would like to avoid any unnecessary bad publicity at this time.

UPS as only a terminal in Bridgeport, with larger offices in Hartford, and NYC. I was wondering if you have had an experience with the company, or any information you could offer. Since they are based in N.Y.C,, perhaps this is a project we should work on with National CORE.

Your feelings on this, and any information you have would be appreciated.

] have Jo Check with City Labor Dept.

WA 5-1900

Very truly yours,

Edward Salem

Edward Salem
Employment Chairman
Norwalk CORE

COT 4-600

see Mark Steinbock editor of Retail Record

WI 7-9303

Mr Katz

Syracuse
BA 7-1616
x 668

A REPORT

*to the*

*Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions*

# Cybernation:

## The Silent Conquest

by DONALD N. MICHAEL

This **REPORT** is one of a number to be issued by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions about significant issues involved in the maintenance of a free society. The Center is now the main activity of the Fund for the Republic, Inc. Its studies are devoted to clarifying questions of freedom and justice, especially those constitutional questions raised by the emerging power of non-governmental institutions.

This series of Reports deals, sometimes in a technical way, with specific aspects of the institutions being studied by the Center and its group of Consultants: the economic order, the trade union, the political process, communications, science and technology, law, war as an institution, the American character. The Reports are published as a service to groups and individuals with special interest in one or another of these areas.

This Report was made in connection with the Center's study of science and technology. Donald N. Michael is director of planning and programs of the Peace Research Institute in Washington, D.C. A graduate of the University of Chicago and of Harvard, he has been associated with several universities and government agencies, as well as the Brookings Institution. He has been a consultant to UNESCO, the Department of Defense, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, among others.

The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is a non-profit educational enterprise established by the Fund for the Republic to promote the principles of individual liberty expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Contributors to publications issued under the auspices of the Center are responsible for their statements of fact and expressions of opinions. The Center is responsible only for determining that the material should be presented to the public as a contribution to the discussion of the free society.

# Cybernation:

## The Silent Conquest

by DONALD N. MICHAEL

*Sample copy free;*
*prices for additional copies*
*provided on request to:*

CENTER FOR THE STUDY
OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California

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# Introduction

Both optimists and pessimists often claim that automation is simply the latest stage in the evolution of technological means for removing the burdens of work. The assertion is misleading. There is a very good possibility that automation is so different in degree as to be a profound difference in kind, and that it will pose unique problems for society, challenging our basic values and the ways in which we express and enforce them.*

In order to understand what both the differences and the problems are and, even more, will be, we have to know something of the nature and use of automation and computers. There are two important classes of devices. One class, usually referred to when one speaks of "automation," is made up of devices that automatically perform sensing and motor tasks, replacing or improving on human capacities for performing these functions. The second class, usually referred to when one speaks of "computers," is composed of devices that perform, very rapidly, routine or complex logical and decision-making tasks, replacing or improving on human capacities for performing these functions.

Using these machines does not merely involve replacing men by having machines do tasks that men did before. It is, as John Diebold says, a way of "thinking as much as it is a way of doing. . . . It is no longer necessary to think in terms of individual machines, or even in terms of groups of machines; instead, for the first time, it is practical to look at an entire production or information-handling process as an integrated system and not as a series of individual steps."[1] For example, if the building trades were to be automated, it would not mean inventing machines to do the various tasks now done by men; rather, buildings would be redesigned so that they could be built by machines. One

*This paper makes the following assumptions in looking on the next twenty years or so: *1)* international relations will derive from the same general conditions that pertain today; *2)* the weapons systems industries will continue to support a major share of our economy; *3)* major discoveries will be made and applied in other technologies, including psychology and medicine; *4)* trends in megalopolis living and in population growth will continue; *5)* no major shifts in underlying social attitudes and in public and private goals will take place.

Footnotes appear on pages 47 and 48.

might invent an automatic bricklayer, but it is more likely that housing would be designed so that bricks would not be laid. Automation of the electronics industry was not brought about through the invention of automatic means for wiring circuits but through the invention of essentially wireless—*i.e.*, printed—circuits (though today there are automatic circuit wirers as well).

The two classes of devices overlap. At one pole are the automatic producers of material objects and, at the other, the sophisticated analyzers and interpreters of complex data. In the middle zone are the mixed systems, in which computers control complicated processes, such as the operations of an oil refinery, on the basis of interpretations that they make of data automatically fed to them about the environment. Also in this middle zone are those routine, automatic, data-processing activities which provide men with the bases for controlling, or at least understanding, what is happening to a particular environment. Processing of social security data and making straightforward tabulations of census information are examples of these activities.*

Cybernated systems perform with a precision and a rapidity unmatched in humans. They also perform in ways that would be impractical or impossible for humans to duplicate. They can be built to detect and correct errors in their own performance and to indicate to men which of their components are producing the error. They can make judgments on the basis of instructions programmed into them. They can remember and search their memories for appropriate data, which either has been programmed into them along with their instructions or has been acquired in the process of manipulating new data. Thus, they can learn on the basis of past experience with their environment. They can receive information in more codes and sensory modes than men can. They are beginning to perceive and to recognize.

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*In order to eliminate the awkwardness of repeating the words "automation" and "computers" each time we wish to refer to both at the same time, and in order to avoid the semantic difficulties involved in using one term or the other to mean both ends of the continuum, we invent the term "cybernation" to refer to *both* automation and computers. The word is legitimate at least to the extent that it derives from "cybernetics," a term invented by Norbert Wiener to mean the processes of communication and control in man and machines. He derived it from the Greek word for "steersman." The theory and practice of cybernetics underlie all systematic design and application of automation and computers.

As a result of these characteristics, automation is being used to make and roll steel, mine coal, manufacture engine blocks, weave cloth, sort and grade everything from oranges to bank checks. More versatile automatic fabricators are becoming available, too:

> *"U.S. Industries announced . . . that it had developed what was termed the first general-purpose automation machine available to manufacturers as standard 'off-the-shelf' hardware. . . . The new machine, called a TransfeRobot, sells for $2,500. . . . The Westclox Company of La Salle, Ill., has been using a TransfeRobot to oil clock assemblies as they pass on a conveyor belt. The machine oils eight precision bearings simultaneously in a second. At the Underwood Corporation typewriter plant in Hartford, the robot picks up, transfers and places a small typewriter component into a close-fitting nest for an automatic machine operation. In an automobile plant, the device feeds partly fabricated parts of a steering assembly to a trimming press and controls the press. The device consists basically of an arm and actuator that can be fitted with many types of fingers and jaws. All are controlled by a self-contained electronic brain."*[2]

At the other end of the continuum, computers are being used rather regularly to analyze market portfolios for brokers; compute the best combination of crops and livestock for given farm conditions; design and "fly" under typical and extreme conditions rockets and airplanes before they are built; design, in terms of costs and traffic-flow characteristics, the appropriate angles and grades for complex traffic interchanges; keep up-to-date inventory records and print new stock orders as automatically computed rates of sales and inventory status indicate. Computers have also been programmed to write mediocre TV dramas (by manipulating segments of the plot), write music, translate tolerably if not perfectly from one language to another, and simulate some logical brain processes (so that the machine goes about solving puzzles – and making mistakes in the process – in the ways people do). Also, computers are programmed to play elaborate "games" by themselves or in collaboration with human beings. Among other reasons, these games are played to understand and plan more efficiently for the conduct of wars and the procedures for industrial and business aggrandizement. Through such games, involving a vast number of variables, and contingencies

within which these variables act and interact, the best or most likely solutions to complex problems are obtained.

The utility and the applicability of computers are being continually enhanced. For example, after a few hours of training, non-specialists can operate the smaller computers without the aid of programmers simply by plugging in pre-recorded instruction tapes that tell the computer how to do specific tasks. Instruction-tape libraries can supply pre-programmed computer directions for everything from finding the cube root of a number to designing a bridge. When the machine is through with one task, its circuits can be easily cleared so that a new set of pre-programmed instructions can be plugged in by its businessman operator.

But the capabilities of computers already extend well beyond even these applications. Much successful work has been done on computers that can program themselves. For example, they are beginning to operate the way man appears to when he is exploring ways of solving a novel problem. That is, they apply and then modify, as appropriate, previous experiences with and methods of solution for what appear to be related problems. Some of the machines show originality and unpredictability. To take one example from a recent paper of Norbert Wiener:

> *"The present level of these learning machines is that they play a fair amateur game at chess but that in checkers they can show a marked superiority to the player who has programmed them after from 10 to 20 playing hours of working and indoctrination. They thus most definitely escape from the completely effective control of the man who has made them. Rigid as the repertory of factors may be which they are in a position to take into consideration, they do unquestionably—and so say those who have played with them—show originality, not merely in their tactics, which may be quite unforeseen, but even in the detailed weighting of their strategy."*[3]

Another example of a machine the behavior of which is not completely controllable or predictable is the Perceptron, designed by Dr. Frank Rosenblatt. This machine can learn to recognize what it has seen before and to teach itself generalizations about what it recognizes. It can also learn to discriminate, and thereby to identify shapes similar to those it has seen before. Future versions will hear as well as see. It

is not possible to predict the degree and quality of recognition that the machine will display as it is learning. It is designed to learn and discriminate in the same way that it is believed man may learn and discriminate; it has its own pace and style of learning, of refining its discriminations, and of making mistakes in the process.

It is no fantasy, then, to be concerned with the implications of the thinking machines. There is every reason to believe that within the next two decades machines will be available outside the laboratory that will do a credible job of original thinking, certainly as good thinking as that expected of most middle-level people who are supposed to "use their minds." There is no basis for knowing where this process will stop, nor, as Wiener has pointed out, is there any comfort in the assertion that, since man built the machine, he will always be smarter or more capable than it is.

> *"It may be seen that the result of a programming technique of [cybernation] is to remove from the mind of the designer and operator an effective understanding of many of the stages by which the machine comes to its conclusions and of what the real tactical intentions of many of its operations may be. This is highly relevant to the problem of our being able to foresee undesired consequences outside the frame of the strategy of the game while the machine is still in action and while intervention on our part may prevent the occurrence of these consequences. Here it is necessary to realize that human action is a feedback action. To avoid a disastrous consequence, it is not enough that some action on our part should be sufficient to change the course of the machine, because it is quite possible that we lack information on which to base consideration of such an action."*[4]

The capabilities and potentialities of these devices are unlimited. They contain extraordinary implications for the emancipation and enslavement of mankind.

The opportunities for man's enhancement through the benefits of cybernation are generally more evident and more expected, especially in view of our proclivity to equate technological advances with progress and happiness. In the words of the National Association of Manufacturers:

*"For the expanding, dynamic economy of America, the sky is indeed the limit. Now more than ever we must have confidence in America's capacity to grow. Guided by electronics, powered by atomic energy, geared to the smooth, effortless workings of automation, the magic carpet of our free economy heads for distant and undreamed horizons. Just going along for the ride will be the biggest thrill on earth!"*[3]

But the somber and complex difficulties produced by cybernation, which already are beginning to plague some aspects of our society and economy, are only beginning to be recognized. Thus, although this paper will describe, first, the advantages of cybernation, which make its ever expanding application so compelling, it will, on the whole, emphasize the less obvious, sometimes acutely uncomfortable aspects of this development with which we must successfully contend if we are to enjoy the benefits of both cybernation and democracy.

# The Advantages of Cybernation

In recent years deteriorating sales prospects, rising production costs, increased foreign competition, and lower profits have led business management to turn to our national talent for technological invention as the most plausible means of reducing costs and increasing productivity, whether the product is an engine block or tables of sales figures. And the government, faced with the need to process and understand rapidly increasing masses of numerical facts about the state of the nation and the world, is already using 524 computers and is the major customer for more of them.

What are the advantages of cybernated systems that make government and private enterprise turn to them to solve problems?

In the first place, in a competitive society a successfully cybernated organization often has economic advantages over a competitor using people instead of machines. As *U.S. News and World Report* says:

> *"In one line of business after another, the trend is the same. Companies are spending millions of dollars to mechanize their operations, boost output and cut costs. . . . Says an official of a big electrical company: 'It is no longer a question of whether or not to automate, but rather it is how far to go and how fast to proceed. If you don't, your competition will.'"*[6]

Not only must many organizations automate to compete, but the same principle probably holds for competing nations. We are by no means the only semi-cybernated society. Europe and Russia are well under way, and their machines and products compete with ours here and in the world market. The U.S.S.R. is making an all-out effort to cybernate as much of its planning-economic-industrial operation as it can.

In the second place, reducing the number of personnel in an organization reduces the magnitude of management's human relations tasks, whether these be coping with over-long coffee breaks, union negotiations, human errors, or indifference.

In the third place, cybernation permits much greater rationalization of managerial activities. The computers can produce information about what is happening now, as well as continuously up-dated information about what will be the probable consequences of specific decisions based on present and extrapolated circumstances. The results are available in a multitude of detailed or simplified displays in the form of words, tables of figures, patterns of light, growth and decay curves, dial readings, etc. In many situations, built-in feedback monitors the developing situation and deals with routine changes, errors, and needs with little or no intervention by human beings. This frees management for attention to more basic duties. There is, for example,

> *". . . an automatic lathe . . . which gauges each part as it is produced and automatically resets the cutting tools to compensate for tool wear. In addition, when the cutting tools have been worn down to a certain predetermined limit, the machine automatically replaces them with sharp tools. The parts are automatically loaded onto the machine and are automatically unloaded as they are finished. These lathes can be*

*operated for 5 to 8 hours without attention, except for an occasional check to make sure that parts are being delivered to the loading mechanism."*[7]

Another example, combining built-in feedback with a display capability, adds further illumination:

*"The Grayson-Robinson apparel chain, which has more than 100 stores throughout the country, receives print-punch tags daily from its stores and converts them to full-size punchcards. The complete merchandise and inventory control function is then handled on a computer. What styles are to be processed first are determined at the computer center. During any given week about 60 per cent of the sales data are received and summarized. On the following Monday morning the remaining 40 per cent of the sales data are received. The computer can then begin running style reports immediately after the tickets have been converted to cards. By this time the company can run up style reports by departments and price lines in order to obtain the necessary merchandising information. The entire reporting job is completed by Wednesday afternoon of each week, including reports on all inactive stockpiles."*[8]

Freeing management from petty distractions in these ways permits more precise and better substantiated decisions, whether they have to do with business strategy, government economic policy, equipment system planning, or military strategy and tactics. Thus, management in business or government can have much better control both over the system as it operates and over the introduction of changes into future operations. Indeed, the changes themselves may be planned in conformity with, and guided by, a strategy that is derived from a computer analysis of the future environment.

In the fourth place, cybernation allows government and industry much greater freedom in locating their facilities efficiently in relation to the accessibility of raw products, markets, transportation, and needed (or cheaper) human and material resources. Distance is no longer a barrier to control and coordination. The computers that control automated processes need not be near the factories nor the data-processing computers near their sources of information or users if other considerations are more pressing. Widely dispersed installations can be coordinated

and controlled from still another place, and the dispersed units can interact with each other and affect one another's performance as easily, in many cases, as if they were all in the same place.

In the fifth place, some degree of cybernation is necessary to meet the needs of our larger population and to maintain or increase the rate of growth of the Gross National Product. An estimated 80,000,000 persons will be added to our population in the next twenty years. Beyond increases in productivity per man hour to be expected from the projected 20 per cent growth in the labor force during this same period, productive growth will have to be provided by machines.

If the criteria are control, understanding, and profits, there are strong reasons why government and business should want to, and indeed would have to, expand cybernation as rapidly as they can. The versatility of computers and automation is becoming better understood all the time by those who use them, even though, as with the human brain, most present users are far from applying their full potential. Cheap and general purpose computers or modular components applicable to many types of automatic production and decision-making are now being manufactured. In good part, they are cheap because they themselves are produced by automated methods. Techniques for gathering the field data that serve as the "inputs" to the machines are being refined and themselves automated or semi-automated. For example, a large shoe distributor is planning to attach a pre-punched IBM card to each shoe box. When a sale is made, the card is returned to a central facility to guide inventory adjustment, reordering, and sales recording and analysis. Techniques for quickly implementing the "outputs" from the machines are also being invented. Methods are being developed for systematically establishing the precise kind and degree of cybernation required in specific situations as well as the changes needed in the rest of the institution or organization using cybernation.

These are the advantages for management, for government, and for those parts of the work force whose status has been enhanced because of cybernation. But as cybernation advances, new and profound problems will arise for our society and its values. Cybernation presages changes in the social system so vast and so different from those with which we have traditionally wrestled that it will challenge to their roots

our current perceptions about the viability of our way of life. If our democratic system has a chance to survive at all, we shall need far more understanding of the consequences of cybernation. Even the job of simply preserving a *going* society will take a level of planning far exceeding any of our previous experiences with centralized control.

The balance of this paper will point out some of the implications of cybernation that we must recognize in our task of developing a society and institutions in which man may be allowed to reach his full capacities.

# The Problems of Cybernation

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

BLUE-COLLAR ADULTS *"In the highly automated chemical industry, the number of production jobs has fallen 3% since 1956 while output has soared 27%. Though steel capacity has increased 20% since 1955, the number of men needed to operate the industry's plants—even at full capacity—has dropped 17,000. Auto employment slid from a peak of 746,000 in boom 1955 to 614,000 in November. . . . Since the meat industry's 1956 employment peak, 28,000 workers have lost their jobs despite a production increase of 3%. Bakery jobs have been in a steady decline from 174,000 in 1954 to 163,000 last year. On the farm one man can grow enough to feed 24 people; back in 1949 he could feed only 15."*[9]

Further insight into the problem of declining employment for the blue-collar worker comes from union statements to the effect that the number of these employees in manufacturing has been reduced by 1,500,000 in the last six years. As one example from the service industries, automatic elevators have already displaced 40,000 operators in New York.

Another disturbing aspect of the blue-collar displacement problem is its impact on employment opportunities for Negroes. There is already an increasingly lopsided Negro-to-white unemployment ratio as the dock, factory, and mine operations where Negroes have hitherto found their steadiest employment are cybernated. This, plus the handicaps of bias in hiring and lack of educational opportunity, leaves Negroes very few chances to gain new skills and new jobs. Continued widespread and disproportionate firings of Negroes, if accompanied by ineffectual re-employment methods, may well produce a situation that will increase disenchantment abroad and encourage discontent and violence here.

SERVICE INDUSTRIES It is commonly argued that, with the growth of population, there will always be more need for people in the service industries. The assumption is that these industries will be able to absorb the displaced, retrained blue-collar labor force; that automation will not seriously displace people who perform service functions; and that the demand for engineers and scientists will be so great as to provide employment for any number of the young people who graduate with engineering training. (Indeed, some of this demand is expected to arise from the needs of cybernetic systems themselves.)

It is all very well to speak glowingly of the coming growth in the service industries and the vast opportunities for well-paid jobs and job-upgrading that these activities will provide as blue-collar opportunities diminish. But is the future as bright and as simple as this speculation implies? In the first place, service activities will also tend to displace workers by becoming self-service, by becoming cybernated, and by being eliminated. Consider the following data: The U.S. Census Bureau was able to use fifty statisticians in 1960 to do the tabulations that required 4,100 in 1950. Even where people are not being fired, service industries can now carry on a vastly greater amount of business without hiring additional personnel; for example, a 50 per cent increase in the Bell System's volume of calls in the last ten years with only a 10 per cent increase in personnel.

Automation frequently permits the mass production of both cheap items and items of adequate to superior quality. It frequently uses methods of fabrication that make replacement of part or all of the item

more efficient or less bother than repairing it. As automation results in more leisure time, certainly some of this time will be used by more and more do-it-yourselfers to replace worn-out or faulty components in home appliances that are now repaired by paid service personnel. Nor is it clear that repairing computers will be big business. Computer design is in the direction of microminiaturized components: when there is a failure in the system, the malfunctioning part is simply unplugged or pulled out, much as a drawer from a bureau, and replaced by a new unit. Routine procedures determine which component is malfunctioning, so routine that the larger computers now indicate where their own troubles are, so routine that small computers could be built to troubleshoot others. This does not mean that clever maintenance and repair people will be completely unnecessary, but it does mean that a much more careful estimate is required of the probable need for these skills in home-repair work or in computer-repair work.

Drip-dry clothes, synthetic fabrics, plus self-service dry and wet cleaning facilities, probably will outmode this type of service activity.

Identification by fingerprints, instantly checked against an up-to-date nation-wide credit rating (performed by a central computer facility), could eliminate all service activities associated with processing based on identification (for example, bank tellers). A computer that can identify fingerprints does not yet exist, but there is no reason to believe it will not be invented in the next two decades.

If people cost more than machines – either in money or because of the managerial effort involved – there will be growing incentives to replace them in one way or another in most service activities where they perform routine, predefined tasks. It is possible, of course, that eventually people will not cost more than machines, because there may be so many of them competing for jobs, including a growing number of working women. But will service people be this cheap? As union strength is weakened or threatened through reductions in blue-collar membership, unions will try, as they have already begun to do, to organize the white-collar worker and other service personnel more completely in order to help them to protect their jobs from managements willing to hire those who, having no other work to turn to, would work for less money. Former blue-collar workers who, through retraining, will join the ranks

of the service group may help to produce an atmosphere conducive to such unionizing. But how many service organizations will accept the complications of union negotiations, strikes, personnel services, and higher wages in preference to investing in cybernation?

It is possible that as automation and computers are applied more widely an attitude of indifference to personalized service will gradually develop. People will not demand it and organizations will not provide it. The family doctor is disappearing; clerks of all sorts in stores of all sorts are disappearing as well. For example:

> *"The R. H. Macy Co. is trying out its first electronic sales girl. This machine is smart enough to dispense 36 different items in 10 separate styles and sizes. It accepts one- and five-dollar bills in addition to coins and returns the correct change plus rejecting counterfeit currency."*[10]

People either get used to this or, as in the case of the self-service supermarket, seem to prefer it.

It is already the rare sales clerk who knows the "real" differences between functionally similar items; indeed, in most stores, sales clerks as such are rare. Thus, the customer is almost forced to do much of his own selecting and to know at least as much about or to be at least as casual about the differences between competing items as the clerk. As automation increases, the utility of the sales clerk will further diminish. With some products, automation will permit extensive variation in design and utility. With others, especially if our society follows its present course, automation will encourage the endless proliferation of items only marginally different from one other. In either event there is no reason to believe that the clerk or salesman will become more knowledgeable about an even larger variety of competing items. Finally, it is obvious that the remaining tasks of the clerk, such as recording the sale and insuring that the item is paid for, can be cybernated without difficulty.

The greater the indifference to personalized service by both buyers and sellers, the greater the opportunity, of course, to remove human judgments from the system. Cybernation may well encourage acceptance of such depersonalization, and this, in turn, would encourage further reductions in opportunities for service jobs.

MIDDLE MANAGEMENT The blue-collar worker and the relatively menial service worker will not be the only employment victims of cybernation.

*". . . Broadly, our prognostications are along the following lines:*

*"1) Information technology should move the boundary between planning and performance upward. Just as planning was taken from the hourly worker and given to the industrial engineer, we now expect it to be taken from a number of middle managers and given to as yet largely nonexistent specialists: 'operation researchers,' perhaps, or 'organizational analysts.' Jobs at today's middle-management level will become highly structured. Much more of the work will be programmed,* i.e., *covered by sets of operating rules governing the day-to-day decisions that are made.*

*"2) Correlatively, we predict that large industrial organizations will recentralize, that top managers will take on an ever larger proportion of the innovating, planning, and other 'creative' functions than they have now.*

*"3) A radical reorganization of middle-management levels should occur with* certain classes *of middle-management jobs moving downward in status and compensation (because they will require less autonomy and skill), while other classes move upward into the top-management group.*

*"4) We suggest, too, that the line separating the top from the middle of the organization will be drawn more clearly and impenetrably than ever, much like the line drawn in the last few decades between hourly workers and first-line supervisors.*

*". . . Information technology promises to allow fewer people to do more work. The more it can reduce the number of middle managers, the more top managers will be willing to try it. . . . One can imagine major psychological problems arising from the depersonalization of relationships within management and the greater distance between people at different levels. . . . In particular, we may have to reappraise our traditional notions about the worth of the individual as opposed to the organization, and about the mobility rights of young men on the make. This kind of inquiry may be painfully difficult, but will be increasingly necessary."*[11]

As cybernation moves into the areas now dominated by middle management in government and in business—and this move is already begin-

ning—growing numbers of middle managers will find themselves displaced. Perhaps the bulk of displaced members of the blue-collar and service work force might be trained "up" or "over" to other jobs with, generally speaking, little or no decline in status. But the middle manager presents a special and poignant problem. Where can he go? To firms that are not as yet assigning routine liaison, analysis, and minor executive tasks to machines? This may take care of some of the best of the displaced managers and junior executives, but if these firms are to have a future, the chances are that they will have to computerize eventually in order to compete. To the government? Again, some could join it, but the style and format of governmental operations may require readjustments that many junior executives would be unable to make. And, in any case, government too, as we have seen, is turning to computers, and it is entirely possible that much of the work of *its* middle management will also be absorbed by the computers. Up into top management? A few, of course, but necessarily only a few. Into the service end of the organization, such as sales? Some here, certainly, if they have the talent for such work. If computers and automation lead to an even greater efflorescence of marginally differentiated articles and services, there will be a correspondingly greater emphasis on sales in an effort to compete successfully. But can this be an outlet for a truly significant portion of the displaced? And at what salary? Overseas appointments in nations not yet using cybernation at the management level? Again, for a few, but only for those with the special ability to fit into a different culture at the corresponding level from which they came.

Middle management is the group in the society with the most intensive emotional drive for success and status. Their family and social life is molded by these needs, as the endless literature on life in suburbia and exurbia demonstrate. They stand to be deeply disturbed by the threat and fact of their replacement by machines. One wonders what the threat will do to the ambitions of those who will still be students and who, as followers of one of the pervasive American dreams, will have aspired to the role of middle manager "on the way up."

With the demise or downgrading of this group, changes in consumption levels and patterns can also be expected. These people, although they are not the only consumers of products of the sort advertised in

*The New Yorker, Holiday,* and the like, are certainly among the largest of such consumers. They are the style-setters, the innovators, and the experimenters with new, quality products. With their loss of status and the loss of their buying power, one can imagine changes in advertising, or at least changes in the "taste" that this advertising tries to generate. It is possible that the new middle élite, the engineers, operations researchers, and systems analysts, will simply absorb the standards of the group they will have replaced. But they may be different enough in outlook and motives to have different styles in consumption.

OVERWORKED PROFESSIONALS There are service jobs, of course, that require judgments about people by people. (We are not including here the "personalized service" type of salesmanship.) The shortage of people with these talents is evidenced by the 60-hour and more work-weeks of many professionals. But these people are the products of special education, special motives, and special attitudes that are not shared to any great degree by those who turn to blue-collar or routine service tasks. Increasing the proportion of citizens with this sort of professional competence would require systematic changes in attitudes, motives, and levels of education, not to mention more teachers, a professional service already in short supply. Alterations of this magnitude cannot be carried out overnight or by casual advertising campaigns or minor government appropriations. It is doubtful indeed, in our present operating context, that they can be done fast enough to make a significant difference in the employment picture for professional services in the next decade or two. Values become imbedded early in life. They are subject to change, to be sure, but we are not, as a democratic society, adept at or inclined to change them deliberately and systematically.

Even if the teachers and the appropriate attitudes already existed, service needs at the professional level might not be great enough to absorb a large share of the potentially unemployed. Much of the work that now takes up the time of many professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, could be done by computers—just as much of the time of teachers is now taken up by teaching what could be done as well by machines.

The development of procedures for medical diagnosis by machine is proceeding well. A completely automatic analysis of data can produce

just as good a diagnosis of brain malfunction as that done by a highly trained doctor. Cybernated diagnosis will be used in conjunction with improved multi-purpose antibiotics and with microminiaturized, highly sensitive, and accurate telemetering equipment (which can be swallowed, imbedded in the body, or affixed to it) in order to detect, perhaps at a distance, significant symptoms.[12] All of these developments are likely to change the nature of a doctor's time-consuming tasks. In the field of law successful codification, so that searches and evaluations can be automatic, as well as changes in legal procedures, will probably make the lawyer's work substantially different from what it is today, at least in terms of how he allocates his time.

Computers probably will perform tasks like these because the shortage of professionals will be more acute at the time the computers acquire the necessary capabilities. By then, speeded-up data processing and interpretation will be necessary if professional services are to be rendered with any adequacy. Once the computers are in operation, the need for additional professional people may be only moderate, and those who are needed will have to be of very high calibre indeed. Probably only a small percentage of the population will have the natural endowments to meet such high requirements. A tour of the strongholds of science and engineering and conversations with productive scientists and engineers already lead to the conclusion that much of what now appears to be creative, barrier-breaking "research and development" is in fact routine work done by mediocre scientists and engineers. We lose sight of the fact that not everybody with dirty hands or a white coat is an Einstein or a Steinmetz. Many first-class scientists in universities will testify that one consequence of the increasingly large federal funds for research is that many more mediocre scientists doing mediocre work are being supported. No doubt for some time to come good use can be made by good professionals of battalions of mediocre professionals. But battalions are not armies. And sooner or later one general of science or engineering will be able to fight this war for knowledge more effectively with more push-buttons than with more intellectual foot-soldiers.

UNTRAINED ADOLESCENTS *"Altogether the United States will need 13,500,000 more jobs in the Sixties merely to keep abreast of the*

*expected growth in the labor force. This means an average of 25,000 new jobs each week, on top of those required to drain the reservoir of present unemployment and to replace jobs made superfluous by improved technology. In the last year, despite the slackness of employment opportunities, 2,500,000 more people came into the job scramble than left it through death, age, sickness or voluntary withdrawal. This was more than double the 835,000 average annual growth in the working population in the last ten years. By the end of this decade, 3,000,000 youngsters will be starting their quest for jobs each year, as against 2,000,000 now. This almost automatically guarantees trouble in getting the over-all unemployment rate down to 4 per cent because the proportion of idleness among teen-age workers is always far higher than it is among their elders."*[13]

The Labor Department estimates that 26,000,000 adolescents will seek work in the Sixties. If present performance is any indicator, in the decade ahead 30 per cent of adolescents will continue to drop out before completing high school and many who could go to college won't. The unemployment rate for such drop-outs is about 30 per cent now. Robert E. Iffert, of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, concluded in a 1958 study that approximately one-fourth of the students who enter college leave after their freshman year never to return. Figures compiled since then lead him to conclude that there has been no significant change, in spite of the National Defense Education Act, which was supposed to help reduce this figure.[14]

If some figures recently given by James B. Conant turn out to be typical, at least one situation is much more serious than the average would imply. He found that in one of our largest cities, in an almost exclusively Negro slum of 125,000, 70 per cent of the boys and girls between 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed. In another city, in an almost exclusively Negro slum, in the same age group, 48 per cent of the high school graduates were unemployed and 63 per cent of the high school drop-outs were unemployed.[15] These adolescents would in the normal course join the untrained or poorly trained work force, a work force that will be more and more the repository of untrainable or untrained people displaced from their jobs by cybernation. These adolescents will have the following choices: they can stay in school, for which

they are unsuited either by motivation or by intelligence; they can seek training that will raise them out of the untrained work force; they can compete in the growing manpower pool of those seeking relatively unskilled jobs; or they can loaf.

If they loaf, almost inevitably they are going to become delinquent. Thus, without adequate occupational outlets for these youths, cybernation may contribute substantially to further social disruption.

Threatened institutions often try forcibly to repress groups demanding changes in the *status quo*. Imagine the incentives to use force that would exist in a nation beset by national and international frustrations and bedeviled by anarchic unemployed-youth movements. Imagine, too, the incentives to use force in view of the reserves of volunteer "police" made up of adults who can vent their own unemployment-based hostility in a socially approved way by punishing or disciplining these "children."

A constructive alternative, of course, is to provide appropriate training for these young people in tasks that are not about to be automated. But this implies an elaborate, costly program of research and planning to recruit teachers, to apply advanced teaching machine methods as a supplement to teachers, and to stimulate presently unmotivated youngsters to learn. The program would also require intensive cooperation among business, labor, education, local social service agencies, and the government. And all this must begin *now* in order for it to be ready when it will be needed.

None of this is easily met. Persuading drop-outs to stay in school will not be easy. Teachers will not be easy to recruit unless they are well paid. There is already a shortage of teachers. And let no one suggest that an easy source of teachers would be displaced workers. There is no reason to believe that they have the verbal and social facility to teach, and most of them would have nothing to teach but skills that have become obsolete. Some, of course, might be taught to teach, though this would add obvious complications to the whole effort.

Knowing what to teach will depend on knowing what types of jobs are likely to exist when the student finishes his training. This will require knowledge about the trends and plans of local industry, if that is where the youths are to work (and if that is where industry plans to stay!), and of industries in other localities, if the youths are willing to move. Such

knowledge often does not exist in a rapidly changing world or, if it exists, may not be forthcoming from businesses more concerned with competition than with the frustrated "delinquents" of their community. As of now, in the words of Dr. Conant, "unemployment of youth is literally nobody's affair."

SOME PROPOSED SOLUTIONS Retraining is often proposed as if it were also the cure-all for coping with adults displaced by cybernation as well as young people. In some circumstances it has worked well for some people, especially with office personnel who have been displaced by data-processing computers and have learned other office jobs, including servicing the computers. But in other cases, especially with poorly educated blue-collar workers, retraining has not always been successful, nor have new jobs based on that retraining been available. Max Horton, Michigan's Director of Employment Security, says:

*" 'I suppose that is as good as any way for getting rid of the unemployed—just keeping them in retraining. But how retrainable are the mass of these unskilled and semi-skilled unemployed? Two-thirds of them have less than a high school education. Are they interested in retraining? But most important, is there a job waiting for them when they have been retrained?' The new California Smith-Collier Act retraining program drew only 100 applicants in six months."*[16]

A. H. Raskin's survey of the situation leads him to conclude:

*"The upgrading task will be a difficult, and perhaps impossible, one for those whose education and general background do not fit them for skilled work. The outlook is especially bleak for miners, laborers and other unskilled workers over 40, who already make up such a big chunk of the hard core of joblessness."*[17]

Moreover, management has not always been willing to institute retraining programs. People are either fired outright in some cases or, more often, simply are not rehired after a layoff.

*"Labor and management have been slow to face the problem over the bargaining table. Harry Bridges' West Coast longshoremen's union recently agreed to give shippers a free hand to mechanize cargo han-*

*dling—in exchange for a guarantee of present jobs, plus early retirement and liberal death benefits. In Chicago this week, President Clark Kerr of the University of California, one of the top labor economists, will preside over a company-union committee meeting at Armour & Co. to draw up a plan for the rapidly automating meat industry. A similar committee is at work at Kaiser Steel Co. But many authorities think such efforts are far too few, that management must do more. E. C. Schulze, acting area director of Ohio's state employment service, says: 'I've yet to see an employer's group willing to take a look at this problem and seek solutions. They refuse to recognize their responsibility. They talk about long-term trends—but nobody talks about the immediate problem of jobless, needy people.' "*[18]

The problem of retraining blue-collar workers is formidable enough. But, in view of the coming role of cybernation in the service industries, the retraining problem for service personnel seems insuperable. No one has seriously proposed what service tasks this working group could be retrained *for*—to say nothing of training them for jobs that would pay high enough wages to make them good consumers of the cornucopia of products manufactured by automation.

Another proposal for coping with the unemployment-via-cybernation problem is shorter hours for the same pay. This approach is intended to maintain the ability of workers to consume the products of cybernation and, in the case of blue-collar workers, to maintain the strength of unions. This would retain the consumer purchasing capacity for x workers in those situations where the nature of the cybernation process is such that x men would do essentially the same work as x plus y men used to do. But when the task itself is eliminated or new tasks are developed that need different talents, shorter shifts clearly will not solve the problem. The latter conditions are the more likely ones as cybernation becomes more sophisticated.

Proponents of cybernation claim that it should reduce the price of products by removing much of the cost of labor and increasing consumer demand. Whether the price of beef, or milk, or rent will be reduced in phase with the displaced worker's lowered paycheck remains to be seen. So far this has not happened. Whether the price of TV sets, cars, refrigerators, etc. will be reduced substantially depends in part on how much

product cost goes into larger advertising budgets aimed at differentiating the product from the essentially same one produced last year or from the practically identical one produced on some other firm's automated production line.

An obvious solution to unemployment is a public works program. If our understanding of the direction of cybernation is correct, the government will probably be faced for the indefinite future with the need to support part of the population through public works. There is no dearth of public work to be done, and it is not impossible that so much would continue to be needed that an appropriately organized public works program could stimulate the economy to the point that a substantial portion of the work force could be re-absorbed into the private sector. That is, although the proportion of workers needed for any particular task will be reduced through the use of cybernation, the total number of tasks that need to be done could equal or exceed the absolute number of people available to do them. It is not known whether this situation would obtain for enough tasks in enough places so that the portion of the population working on public projects would be relatively small. However, if it should turn out that this felicitous state of affairs could be realized in principle, clearly it could only be realized and sustained if there were to be considerable and continuous centralized planning and control over financing, the choice of public projects, and the places where they were to be done. If, for whatever reasons, this situation could not be achieved, the public works payroll would remain very large indeed.

What would be the effects on the attitudes and aspirations of a society, and particularly of its leadership, when a significant part of it is overtly supported by governmental public works programs? ("Overtly" is used because much of the aerospace industry in particular and of the weapons systems industry in general is subsidized by the government right now: they literally live off cost plus fixed fee contracts, and there is no other comparable market for their products.) Whatever else the attitudes might be, they certainly would not be conducive to maintaining the spirit of a capitalistic economy. This shift in perspective may or may not be desirable, but those who think it would be undesirable should realize that

encouraging the extension of cybernation, in the interests of free enterprise and better profits, may be self-defeating.

The inherent flexibility of cybernated systems, which permits great latitude in their geographic location, is the inspiration for the proposal that if jobs are lost through cybernation, the unemployed could be moved to another area where jobs exist. It is said that a governmental agency similar to the Agricultural Resettlement Administration, which moved farmers from the Dust Bowl to cities, could be used. However, two important differences between that situation and this one would complicate this effort: the contemporary cause of the unemployment would not be the result of an act of God; and it is not immediately evident that these unemployed people could find jobs in other areas, which might be suffering from a similar plethora of useless workers.

Herbert Striner has suggested that a more extreme approach would be to export blue-collar and white-collar workers and their families to nations needing their talents. The problem of whether or how the salary differential might be made up is one of several difficulties with this proposal. Yet, if such emigration could be carried out, it might be a better solution than letting the workers atrophy here. The economic history of former colonial powers and their colonization techniques indicate that "dumping" of excess personnel into foreign lands would not be a radically new innovation.

Another possible long-run approach might be curtailment of the birth rate. In times of depression the rate falls off naturally—which may be the way the process would be accomplished here if enough people become unemployed or marginally employed (although the effects of the lowered birth rate would only follow after the economic and social changes had been made). Of course, the government could encourage birth control by reducing the income tax dependency deduction or by other tax means.

Finally, there is the proposal to reduce the working population by increasing the incentives for early retirement. Government could do this by reducing the retirement age for social security, and unions and management could use their collective ingenuity to provide special retirement incentives. Naturally, this would increase the already large percentage of retired elderly people. Along with the other familiar problems

associated with this group is the poignant one we shall face in more general form in the next section: how are all these people to be kept happily occupied in their leisure?

Whether any of these proposed solutions is adequate to the challenge of unemployment is not known to us or, we gather, to those who have proposed one solution or another. But even if, in principle, some combination of them would be adequate, in order to put them into effect a considerable change would be necessary in the attitudes and voting behavior of Congress and our tax-paying citizens. Preconceptions about the virtues and vices of work, inflation, the national debt, and government control run deep and shift slowly.

Not all of these dire threats would come to pass, of course, if cybernation reduced consumer buying power through unemployment and, thereby, the financial capability of industry and business to introduce or profit from cybernation. In this way we might all be saved from the adverse effects of unemployment from this source. But the economy would still be faced with those threats to its well-being which, as were pointed out earlier, make the need to cybernate so compelling.

Cybernation is by nature the sort of process that will be introduced selectively by organization, industry, and locality. The ill-effects will be felt at first only locally and, as a result, will not be recognized by those who introduce it—and perhaps not even by the government—as a *national* problem with many serious implications for the whole social system. Also, because one of the chief effects of cybernation on employment is not to hire rather than to fire, the economic-social consequences will be delayed and will at any time be exacerbated or ameliorated by other economic and social factors such as the condition of our foreign markets, which also are being changed and challenged by European and Russian cybernation. By the time the adverse effects of cybernation are sufficiently noticeable to be ascribed to cybernation, the equipment will be in and operating.

Once this happens, the costs of backtracking may be too great for private enterprise to sustain. For, in addition to the costs of removing the equipment, there will be the costs of building a pre-cybernation system of operations. But which firms will voluntarily undertake such a job if they are unsure whether their competitors are suffering the same setback—or

indeed if their competitors are going to decybernate at all? And, if not voluntarily, how would the government enforce, control, and pay for the change-over?

## ADDITIONAL LEISURE

It is generally recognized that sooner or later automation and computers will mean shorter working hours and greater leisure for most if not all of the American people. It is also generally, if vaguely, recognized that there probably are problems connected with the use of leisure that will take time to work out.

Two stages need to be distinguished: the state of leisure over the next decade or two, when our society will still be in transition to a way of life based on the widespread application of cybernation; and the relatively stable state some time in the future when supposedly everybody will have more leisure time than today and enough security to enjoy it. The transitional stage is our chief concern, for the end is far enough off to make more than some general speculations about it footless. At this later time people's behavior and attitudes will be conditioned as much by presently unforeseeable social and technological developments as by the character and impact of cybernation itself.

During the transition there will be four different "leisure" classes: 1) the unemployed, 2) the low-salaried employees working short hours, 3) the adequately paid to high-salaried group working short hours, and 4) those with no more leisure than they now have—which in the case of many professionals means very few hours of leisure indeed.

LEISURE CLASS ONE Today, most of the unemployed are from low educational backgrounds where leisure has always been simply a respite from labor. No particular aspirations to or positive attitudes about the creative use of leisure characterize this group. Since their main concern is finding work and security, what they do with their leisure is a gratuitous question; whatever they do, it will hardly contribute to someone else's profits.

It is worth speculating that one thing they might do is to participate in radical organizations through which they could vent their hostility over

being made insecure and useless. Another thing they could do, if so motivated and if the opportunity were available, would be to learn a skill not likely to be cybernated in the near future, although, as we have seen, the question arises of what this would be. Another thing would be to move to areas where there is still a demand for them. But breaking community ties is always difficult, especially during periods of threat when the familiar social group is the chief symbol of security. And who would pay for their move and who would guarantee a job when they got where they were going?[19]

As cybernation expands its domain, the unemployed "leisure" class will not consist only of blue-collar workers. The displaced service worker will also swell the ranks of the unemployed, as well as the relatively well-trained white-collar workers until they can find jobs or displace from jobs the less well-trained or less presentable, like the college graduate filling-station attendant of not so many years ago. It is doubtful that during their unemployed period these people will look upon that time as "leisure" time. For the poorly educated, watching television, gossiping, and puttering around the house will be low-cost time-fillers between unemployment checks; for the better educated, efforts at systematic self-improvement, perhaps, as well as reading, television, and gossip; for many, it will be time spent in making the agonizing shift in style of living required of the unemployed. These will be more or less individual tragedies representing at any given time a small portion of the work force of the nation, statistically speaking. They will be spread over the cities and suburbs of the nation, reflecting the consequences of actions taken by particular firms. If the spirit of the day grows more statistical than individualistic, as this paper suggests later that it well might, there is a real question of our capacity to make the necessary organized effort in order to anticipate and cope with these "individual" cases.

The free time of some men will be used to care for their children while their wives, in an effort to replace lost income, work at service jobs. But this arrangement is incompatible with our image of what properly constitutes man's role and man's work. The effects of this use of "leisure" on all family members will be corrosive rather than constructive and will contribute to disruption of the family circle. "Leisure" for this group of people may well acquire a connotation that will discourage for a long

time to come any real desire to achieve it or any effort to learn how to use it creatively.

One wonders, too, what women, with their growing tendency to work—to combat boredom as well as for money—will do as the barriers to work become higher, as menial white-collar jobs disappear under the impact of cybernation, and as the competition increases for the remaining jobs. If there are jobs, 6,000,000 more women are expected to be in the labor force in 1970 than were in it in 1960. Out of a total labor force of 87,000,000 at that time, 30,000,000 would be women. To the extent that women who want jobs to combat boredom will not be able to get them, there will be a growing leisure class that will be untrained for and does not want the added leisure. As for those women who have a source of adequate income but want jobs because they are bored, they will have less and less to do at home as automated procedures further routinize domestic chores.

LEISURE CLASS TWO A different kind of leisure problem will exist for the low-income group working shorter hours. This group will be composed of people with the attitudes and behavior traditionally associated with this class, as well as some others who will have drifted into the group as a result of having been displaced by cybernation. What evidence there is indicates that now and probably for years to come, when members of this group have leisure time as a result of fewer working hours, the tendency will be to take another job.[20] It is reasonable to believe that the general insecurity inevitably arising from changing work arrangements and the over-all threat of automation would encourage "moonlighting" rather than the use of free time for recreation. If these people cannot find second jobs, it is hard to imagine their doing anything different with their free time from what they do now, since they will not have the money, the motives, or the knowledge to search out different activities.

If the shorter hours are of the order of four eight-hours days, potentially serious social problems will arise. For example, a father will be working fewer hours than his children do in school. What he will do "around the house" and what adjustments he, his wife, and children will have to make to each other will certainly add very real difficulties to the already inadequate, ambiguous, and frustrating personal relationships that typify much of middle-class family life.

LEISURE CLASS THREE Workers with good or adequate income employed for shorter hours are the group usually thought of when one talks about the positive opportunities for using extra leisure in a cybernated world. Its members for the most part will be the professional, semi-professional, or skilled workers who will contribute enough in their social role to command a good salary but who will not be so rare as to be needed for 40 hours a week. These people already value learning and learning to learn. Given knowledge about, money for, and access to new leisure-time activities, they are likely to make use of them. They could help to do various desirable social service tasks in the community, tasks for which there is not enough money to attract paid personnel of high enough quality. They could help to teach, and, by virtue of their own intimate experiences with cybernation, they would be able to pass on the attitudes and knowledge that will be needed to live effectively in a cybernated world. It is likely, too, that this group will be the chief repository of creative, skilled manual talents. In a nation living off mass-produced, automatically produced products, there may be a real if limited demand for hand-made articles. (We may become again in part a nation of small shopkeepers and craftsmen.) In general, this group of people will probably produce and consume most of its own leisure-time activities.

LEISURE CLASS FOUR The fourth group consists of those who probably will have little or no more leisure time than they now have except to the extent permitted by additions to their ranks and by the services of cybernation. But extrapolations for the foreseeable future indicate insufficient increases in the class of presently overworked professionals and executives. Computers should be able to remove many of the more tedious aspects of their work in another few years, but for some time to come these people will continue to be overburdened. Some of this relatively small proportion of the population may manage to get down to a 40-hour week, and these lucky few should find no difficulty in using their leisure as productively and creatively as those in the third group.

Thus, during the transition period, it is the second group, the low-salaried workers who cannot or will not find another job, that presents the true leisure problem, as distinct from the unemployment problem. Here is

where the multiple problems connected with private and public make-play efforts may prove very difficult indeed. We have some knowledge about relatively low-income workers who become voluntarily interested in adult education and adult play sessions, but we have had no real experience with the problems of how to stimulate the interests and change the attitudes of a large population that is forced to work shorter hours but is used to equating work and security, that will be bombarded with an advertising *geist* praising consumption and glamorous leisure, that will be bounded closely on one side by the unemployed and on the other by a relatively well-to-do community to which it cannot hope to aspire. Boredom may drive these people to seek new leisure-time activities if they are provided and do not cost much. But boredom combined with other factors may also make for frustration and aggression and all the social and political problems these qualities imply.

## DECISIONS AND PUBLIC OPINION

PRIVILEGED INFORMATION The government must turn to computers to handle many of its major problems simply because the data involved are so massive and the factors so complex that only machines can handle the material fast enough to allow timely action based on understanding of the facts. In the nature of the situation, the decisions made by the government with the help of computers would be based in good part on computers that have been programmed with more or less confidential information—and privileged access to information, at the time it is needed, is a sufficient if not always necessary condition for attaining and maintaining power. There may not be any easy way to insure that decisions based on computers could not become a threat to democratic government.

Most of the necessary inputs for the government's computer systems are available only to the government, because it is the only institution with sufficiently extensive facilities for massive surveys (whether they be photographic, observational, paper and pencil, or electronic in nature). Also, the costs of these facilities and their computer installations are so great that buying and maintaining such a system is sensible only if one has the decision-making needs of a government and the data required to

feed the machines. Other organizations, with other purposes, would not need this kind of installation. These machines can provide more potent information than merely rapidly produced summaries and tabulations of data. They can quickly provide information on relationships among data, which may be appreciated as significant only by those already having privileged information based on a simpler level of analysis or on other non-quantified intelligence to which the user is privy.[21] Computers can also provide information in the form of extrapolations of the consequences of specific strategies and the probabilities that these consequences will arise. This information can be based on exceedingly complex contingencies. The utility and applicability of these extrapolations will be fully understandable only to those knowing the particular assumptions that went into the programming of the machines.

THE INEVITABILITY OF IGNORANCE It may be impossible to allow much of the government, to say nothing of the public, access to the kind of information we have been discussing here. But let us assume that somehow the operation of the government has been reorganized so that procedures are enforced to permit competing political parties and other private organizations to have access to the government's raw data, to have parallel systems for the processing of data as well as to have access to the government's computer programs. Even then, most people will be incapable of judging the validity of one contending computer program compared to another, or whether the policies based on them are appropriate.

This condition exists today about military postures. These are derived in good part from computer analyses and computer-based games that produce probabilities based on programmed assumptions about weapon systems and our and the enemy's behavior. Here the intellectual ineffectualness of the layman is obscured by the secrecy that keeps him from finding out what he probably would not be able to understand anyway. If this sounds condescending, it only needs to be pointed out that there are large areas of misunderstanding and misinterpretation among the military too. At any given time, some of these people do not fully appreciate the relationships between the programs used in the computers and the real world in which the consequences are supposed to follow. As it is now, the average intelligent man has little basis for judging the differing

opinions of economists about the state of the economy or even about the reasons for a past state. He also has little basis for appraising the conflicting opinions among scientists and engineers about the costs and results of complex scientific developments such as man in space. In both examples, computers play important roles in the esoteric arguments involved.

Thus, even if people may have more leisure time to attend more closely to politics, they may not have the ability to contribute to the formulation of policy. Some observers feel that the middle class does not now take a strong interest in voting and is alienated in its responsibility for the conduct of government. Leisure may not change this trend, especially when government becomes in large part the complex computer operation that it must necessarily become.

Significant public opinion may come from only a relatively small portion of the public: a) those who are able to follow the battles of the computers and to understand the implications of their programs; and b) those who are concerned with government policy but who are outside of or unfamiliar with the computer environment.

For this segment of the voting population, differences over decisions that are made or should be made might become more intense and more irreconcilable. Already there is a difference of opinion among intelligent men about the problem of the proper roles in American foreign policy of military weapons, arms control, and various levels of disarmament. One side accuses its opponents of naïveté or ignorance about the "facts" (computer-based), and the other side objects to the immorality or political insensibilities of its opponents. Many aspects of the problem involve incommensurables; most are too complex to stand simplification in order to appeal to the larger public or to an unsophisticated Congressman. Yet the arguments *are* simplified for these purposes and the result is fantastic confusion. The ensuing frustration leads to further efforts to make the case black or white and to further efforts by one contingent to provide ever more impressive computer-based analyses and by the other side to demonstrate that they are beside the point.

This is only one example of the problems that will arise from the existence of sophisticated computers. Will the problems create greater chasms between the sophisticated voter and the general public, and within the sophisticated voting group itself?

PERSONNEL AND PERSONALITIES As for the selection of the men who are to plan or make policy, a computerized government will require different training from that which executive personnel in most governmental agencies has today. Certainly, without such training (and perhaps with it) there is bound to be a deepening of the split between politics and facts. For example, it is evident that the attitudes of many Congressmen toward space activities are motivated more by politics and conventional interpretations of reality than by engineering facts or the realities of international relations.

The same schisms will be compounded as computers are used more and more to plan programs in the Department of Health, Education,and Welfare, urban development, communications, transportation, foreign aid, and the analysis of intelligence data of all sorts.

In business and industry the shift has already begun toward recruiting top management from the cadre of engineering and laboratory administration, for these are the people who understand the possibilities of and are sympathetic to computer-based thinking. In government the trend has not been as clear-cut, but it is noteworthy that the scientist, as high-level adviser, is a recent innovation and one clearly here to stay. Sometimes unhappily and sometimes enthusiastically, the scientist, scientist-administrator, and engineer acknowledge that their role of adviser is frequently confused with that of policy-maker. As people with this training come more to influence policy and those chosen to make it, changes in the character and attitudes of the men responsible for the conduct of government will inevitably occur.

For reasons of personality as well as professional perspective, many operations researchers and systems analysts have great difficulty in coping with the more ambiguous and less "logical" aspects of society.[22] Their temperaments, training, and sympathies may not incline them to indulge the slow, ponderous, illogical, and emotional tendencies of democratic processes. Or they may ignore the extra-logical nature of man. Emphasis on "logic," in association with the other factors we have mentioned, may encourage a trend toward the recruitment of authoritarian personalities. There is no necessary correlation between the desire to apply scientific logic to problems and the desire to apply democratic principles to daily, or even to professional scientific, life.

MASS VS. THE INDIVIDUAL The psychological influence of computers is overwhelming: they symbolize and reenforce the potency of America's belief in the utility of science and technology. There is a sense of security in nicely worked-up curves and complex displays of information which are the products of almost unimaginably intricate and elegant machinery. In general, the influence of computers will continue to be enhanced if those who use them attend chiefly to those components of reality which can be put into a computer and processed by it, and the important values will become those which are compatible with this approach to analyzing and manipulating the world. For example, the influence of computers has already been sufficiently strong to seduce military planners and civil defense planners *away* from those aspects of their problems which are not now subject to data processing. Most of the planning for survival following nuclear attack has to do with those parts of the situation which can be studied by computers. Crucial aspects of psychological and social reorganization have been pushed into the background simply because they cannot be handled statistically with convenience or with the demonstrated "expertness" of the specialist in computers. Thus, the nature of the post-attack situation is argued learnedly but spuriously by those who have the attention of leadership, an attention stimulated by the glamor of computers, the prestige of their scientist-keepers, and the comfort of their "hard facts."

Computers are especially useful for dealing with social situations that pertain to people in the mass, such as traffic control, financial transactions, mass-demand consumer goods, allocation of resources, etc. They are so useful in these areas that they undoubtedly will help to seduce planners into inventing a society with goals that can be dealt with in the mass rather than in terms of the individual. In fact, the whole trend toward cybernation can be seen as an effort to remove the variabilities in man's on-the-job behavior and off-the-job needs which, because of their non-statistical nature, complicate production and consumption. Thus, somewhere along the line, the idea of the individual may be completely swallowed up in statistics. The planner and those he plans for may become divorced from one another, and the alienation of the individual from his government and individual from individual within government may grow ever greater.

Computers will inevitably be used to plan employment for those dis-

placed by cybernation. This may lead to a more rationalized society than could otherwise be invented, with a more adequate allocation of jobs. But one wonders whether it will not also lead, on a national scale, to an attitude in the planner of relative indifference to the individual, an indifference similar to that shown by many managers of large self-service institutions who find an occasional complaint too much trouble to cope with individually because the influence of the individual on the operation of the system is too negligible to warrant attention.

What will be the consequences for our relations with underdeveloped nations of a government that sees the world through computers? With our general public alienated from its own productive and governmental processes and our leadership seemingly successful through its use of computer-based planning and control, our government may well become more and more incapable of recognizing the differences between the needs, aspirations, and customs of these nations and those of our own country. In these nations, productive and governmental processes will still be very human activities, with all the non-statistical variabilities that implies. Our decision to race the U.S.S.R. to the moon is an initial indication of our incapacity as an advanced technological nation to appreciate what our acts look like to other nations with different attitudes.

On the other hand, the emphasis on human behavior as a statistical reality may encourage revisions in the temporal scale of government planning and programs. Time is a statistical property in cybernated systems: it takes time for variables to average out, to rise or fall in their effects, and the time period usually is not a fiscal year or some small multiple thereof. Thus, perhaps we can hope for more sensible long-range planning in government as a result of the computer's need for long time periods in which to make its statistical models work out. If this should come about, of course, it will require vast changes in the conduct of government and in the devices that government, and especially the Congress, uses for controlling its activities. It may also result in extending the present trend of turning over governmental policy-planning and, in effect, policy-making responsibilities to private organizations and their human and machine computers such as RAND. For unless the rules for Congressional elections are also changed, some of the responsibility that Congressmen now take for programs, when they vote relatively short-term appropria-

tions, will no doubt be transferred to the machines that invented the plans if Congressmen should be faced with passing on appropriations and programs that would extend far beyond the time of their incumbencies.

DECISIONS FOR BUSINESS The implications of the concentration of decision-making within business firms as a result of cybernation are not as clear-cut as the effects for government. In principle, both big and small business will be able to know much more about the nature of their markets and of their organizational operations through cybernation. Whether or not this will help both big and small proportionately is far from clear. Big business will undoubtedly have better facilities for information and decisions, but small business may be able to get what it needs by buying it from service organizations that will come into existence for this purpose. Big organizations will be able to afford high-priced personnel for doing the thinking beyond that done by the machines. If quality of thinking is always related to price, the big organizations will be able to put their small competitors out of business. But the big organizations, precisely because of their size, may have relatively little maneuverability, and some of the best minds may find the little organizations a more exciting game. Whether the little organizations could stay afloat is moot, but one can anticipate some exciting entrepreneurial maneuvers among the small firms while they last.

One thing is clear: among the small organizations, and probably among the big ones too, we can expect disastrous mistakes as a result of poor machine programming or inaccurate interpretations of the directives of the machines. These will be greatest during the early period when it will be faddish to plan via machine and when few organizations will have the brainpower and organization to do so intelligently. Thus, added to the unemployment ranks in the decade or so ahead will be those who have been put out of jobs because their firms have misused computers.

# The Control of Cybernation

## TIME AND PLANNING

Time is crucial in any plan to cope with cybernation. Ways of ameliorating its adverse effects require thinking farther ahead than we ever do. In a society in the process of becoming cybernated, education and training for work as well as education and training for leisure must begin early in life. Shifts in behavior, attitudes, and aspirations take a long time to mature. It will be extraordinarily difficult to produce appropriate "culture-bearers," both parents and teachers, in sufficient numbers, distribution, and quality in the relatively brief time available. It is hard to see, for example, how Congress, composed in good part of older men acting from traditional perspectives and operating by seniority, could recognize soon enough and then legislate well enough to produce the fundamental shifts needed to meet the complexities of cybernation. It is hard to see how our style of pragmatic making-do and frantic crash programs can radically change in the next few years. This is especially hard to visualize when the whole cybernation situation is such that we find it impossible to determine the consequences of cybernation even in the medium long run. The differences expressed in the public statements of business and labor demonstrate that any reconciliation of interests will be a very long-range effort indeed. "Drastic" actions to forestall or eliminate the ill-effects of cybernation will not be taken in time unless we change our operating style drastically.

## EDUCATION: OCCUPATIONS AND ATTITUDES

Among the many factors contributing to the stability of a social system are two intimately intertwined ones: the types of tasks that are performed; and the nature of the relationship between the attitudes of the members

of the society toward these tasks and their opinions about the proper goals of the individual members of the society and the right ways of reaching them.

The long-range stability of the social system depends on a population of young people properly educated to enter the adult world of tasks and attitudes. Once, the pace of change was slow enough to permit a comfortable margin of compatibility between the adult world and the one children were trained to expect. This compatibility no longer exists. Now we have to ask: What should be the education of a population more and more enveloped in cybernation? What are the appropriate attitudes toward and training for participation in government, the use of leisure, standards of consumption, particular occupations?

Education must cope with the transitional period when the disruption among different socio-economic and occupational groups will be the greatest; and the later, relatively stable period, if it ever comes to exist, when most people would have adequate income and shorter working hours. The problem involves looking ahead five, ten, twenty years to see what are likely to be the occupational and social needs and attitudes of those future periods; planning the intellectual and social education of each age group in the numbers needed; motivating young people to seek certain types of jobs and to adopt the desirable and necessary attitudes; providing enough suitable teachers; being able to alter all of these as the actualities in society and technology indicate; and directing the pattern of cybernation so that it fits with the expected kinds and distribution of abilities and attitudes produced by home and school.

To what extent education and technology can be coordinated is not at all clear, if only because we do not know, even for today's world, the criteria for judging the consonance or dissonance in our educational, attitudinal, and occupational systems. We think that parts of the social system are badly out of phase with other parts and that, as a whole, the system is progressively less capable of coping with the problems it produces. But there is little consensus on the "causes" and even less on what can be done about them. All we have at present is the hope that most people can be educated for significant participation in such a world as we have foreseen here – we have no evidence that it can be done.

If we do not find the answers to these questions soon, we will have a population in the next ten to twenty years more and more out of touch with national and international realities, ever more the victims of insecurity on the one hand and ennui on the other, and more and more mismatched to the occupational needs of the day. If we fail to find the answers, we can bumble along, very probably heading into disaster, or we can restrict the extension of cybernation, permitting it only where necessary for the national interest. But judging the national interest and distinguishing it from private interests would confront us with most of the problems that have been outlined in this paper.

Perhaps time has already run out. Even if our style somehow should shift to long-range planning, it would not eliminate the inadequate training and inadequate values of much of our present adolescent and pre-adolescent population, as well as of those adults who will be displaced or remain unhired as a result of cybernation in the next decade. Only a partial solution exists in this case: Begin now a program of economic and social first aid for these people.

## A MORATORIUM ON CYBERNATION?

Can we control the effects of cybernation by making it illegal or unprofitable to develop cybernation technology? No, not without virtually stopping the development of almost all of new technology and a good part of the general development of scientific knowledge. The accumulation of knowledge in many areas of science depends on computers. To refine computers and make them more versatile requires research in almost every scientific area. It also requires the development of a technology, usually automated, to produce the articles needed to build new computers. As long as we choose to compete with other parts of the world, we shall have to develop new products and new means for producing them better. Cybernation is the only way to do it on a significant scale. As long as we choose to live in a world guided by science and its technology we have no choice but to encourage the development of cybernation. If we insist on this framework, the answers to coping with its effects must be found elsewhere than in a moratorium on its development.

## CONTROL: PUBLIC OR PRIVATE?

There has always been tension between big industry, with its concern for profit and market control, and government, with its concern for the national interest. The tension has increased as big business has become so large as to be quasi-governmental in its influence and as government has had to turn to and even subsidize parts of business in order to meet parts of the national interest within a free-enterprise framework. Under these circumstances we can expect strong differences between government and business as to when and where it is socially legitimate to introduce automation.

Sufficient governmental control over who can cybernate, when, and where would not come easily. In the first place, decisions about control would have to be based on the intentions of local business and industry as well as on the national picture. For example, the effects on Congressional seating of shifts in populations as a result of cybernation-based industrial relocation would presumably enter the calculations. Longer-run consequences would have to be balanced against short-run profits or social dislocations. Implications for our military posture and for international trade would be significant. Moreover, it would be difficult for the government to make a case for control of private organizations on the basis of ambiguous estimates of the effects of automation on hiring policy. In any particular case, it becomes clear only well after the fact of cybernation whether increases or changes in production resulted in a corresponding increase in man-hours of work sufficient to compensate the economy for the jobs lost or the people unhired.

Finally, it must be kept in mind that the power of some of the largest unions is seriously threatened by automation. In a relatively short time they may not have the leverage they now have. Thus, a crucial counterbalance to the pressures from business may be absent when it is most needed. It is possible that the crisis that will arouse the government to exert control will not be evident until the blue-collar work force has been so eroded as to have weakened the unions irreparably.

Yet some sort of control is going to be necessary. There are, of course, the federal regulatory agencies. However, they have never been distinguished for applying their powers with the vigor sometimes allowed

by their mandates, and there is no reason to suppose that their traditional weaknesses would suddenly disappear and that an agency created to cope with cybernation would be effective. Nor is there any reason to believe that an agency with the very wide-ranging powers that it would need would be approved before the crisis that it was supposed to avert was upon us.

In theory, control could be exercised by private enterprise. But in the unlikely case that competitors could see their mutual interests clearly enough to join forces, the very act of cooperative control would be incompatible with our anti-trust laws. Whether the government or some alter-government comprised of business, labor, and industry were to do the controlling, either group would have to undertake a degree of national planning and control thoroughly incompatible with the way in which we look upon the management of our economic and social system today.

## After the Take-Over

In twenty years, other things being equal, most of the routine blue-collar and white-collar tasks that can be done by cybernation will be. Our schools will probably be turning out a larger proportion of the population better educated than they are today, but most of our citizens will be unable to understand the cybernated world in which they live. Perhaps they will understand the rudiments of calculus, biology, nuclear physics, and the humanities. But the research realm of scientists, the problems of government, and the interplay between them will be beyond the ken even of our college graduates. Besides, most people will have had to recognize that, when it comes to logic, the machines by and large can think better than they, for in that time reasonably good thinking computers should be operating on a large scale.

There will be a small, almost separate, society of people in rapport with the advanced computers. These cyberneticians will have established

a relationship with their machines that cannot be shared with the average man any more than the average man today can understand the problems of molecular biology, nuclear physics, or neuropsychiatry. Indeed, many scholars will not have the capacity to share their knowledge or feeling about this new man-machine relationship. Those with the talent for the work probably will have to develop it from childhood and will be trained as intensively as the classical ballerina.

Some of the remaining population will be productively engaged in human-to-human or human-to-machine activities requiring judgment and a high level of intelligence and training. But the rest, whose innate intelligence or training is not of the highest, what will they do? We can foresee a nation with a large portion of its people doing, directly or indirectly, the endless public tasks that the welfare state needs and that the government will not allow to be cybernated because of the serious unemployment that would result. These people will work short hours, with much time for the pursuit of leisure activities.

Even with a college education, what will they do all their long lives, day after day, four-day week-end after week-end, vacation after vacation, in a more and more crowded world? (There is a population explosion to face in another ten to thirty years.) What will they believe in and aspire to as they work their shorter hours and, on the outside, pursue their "self-fulfilling" activities, whatever they may be? No one has ever seriously envisioned what characteristics these activities might have in order to be able to engross most men and women most of their adult lives. What will be the relationship of these people to government, to the "upper intellectuals," to the rest of the world, to themselves?

Obviously, attitudes toward work, play, and social responsibility will have changed greatly. Somehow we shall have had to cope emotionally with the vast gap in living standards that will then typify the difference between us and the have-not nations. We shall presumably have found some way to give meaning to the consumption of mass leisure. It would seem that a life oriented to private recreation might carry with it an attitude of relative indifference to public responsibility. This indifference, plus the centralization of authority, would seem to imply a governing élite and a popular acceptance of such an élite.

If this world is to exist as a coherent society, it will have to have its

own "logic," so that it will make sense to its inhabitants. Today, for most of our population, our society makes sense, even though some other eyes hardly see us as logical in the formal sense of the word and the eyes of some of our own people look on us as a more or less pointless society. We make and solve our problems chiefly by other than mathematical-logical standards, and so must the cybernated generations. What these standards might be, we do not know. But if they are inadequate, the frustration and pointlessness that they produce may well evoke, in turn, a war of desperation—ostensibly against some external enemy but, in fact, a war to make the world safe for human beings by destroying most of society's sophisticated technological base. One thing is clear: if the new "logic" is to resolve the problems raised here, it will have to generate beliefs, behavior, and goals far different from those which we have held until now and which are driving us more and more inexorably into a contradictory world run by (and for?) ever more intelligent, ever more versatile slaves.

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17. A. H. Raskin, "Fears About Automation Overshadowing Its Boons," *New York Times,* April 7, 1961, p. 16.

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19. Perhaps an indication of things to come is to be found in the recent Federal Court ruling that employees have an "earned and vested right" of seniority and that this cannot be "denied unilaterally" or affected by a change in the location of their employer. "Court Bars Firing in Plant Move," *Washington Post,* July 7, 1961.

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15. James B. Conant, "Social Dynamite in Our Large Cities," *Vital Speeches,* #18, July 1, 1961, p. 554 ff.

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WSJ. [redacted] 2/14/63

time proposals would not be good economics for the auto industry or the nation.

Auto executives publicly have been silent so far on the President's proposal.

The United Auto Workers Union, which enters contract talks with the auto makers this summer, has supported the double-time proposal.

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## *GM Hourly Pay in '63 at High*

*By a* WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

DETROIT—General Motors Corp. said its U.S. hourly-paid workers earned an average $144.34 a week in 1963, up 6% from $136.19 in 1962. The average hourly pay, including overtime but excluding fringe benefits, was $3.41 an hour last year, GM said.

GM said its U.S. hourly workers earned more than ever before in 1963, and its worldwide employment and payrolls were the highest in its history.

The average GM hourly-rate employment in the U.S. was 354,000, up from 338,000 a year ago. Total hourly-rate U.S. payrolls were $2,685,000,000 up 11% from $2,396,000,000 in 1962.

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND
(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars.
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepare
Social Scie

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | Ra nor to |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | |
| **ARTISTS AND ART TEACHERS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 302 | 307 | ... | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | .... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 300 | 308 | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 320 | 326 | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 300 | 305 | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 299 | 304 | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 304 | 311 | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | 297 | 302 | ... | |
| **CLERGYMEN** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 175 | 180 | 122 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | 133 | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 151 | 163 | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 156 | 167 | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 168 | 174 | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 184 | 186 | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 180 | 185 | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | 184 | 186 | ... | |
| **COLLEGE PRESIDENTS AND DEANS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 367 | 380 | ... | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 379 | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | |

EMP - ELE

MALES IN THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF 2.
AND REGION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

lars. These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
repared under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Science Research Council.)

| s | | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| e | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| . | ... | 307 | 312 | ... | ... | 262 | 267 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 306 | 310 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 321 | 327 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 310 | 315 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 301 | 306 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 310 | 317 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 290 | 294 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 68 | 174 | 177 | 135 | 76 | 174 | 185 | 114 | 62 |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 168 | ... | ... | ... | 142 | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 166 | 170 | ... | ... | 167 | 178 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 179 | 181 | ... | ... | 196 | 200 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 179 | 181 | ... | ... | 181 | 189 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | 178 | 179 | ... | ... | 201 | 204 | ... | ... |
| . | | | | | | | | | |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE EX
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, FO

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These da
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under t
Social Science Resear

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | |
| **COLLEGE PROFESSORS AND INSTRUCTORS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 324 | 329 | 248 | 75 | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | 328 | 333 | 252 | 76 | |
| 4 years..... | 269 | 275 | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | 335 | 340 | ... | ... | |
| **DENTISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 589 | 600 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | 594 | 606 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | 597 | 610 | ... | ... | |
| **DESIGNERS AND DRAFTSMEN** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 288 | 291 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 273 | 276 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | 289 | 292 | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 290 | 294 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | 308 | 312 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | 306 | 311 | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | 315 | 319 | ... | ... | |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ON, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

ese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of te te | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 75 | 334 | 337 | ... | ... | 295 | 304 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 76 | 338 | 341 | ... | ... | 300 | 310 | ... | ... |
| .. | 279 | 282 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 345 | 348 | ... | ... | 307 | 317 | ... | ... |
| .. | 587 | 598 | ... | ... | 629 | 636 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 596 | 608 | ... | ... | 624 | 631 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 598 | 610 | ... | ... | 652 | 663 | ... | ... |
| . | 293 | 296 | ... | ... | 264 | 268 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 277 | 280 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 296 | 299 | ... | ... | 269 | 271 | ... | ... |
| . | 298 | 301 | ... | ... | 253 | 255 | ... | ... |
| . | 312 | 316 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 310 | 314 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 317 | 321 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared unde
Social Science Res

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| EDITORS AND REPORTERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 358 | 363 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 327 | 332 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 333 | 337 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 357 | 362 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 365 | 370 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 357 | 364 | ... | ... |
| ENGINEERS, TECHNICAL | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 363 | 367 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 239 | 247 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 271 | 274 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 307 | 311 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 323 | 326 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 339 | 342 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 404 | 408 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 397 | 401 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 417 | 422 | ... | ... |
| AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 395 | 399 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 378 | 381 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 374 | 377 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 418 | 423 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 422 | 426 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| o of hite hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ... | 343 | 348 | ... | ... | 341 | 346 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 341 | 345 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 327 | 330 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 386 | 392 | ... | ... | 339 | 342 | ... | ... |
| ... | 380 | 386 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 333 | 339 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 369 | 373 | ... | ... | 341 | 344 | ... | ... |
| ... | 263 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 281 | 284 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 315 | 318 | ... | ... | 283 | 287 | ... | ... |
| ... | 332 | 335 | ... | ... | 297 | 300 | ... | ... |
| ... | 346 | 349 | ... | ... | 313 | 316 | ... | ... |
| ... | 407 | 412 | ... | ... | 390 | 394 | ... | ... |
| ... | 401 | 405 | ... | ... | 383 | 386 | ... | ... |
| ... | 420 | 425 | ... | ... | 408 | 412 | ... | ... |
| ... | 395 | 399 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 389 | 392 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 377 | 380 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 416 | 421 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 418 | 422 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE EXPER
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, FOR S

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These data
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under the
Social Science Research

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Tota |
| **CIVIL ENGINEERS** | | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 335 | 339 | ... | ... | 34 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 270 | 274 | ... | ... | 29 |
| | 4 years..... | 285 | 288 | ... | ... | 29 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 310 | 313 | ... | ... | 32 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 380 | 384 | ... | ... | 38 |
| | 4 years..... | 377 | 381 | ... | ... | 38 |
| | 5 years or more..... | 387 | 391 | ... | ... | 39 |
| **ELECTRICAL ENGINEERS** | | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 372 | 375 | ... | ... | 37 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 318 | 322 | ... | ... | 32 |
| | 4 years..... | 327 | 330 | ... | ... | 33 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 345 | 348 | ... | ... | 35 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 406 | 410 | ... | ... | 41 |
| | 4 years..... | 400 | 404 | ... | ... | 40 |
| | 5 years or more..... | 418 | 422 | ... | ... | 42 |
| **MECHANICAL ENGINEERS** | | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 360 | 364 | ... | ... | 36 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | .. |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 316 | 319 | ... | ... | 31 |
| | 4 years..... | 339 | 342 | ... | ... | 34 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 350 | 354 | ... | ... | 35 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 399 | 403 | ... | ... | 40 |
| | 4 years..... | 390 | 394 | ... | ... | 39 |
| | 5 years or more..... | 425 | 432 | ... | ... | 43 |

EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
r the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
earch Council.)

| North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 347 | 351 | ... | ... | 308 | 312 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 290 | 295 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 298 | 301 | ... | ... | 264 | 266 | ... | ... |
| 324 | 326 | ... | ... | 288 | 291 | ... | ... |
| 384 | 389 | ... | ... | 370 | 374 | ... | ... |
| 381 | 385 | ... | ... | 368 | 371 | ... | ... |
| 391 | 396 | ... | ... | 382 | 387 | ... | ... |
| 379 | 383 | ... | ... | 343 | 346 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 328 | 331 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 331 | 335 | ... | ... | 310 | 314 | ... | ... |
| 354 | 357 | ... | ... | 310 | 313 | ... | ... |
| 411 | 415 | ... | ... | 387 | 391 | ... | ... |
| 403 | 408 | ... | ... | 389 | 393 | ... | ... |
| 424 | 429 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 365 | 369 | ... | ... | 336 | 340 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 319 | 322 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 344 | 346 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 355 | 359 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 404 | 408 | ... | ... | 378 | 381 | ... | ... |
| 394 | 397 | ... | ... | 373 | 376 | ... | ... |
| 433 | 440 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **SALES ENGINEERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 398 | 402 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 371 | 374 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 369 | 372 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 429 | 433 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 438 | 442 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **LAWYERS AND JUDGES** | | | | |
| Total..... | 621 | 631 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 642 | 652 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 537 | 546 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 680 | 691 | ... | ... |
| **MUSICIANS AND MUSIC TEACHERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 237 | 243 | 162 | 67 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 217 | 229 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 235 | 246 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 255 | 257 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 260 | 265 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 254 | 262 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 267 | 270 | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| .. | 402 | 405 | ... | ... | 382 | 385 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 379 | 383 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 375 | 378 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 434 | 438 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 441 | 446 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 624 | 634 | ... | ... | 619 | 632 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 644 | 653 | ... | ... | 642 | 655 | ... | ... |
| .. | 536 | 545 | ... | ... | 516 | 524 | ... | ... |
| .. | 687 | 697 | ... | ... | 661 | 676 | ... | ... |
| 67 | 248 | 252 | ... | ... | 200 | 210 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 222 | 235 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 243 | 251 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 267 | 267 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 272 | 276 | ... | ... | 222 | 226 | ... | ... |
| .. | 272 | 277 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 276 | 280 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE EX
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, FO

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These da
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under t
Social Science Resear

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | | T |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | |
| **NATURAL SCIENTISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 343 | 348 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | 272 | 276 | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 307 | 311 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | 369 | 374 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | 343 | 347 | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | 388 | 393 | ... | ... | |
| **AGRICULTURAL SCIENTISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 256 | 261 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| **BIOLOGICAL SCIENTISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 310 | 317 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 4 years or more..... | 322 | 330 | ... | ... | |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |

HE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
N, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

se data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
der the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
esearch Council.)

| f e e | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| . | 339 | 344 | ... | ... | 354 | 360 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 269 | 273 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 306 | 310 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 364 | 369 | ... | ... | 383 | 389 | ... | ... |
| . | 333 | 337 | ... | ... | 369 | 374 | ... | ... |
| . | 387 | 393 | ... | ... | 390 | 396 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE EXP
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, FOR

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These dat
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under th
Social Science Researc

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | To |
| | CHEMISTS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 327 | 331 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 274 | 277 | ... | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 300 | 304 | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 351 | 355 | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | 328 | 332 | ... | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | 371 | 376 | ... | ... | |
| | GEOLOGISTS AND GEOPHYSICISTS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 446 | 451 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 470 | 474 | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | 501 | 506 | ... | ... | |
| | PHYSICISTS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 415 | 421 | ... | ... | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 431 | 437 | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |

E EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

e data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
er the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
search Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| | 326 | 331 | ... | ... | 329 | 334 | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 274 | 277 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 305 | 309 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 349 | 353 | ... | ... | 355 | 359 | ... | ... |
| | 328 | 332 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 368 | 373 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 421 | 425 | ... | ... | 470 | 474 | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE EXPE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, FOR

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These data
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under the
Social Science Research

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Tot |
| **PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 717 | 736 | 377 | 51 | 8 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years or more..... | 721 | 740 | 379 | 51 | 8 |
| 4 years..... | 730 | 774 | ... | ... | 6 |
| 5 years or more..... | 727 | 745 | 394 | 53 | 8 |
| **SOCIAL SCIENTISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 362 | 367 | ... | ... | 3 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years..... | 319 | 322 | ... | ... | . |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 317 | 321 | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years or more..... | 389 | 396 | ... | ... | 4 |
| 4 years..... | 410 | 415 | ... | ... | 4 |
| 5 years or more..... | 386 | 394 | ... | ... | 3 |
| **ECONOMISTS** | | | | | |
| Total..... | 413 | 417 | ... | ... | 4 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 4 years or more..... | 432 | 437 | ... | ... | 4 |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... | . |
| 5 years or more..... | 427 | 433 | ... | ... | . |

EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
r the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
earch Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| | 847 | 873 | ... | ... | 727 | 748 | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 851 | 876 | ... | ... | 733 | 755 | ... | ... |
| | 690 | 732 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 861 | 886 | ... | ... | 739 | 760 | ... | ... |
| | 366 | 371 | ... | ... | 351 | 358 | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 404 | 411 | ... | ... | 361 | 366 | ... | ... |
| | 450 | 456 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 394 | 403 | ... | ... | 376 | 381 | ... | ... |
| | 424 | 428 | ... | ... | 384 | 389 | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 461 | 465 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **PSYCHOLOGISTS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 335 | 342 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 345 | 352 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **STATISTICIANS AND ACTUARIES** | | | | |
| Total..... | 335 | 340 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 387 | 395 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **TEACHERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 250 | 256 | 183 | 71 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 219 | 224 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 213 | 220 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 257 | 263 | 189 | 72 |
| 4 years..... | 222 | 230 | 164 | 71 |
| 5 years or more..... | 274 | 279 | 213 | 76 |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF 
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of ite ite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 335 | 339 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 400 | 410 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 71 | 265 | 268 | 216 | 81 | 211 | 219 | 170 | 78 |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 227 | 229 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 226 | 230 | ... | ... | 176 | 183 | ... | ... |
| 72 | 272 | 275 | 222 | 81 | 217 | 225 | 175 | 78 |
| 71 | 241 | 244 | ... | ... | 189 | 199 | 156 | 78 |
| 76 | 285 | 289 | 240 | 83 | 234 | 240 | 195 | 81 |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| TEACHERS, ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 232 | 239 | 178 | 74 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 181 | 184 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 241 | 249 | 182 | 73 |
| | 4 years..... | 208 | 216 | 159 | 74 |
| | 5 years or more..... | 262 | 268 | 206 | 77 |
| TEACHERS, SECONDARY SCHOOLS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 261 | 267 | 193 | 72 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 228 | 236 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 265 | 270 | 197 | 73 |
| | 4 years..... | 227 | 234 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 281 | 285 | 220 | 77 |
| TECHNICIANS (n.e.c.) | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 251 | 255 | 183 | 72 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 210 | 219 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 221 | 226 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 243 | 247 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 251 | 254 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 254 | 259 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 294 | 301 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 283 | 289 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 319 | 326 | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| o of hite hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 74 | 248 | 251 | ... | ... | 193 | 202 | 162 | 80 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 195 | 197 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 73 | 256 | 260 | ... | ... | 202 | 211 | 167 | 79 |
| 74 | 226 | 230 | ... | ... | 177 | 185 | ... | ... |
| 77 | 272 | 276 | ... | ... | 224 | 231 | ... | ... |
| 72 | 276 | 278 | ... | ... | 220 | 228 | 180 | 79 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 248 | 250 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 73 | 279 | 282 | ... | ... | 224 | 232 | 184 | 79 |
| ... | 243 | 246 | ... | ... | 195 | 204 | ... | ... |
| 77 | 292 | 294 | ... | ... | 242 | 248 | 202 | 81 |
| 72 | 254 | 257 | 196 | 76 | 239 | 245 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 227 | 231 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 246 | 250 | ... | ... | 226 | 232 | ... | ... |
| ... | 253 | 257 | ... | ... | 238 | 241 | ... | ... |
| ... | 257 | 261 | ... | ... | 247 | 253 | ... | ... |
| ... | 296 | 302 | ... | ... | 298 | 307 | ... | ... |
| ... | 281 | 287 | ... | ... | ... | .... | ... | ... |
| ... | 316 | 322 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE E
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, F

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These d
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Resea

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| MEDICAL AND DENTAL | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 224 | 230 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 234 | 239 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 222 | 228 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 221 | 227 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 249 | 254 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ELECTRICAL AND ELECTRONICS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 268 | 271 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 263 | 265 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 270 | 272 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 263 | 267 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| OTHER ENGINEERING AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 259 | 263 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 227 | 230 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 241 | 245 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 251 | 254 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 270 | 273 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 326 | 331 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 301 | 306 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ON, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



ese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of te te | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| .. | 227 | 232 | ... | ... | 214 | 221 | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 231 | 237 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 226 | 232 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 228 | 233 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 270 | 273 | ... | ... | 259 | 262 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 266 | 267 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 270 | 273 | ... | ... | 265 | 267 | ... | ... |
| . | 266 | 270 | ... | ... | 199 | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 261 | 264 | ... | ... | 255 | 260 | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 234 | 238 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 247 | 250 | ... | ... | 218 | ... | ... | ... |
| . | 254 | 257 | ... | ... | 242 | 245 | ... | ... |
| . | 267 | 270 | ... | ... | 276 | 281 | ... | ... |
| . | 327 | 332 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| . | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE E
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION, F

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These d
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Resea

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **ALL OTHER PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 307 | 314 | 187 | 60 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 172 | 184 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 216 | 223 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 253 | 259 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 285 | 290 | 197 | 68 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 304 | 310 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 350 | 357 | 220 | 62 |
| 4 years..... | 342 | 349 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 357 | 365 | 235 | 64 |
| **FARMERS AND FARM MANAGERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 140 | 147 | 59 | 40 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 84 | 97 | 42 | 43 |
| 8 years..... | 126 | 129 | 70 | 54 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 147 | 151 | 93 | 62 |
| 4 years..... | 168 | 169 | 147 | 87 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 213 | 215 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 267 | 272 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 271 | 276 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 269 | 252 | ... | ... |
| **MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS, EXCEPT FARMS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 361 | 368 | 181 | 49 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 221 | 231 | 119 | 52 |
| 8 years..... | 267 | 271 | 166 | 61 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 303 | 308 | 171 | 56 |
| 4 years..... | 346 | 350 | 210 | 60 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 414 | 420 | 211 | 50 |
| 4 years or more..... | 548 | 557 | 255 | 46 |
| 4 years..... | 548 | 556 | 243 | 44 |
| 5 years or more..... | 550 | 561 | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

ese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of te te | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 60 | 315 | 321 | 206 | 64 | 285 | 294 | 152 | 52 |
| .. | 201 | 213 | ... | ... | 145 | 155 | ... | — |
| .. | 229 | 235 | ... | ... | 184 | 192 | ... | — |
| .. | 262 | 268 | ... | ... | 234 | 242 | ... | — |
| 68 | 290 | 294 | ... | ... | 262 | 268 | ... | — |
| .. | 307 | 313 | ... | ... | 294 | 303 | ... | — |
| 62 | 357 | 364 | 236 | 65 | 332 | 342 | ... | — |
| .. | 350 | 356 | ... | ... | 320 | 330 | ... | — |
| 64 | 364 | 370 | ... | ... | 349 | 359 | ... | — |
| 40 | 156 | 157 | 166 | 106 | 114 | 129 | 41 | 32 |
| 43 | 128 | 130 | ... | ... | 68 | 80 | 39 | 49 |
| 54 | 136 | 137 | ... | ... | 100 | 106 | 45 | 42 |
| 62 | 159 | 160 | ... | ... | 130 | 138 | 49 | 36 |
| 87 | 168 | 169 | ... | ... | 166 | 171 | ... | — |
| .. | 200 | 200 | ... | ... | 243 | 250 | ... | — |
| .. | 240 | 243 | ... | ... | 344 | 353 | ... | — |
| .. | 243 | 246 | ... | ... | 337 | 345 | ... | — |
| .. | 240 | 244 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| 49 | 378 | 384 | 206 | 54 | 321 | 328 | 129 | 39 |
| 52 | 243 | 253 | 145 | 57 | 200 | 212 | 94 | 44 |
| 61 | 282 | 287 | 186 | 65 | 231 | 236 | ... | — |
| 56 | 320 | 326 | 187 | 57 | 265 | 270 | ... | — |
| 60 | 355 | 359 | 231 | 64 | 322 | 327 | ... | — |
| 50 | 423 | 429 | 231 | 54 | 389 | 395 | ... | — |
| 46 | 576 | 586 | 271 | 46 | 484 | 492 | ... | — |
| 44 | 571 | 579 | ... | ... | 492 | 499 | ... | — |
| .. | 591 | 604 | ... | ... | 475 | 484 | ... | — |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **BUYERS AND DEPARTMENT HEADS, STORE** | | | | |
| Total..... | 336 | 340 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 225 | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 265 | 267 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 294 | 297 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 326 | 329 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 370 | 374 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 433 | 437 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 436 | 440 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 444 | 448 | ... | ... |
| **INSPECTORS, PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 246 | 248 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 187 | 188 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 247 | 249 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 245 | 247 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 258 | 260 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 275 | 278 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 270 | 273 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **OFFICIALS AND ADMINISTRATORS (n.e.c.) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION** | | | | |
| Total..... | 281 | 285 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 186 | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 238 | 241 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 261 | 263 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 284 | 288 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 347 | 352 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 323 | 327 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 372 | 378 | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the e Research Council.)

| o of hite hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ... | 346 | 350 | ... | ... | 305 | 308 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 283 | 286 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 307 | 311 | ... | ... | 261 | 264 | ... | ... |
| ... | 334 | 337 | ... | ... | 308 | 311 | ... | ... |
| ... | 378 | 382 | ... | ... | 346 | 350 | ... | ... |
| ... | 442 | 447 | ... | ... | 407 | 411 | ... | ... |
| ... | 449 | 454 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 446 | 451 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 252 | 254 | ... | ... | 232 | 234 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 252 | 255 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 251 | 253 | ... | ... | 232 | 234 | ... | ... |
| ... | 263 | 265 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 275 | 278 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 278 | 281 | ... | ... | 288 | 291 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 243 | 246 | ... | ... | 229 | 232 | ... | ... |
| ... | 262 | 265 | ... | ... | 260 | 262 | ... | ... |
| ... | 284 | 288 | ... | ... | 289 | 292 | ... | ... |
| ... | 332 | 337 | ... | ... | 367 | 371 | ... | ... |
| ... | 313 | 317 | ... | ... | 335 | 339 | ... | ... |
| ... | 358 | 365 | ... | ... | 395 | 399 | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **MANAGERS, OFFICIALS, AND PROPRIETORS (n.e.c.) TOTAL** | | | | |
| Total | 376 | 384 | 180 | 47 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 223 | 233 | 118 | 51 |
| 8 years | 272 | 276 | 172 | 62 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 310 | 315 | 170 | 54 |
| 4 years | 359 | 364 | 208 | 57 |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 437 | 443 | 214 | 48 |
| 4 years or more | 593 | 603 | 252 | 42 |
| 4 years | 590 | 599 | 243 | 41 |
| 5 years or more | 604 | 617 | ... | ... |
| **ALL OTHER MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS, EXCEPT FARM** | | | | |
| Total | 283 | 288 | 152 | 53 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 214 | 227 | ... | ... |
| 8 years | 246 | 254 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 275 | 280 | ... | ... |
| 4 years | 287 | 291 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 301 | 305 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more | 334 | 338 | ... | ... |
| 4 years | 332 | 335 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | 370 | 379 | ... | ... |
| **CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total | 213 | 218 | 162 | 74 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 169 | 176 | 129 | 73 |
| 8 years | 190 | 194 | 145 | 75 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 203 | 208 | 158 | 76 |
| 4 years | 218 | 222 | 172 | 77 |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 225 | 229 | 176 | 77 |
| 4 years or more | 262 | 268 | 186 | 69 |
| 4 years | 258 | 264 | 182 | 69 |
| 5 years or more | 270 | 276 | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 47 | 395 | 401 | 212 | 53 | 331 | 339 | 124 | 37 |
| 51 | 247 | 255 | 155 | 61 | 200 | 213 | 90 | 42 |
| 62 | 289 | 294 | 201 | 68 | 231 | 236 | ... | ... |
| 54 | 329 | 335 | 190 | 57 | 268 | 274 | ... | ... |
| 57 | 368 | 373 | 231 | 62 | 334 | 340 | ... | ... |
| 48 | 446 | 453 | 237 | 52 | 413 | 420 | ... | ... |
| 42 | 621 | 632 | 275 | 44 | 523 | 532 | ... | ... |
| 41 | 616 | 625 | ... | ... | 526 | 534 | ... | ... |
| .. | 635 | 650 | ... | ... | 524 | 534 | ... | ... |
| 53 | 287 | 293 | 143 | 49 | 271 | 275 | ... | ... |
| .. | 195 | 210 | ... | ... | 213 | 218 | ... | ... |
| .. | 239 | 249 | ... | ... | 252 | 255 | ... | ... |
| .. | 280 | 286 | ... | ... | 263 | 265 | ... | ... |
| .. | 292 | 296 | ... | ... | 274 | 278 | ... | ... |
| .. | 305 | 309 | ... | ... | 291 | 294 | ... | ... |
| .. | 336 | 340 | ... | ... | 335 | 338 | ... | ... |
| .. | 333 | 337 | ... | ... | 332 | 336 | ... | ... |
| .. | 352 | 358 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 74 | 217 | 221 | 170 | 77 | 201 | 208 | 144 | 69 |
| 73 | 180 | 185 | 146 | 79 | 152 | 161 | 113 | 70 |
| 75 | 194 | 197 | 153 | 78 | 175 | 181 | ... | ... |
| 76 | 207 | 211 | 164 | 78 | 189 | 195 | 145 | 74 |
| 77 | 222 | 226 | 177 | 78 | 207 | 211 | 156 | 74 |
| 77 | 228 | 232 | 179 | 77 | 218 | 223 | 164 | 74 |
| 69 | 263 | 269 | 189 | 70 | 259 | 267 | ... | ... |
| 69 | 261 | 266 | ... | ... | 252 | 260 | ... | ... |
| .. | 268 | 274 | ... | ... | 277 | 283 | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **BANK TELLERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 202 | 204 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 206 | 208 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 199 | 201 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **BOOKKEEPERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 204 | 206 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 194 | 197 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 207 | 209 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 203 | 205 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 213 | 215 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 216 | 218 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **MAIL CARRIERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 213 | 216 | 192 | 89 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 185 | 186 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 197 | 200 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 212 | 214 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 219 | 222 | 194 | 87 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 217 | 220 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 204 | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 206 | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of ite ite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ... | 204 | 206 | ... | ... | 196 | 197 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 208 | 210 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 209 | 211 | ... | ... | 193 | 195 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 199 | 202 | ... | ... | 181 | 183 | ... | ... |
| ... | 213 | 215 | ... | ... | 195 | 197 | ... | ... |
| ... | 208 | 210 | ... | ... | 192 | 194 | ... | ... |
| ... | 219 | 220 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 223 | 224 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 89 | 214 | 216 | 196 | 91 | 211 | 214 | 187 | 87 |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 196 | 198 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 213 | 215 | ... | ... | 207 | 211 | ... | ... |
| 87 | 219 | 222 | ... | ... | 219 | 223 | ... | ... |
| ... | 214 | 217 | ... | ... | 222 | 224 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **OFFICE MACHINE OPERATORS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 228 | 232 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 212 | 216 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 240 | 244 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 224 | 229 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **POSTAL CLERKS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 217 | 221 | 194 | 88 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 210 | 217 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 215 | 219 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 224 | 228 | 197 | 86 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 215 | 218 | 195 | 89 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 219 | 217 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 219 | 220 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **SHIPPING AND RECEIVING CLERKS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 183 | 189 | 142 | 75 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 168 | 174 | 133 | 76 |
| | 8 years..... | 182 | 186 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 185 | 190 | 145 | 76 |
| | 4 years..... | 190 | 195 | 146 | 75 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 182 | 186 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... | 217 | 222 | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 214 | 218 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 247 | 252 | ... | ... | 216 | 218 | ... | — |
| ... | 220 | 224 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| 88 | 217 | 221 | 194 | 88 | 218 | 223 | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | 209 | 216 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | 214 | 217 | ... | ... | 217 | 222 | ... | — |
| 86 | 224 | 229 | 197 | 86 | 223 | 227 | ... | — |
| 89 | 214 | 216 | ... | ... | 219 | 225 | ... | — |
| .. | 219 | 217 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | 222 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| 75 | 189 | 194 | 151 | 78 | 161 | 168 | 121 | 72 |
| 76 | 177 | 182 | ... | ... | 148 | 156 | ... | — |
| .. | 185 | 189 | ... | ... | 162 | 167 | ... | — |
| 76 | 191 | 195 | 154 | 79 | 161 | 168 | ... | — |
| 75 | 194 | 199 | 153 | 77 | 173 | 180 | ... | — |
| .. | 186 | 189 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared unde
Social Science Res

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **ALL OTHER CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 217 | 222 | 152 | 68 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 168 | 175 | 124 | 71 |
| 8 years..... | 189 | 194 | 140 | 72 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 205 | 209 | 149 | 71 |
| 4 years..... | 222 | 226 | 163 | 72 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 231 | 236 | 167 | 71 |
| 4 years or more..... | 272 | 278 | 176 | 63 |
| 4 years..... | 268 | 274 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 280 | 286 | ... | ... |
| **SALES WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 270 | 274 | 152 | 55 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 167 | 173 | 101 | 58 |
| 8 years..... | 206 | 209 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 232 | 235 | 147 | 63 |
| 4 years..... | 265 | 269 | 175 | 65 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 306 | 310 | 183 | 59 |
| 4 years or more..... | 387 | 392 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 387 | 392 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 392 | 397 | ... | ... |
| **INSURANCE AGENTS, BROKERS AND UNDERWRITERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 320 | 326 | 181 | 56 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 220 | 225 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 258 | 262 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 276 | 280 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 298 | 303 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 339 | 346 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 406 | 414 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 411 | 420 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 390 | 396 | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF 16.
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o of hite hite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 68 | 221 | 225 | 161 | 72 | 204 | 211 | 133 | 63 |
| 71 | 179 | 184 | 142 | 77 | 150 | 160 | 109 | 68 |
| 72 | 195 | 199 | 150 | 75 | 173 | 178 | ... | ... |
| 71 | 209 | 214 | 154 | 72 | 190 | 196 | 138 | 70 |
| 72 | 226 | 230 | 169 | 73 | 209 | 213 | 145 | 68 |
| 71 | 235 | 239 | 172 | 72 | 223 | 228 | 150 | 66 |
| 63 | 273 | 278 | ... | ... | 272 | 280 | ... | ... |
| ... | 270 | 275 | ... | ... | 265 | 273 | ... | ... |
| ... | 278 | 284 | ... | ... | 286 | 292 | ... | ... |
| 55 | 282 | 286 | 176 | 62 | 236 | 240 | 106 | 44 |
| 58 | 191 | 197 | ... | ... | 142 | 147 | 88 | 60 |
| ... | 218 | 221 | ... | ... | 177 | 181 | ... | ... |
| 63 | 244 | 248 | 164 | 66 | 200 | 203 | ... | ... |
| 65 | 275 | 278 | 189 | 68 | 238 | 241 | ... | ... |
| 59 | 313 | 317 | 204 | 64 | 283 | 287 | ... | ... |
| ... | 395 | 400 | ... | ... | 363 | 369 | ... | ... |
| ... | 400 | 404 | ... | ... | 345 | 351 | ... | ... |
| ... | 378 | 384 | ... | ... | 372 | 377 | ... | ... |
| 56 | 336 | 341 | ... | ... | 285 | 293 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 302 | 305 | ... | ... | 239 | 244 | ... | ... |
| ... | 314 | 318 | ... | ... | 262 | 268 | ... | ... |
| ... | 343 | 348 | ... | ... | 333 | 343 | ... | ... |
| ... | 423 | 430 | ... | ... | 361 | 371 | ... | ... |
| ... | 434 | 442 | ... | ... | 356 | 367 | ... | ... |
| ... | 400 | 407 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Res

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| REAL ESTATE AGENTS AND BROKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 359 | 366 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 306 | 310 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 292 | 296 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 337 | 342 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 370 | 377 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 459 | 468 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 468 | 478 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 416 | 419 | ... | ... |
| SALESMEN AND SALES CLERKS (n.e.c.) | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 257 | 261 | 143 | 55 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 163 | 169 | 102 | 60 |
| | 8 years..... | 201 | 204 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 227 | 230 | 144 | 63 |
| | 4 years..... | 258 | 261 | 164 | 63 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 295 | 299 | 166 | 56 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 371 | 375 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 368 | 372 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 362 | 367 | ... | ... |
| ALL OTHER SALES WORKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 278 | 284 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 117 | 122 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 181 | 189 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 217 | 222 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 265 | 269 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 319 | 319 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 443 | 450 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 453 | 459 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| o of hite hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ... | 367 | 373 | ... | ... | 342 | 348 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 303 | 309 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 343 | 348 | ... | ... | 301 | 304 | ... | ... |
| ... | 371 | 379 | ... | ... | 378 | 385 | ... | ... |
| ... | 485 | 494 | ... | ... | 412 | 423 | ... | ... |
| ... | 519 | 528 | ... | ... | 394 | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 394 | 399 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 55 | 270 | 273 | 163 | 60 | 224 | 228 | 102 | 45 |
| 60 | 187 | 192 | ... | ... | 140 | 146 | ... | ... |
| ... | 213 | 216 | ... | ... | 170 | 174 | ... | ... |
| 63 | 239 | 243 | 158 | 65 | 194 | 198 | ... | ... |
| 63 | 266 | 270 | 173 | 64 | 232 | 235 | ... | ... |
| 56 | 304 | 308 | ... | ... | 269 | 272 | ... | ... |
| ... | 375 | 379 | ... | ... | 363 | 368 | ... | ... |
| ... | 376 | 380 | ... | ... | 340 | 344 | ... | ... |
| ... | 356 | 360 | ... | ... | 378 | 382 | ... | ... |
| ... | 296 | 301 | ... | ... | 229 | 237 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 198 | 205 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 230 | 236 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 276 | 279 | ... | ... | 225 | 232 | ... | ... |
| ... | 332 | 332 | ... | ... | 268 | 272 | ... | ... |
| ... | 477 | 485 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 478 | 485 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN, AND KINDRED WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 223 | 229 | 141 | 62 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 177 | 185 | 118 | 64 |
| 8 years..... | 207 | 211 | 140 | 66 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 225 | 230 | 148 | 64 |
| 4 years..... | 243 | 247 | 166 | 67 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 253 | 258 | 167 | 65 |
| 4 years or more..... | 323 | 330 | 188 | 57 |
| 4 years..... | 316 | 320 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 346 | 353 | ... | ... |
| **BRICKMASONS, STONEMASONS, AND TILE SETTERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 209 | 221 | 126 | 57 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 170 | 187 | 107 | 57 |
| 8 years..... | 204 | 210 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 218 | 228 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 233 | 243 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 250 | 268 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **CARPENTERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 185 | 190 | 112 | 59 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 145 | 152 | 91 | 60 |
| 8 years..... | 178 | 182 | 116 | 64 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 193 | 197 | 121 | 61 |
| 4 years..... | 209 | 212 | 147 | 69 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 207 | 211 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 224 | 232 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 229 | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 62 | 236 | 240 | 171 | 71 | 188 | 197 | 106 | 54 |
| 64 | 202 | 207 | 155 | 75 | 150 | 160 | 97 | 61 |
| 66 | 217 | 220 | 163 | 74 | 178 | 184 | 106 | 58 |
| 64 | 236 | 239 | 170 | 71 | 195 | 202 | 114 | 56 |
| 67 | 249 | 253 | 184 | 73 | 219 | 225 | 124 | 55 |
| 65 | 260 | 264 | 189 | 72 | 230 | 239 | 121 | 51 |
| 57 | 329 | 335 | ... | ... | 306 | 315 | ... | ... |
| ... | 322 | 327 | ... | ... | 300 | 310 | ... | ... |
| ... | 354 | 360 | ... | ... | 322 | 329 | ... | ... |
| 57 | 229 | 235 | 163 | 69 | 168 | 187 | 107 | 57 |
| 57 | 202 | 214 | ... | ... | 136 | 155 | 96 | 62 |
| .. | 218 | 220 | ... | ... | 168 | 181 | ... | ... |
| ... | 233 | 237 | ... | ... | 189 | 208 | ... | ... |
| ... | 244 | 249 | ... | ... | 200 | 221 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 59 | 209 | 211 | 164 | 78 | 139 | 146 | 81 | 55 |
| 60 | 187 | 190 | 138 | 73 | 120 | 127 | 79 | 62 |
| 64 | 196 | 199 | ... | ... | 139 | 145 | ... | ... |
| 61 | 215 | 217 | ... | ... | 148 | 154 | 84 | 55 |
| 69 | 220 | 223 | ... | ... | 167 | 172 | ... | ... |
| .. | 220 | 222 | ... | ... | 163 | 170 | ... | ... |
| .. | 237 | 242 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **CEMENT AND CONCRETE FINISHERS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 196 | 222 | 126 | 57 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 163 | 194 | 115 | 59 |
| | 8 years..... | 205 | 223 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 207 | 226 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 237 | ... | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **COMPOSITORS AND TYPESETTERS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 247 | 250 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 205 | 207 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 229 | 233 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 247 | 250 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 254 | 257 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 248 | 251 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **ELECTRICIANS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 251 | 254 | 189 | 74 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 215 | 219 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 236 | 239 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 251 | 254 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 257 | 259 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 259 | 263 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

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e Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 57 | 226 | 236 | 161 | 68 | 138 | 168 | 110 | 65 |
| 59 | 213 | 227 | ... | ... | 122 | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 222 | 230 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 228 | 238 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 252 | 256 | ... | ... | 224 | 229 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 235 | 239 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 254 | 256 | ... | ... | 220 | 225 | ... | ... |
| ... | 258 | 261 | ... | ... | 239 | 242 | ... | ... |
| ... | 251 | 254 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 74 | 261 | 264 | ... | ... | 223 | 226 | ... | ... |
| ... | 239 | 241 | ... | ... | 196 | 200 | ... | ... |
| ... | 245 | 248 | ... | ... | 217 | 219 | ... | ... |
| ... | 260 | 263 | ... | ... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... |
| ... | 266 | 269 | ... | ... | 228 | 230 | ... | ... |
| ... | 268 | 272 | ... | ... | 231 | 235 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **FOREMEN (n.e.c.)** | | | | |
| Total..... | 282 | 286 | 196 | 69 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 230 | 234 | 167 | 71 |
| 8 years..... | 259 | 262 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 278 | 281 | 196 | 70 |
| 4 years..... | 293 | 296 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 313 | 316 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | 372 | 376 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 362 | 366 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 406 | 411 | ... | ... |
| **LINEMEN AND SERVICEMEN, TELEGRAPH, TELEPHONE AND POWER** | | | | |
| Total..... | 253 | 256 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 206 | 216 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 251 | 254 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 263 | 266 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 272 | 275 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 298 | 300 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 241 | 242 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 292 | 294 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 307 | 310 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of ite ite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 69 | 292 | 296 | 212 | 72 | 252 | 256 | 157 | 61 |
| 71 | 246 | 251 | ... | ... | 209 | 214 | ... | ... |
| ... | 269 | 272 | ... | ... | 226 | 229 | ... | ... |
| 70 | 287 | 291 | 205 | 70 | 249 | 252 | ... | ... |
| ... | 300 | 303 | ... | ... | 270 | 273 | ... | ... |
| ... | 318 | 322 | ... | ... | 293 | 297 | ... | ... |
| ... | 379 | 384 | ... | ... | 349 | 352 | ... | ... |
| ... | 369 | 373 | ... | ... | 340 | 343 | ... | ... |
| ... | 418 | 423 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 259 | 262 | ... | ... | 234 | 239 | ... | ... |
| ... | 234 | 237 | ... | ... | 186 | 198 | ... | ... |
| ... | 233 | 236 | ... | ... | 216 | 219 | ... | ... |
| ... | 258 | 261 | ... | ... | 235 | 239 | ... | ... |
| ... | 267 | 269 | ... | ... | 252 | 254 | ... | ... |
| ... | 272 | 275 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 293 | 295 | ... | ... | 300 | 303 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 282 | 285 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 312 | 315 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared unde
Social Science Res

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **MACHINISTS** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 229 | 232 | 173 | 75 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 201 | 206 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 215 | 218 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 230 | 233 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 239 | 242 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 239 | 242 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **MECHANICS AND REPAIRMEN** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 201 | 206 | 140 | 68 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 167 | 174 | 117 | 67 |
| | 8 years..... | 191 | 195 | 136 | 70 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 204 | 208 | 145 | 70 |
| | 4 years..... | 216 | 220 | 163 | 74 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 220 | 225 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 236 | 242 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 237 | 243 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 231 | 239 | ... | ... |
| **MECHANICS AND REPAIRMEN--AIRPLANE** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 248 | 252 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 206 | 212 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 229 | 233 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 245 | 248 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 253 | 257 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 273 | 277 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| o of hite hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 75 | 233 | 236 | 183 | 78 | 213 | 217 | ... | — |
| ... | 212 | 216 | ... | ... | 182 | 187 | ... | — |
| ... | 217 | 219 | ... | ... | 204 | 210 | ... | — |
| ... | 233 | 235 | ... | ... | 217 | 221 | ... | — |
| ... | 242 | 244 | ... | ... | 227 | 230 | ... | — |
| ... | 240 | 243 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| 68 | 211 | 214 | 164 | 77 | 175 | 183 | 105 | 57 |
| 67 | 186 | 191 | 147 | 77 | 146 | 155 | 98 | 63 |
| 70 | 199 | 202 | 154 | 76 | 168 | 174 | 104 | 60 |
| 70 | 212 | 215 | 163 | 76 | 182 | 188 | 109 | 58 |
| 74 | 222 | 225 | 178 | 79 | 197 | 202 | 120 | 59 |
| ... | 225 | 229 | ... | ... | 206 | 212 | ... | — |
| ... | 237 | 241 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 237 | 241 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 235 | 245 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 257 | 261 | ... | ... | 231 | 235 | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 238 | 241 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | 254 | 257 | ... | ... | 229 | 232 | ... | — |
| ... | 262 | 265 | ... | ... | 236 | 240 | ... | — |
| ... | 275 | 280 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | — |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **MECHANICS AND REPAIRMEN--AUTOMOBILE** | | | | |
| Total | 187 | 192 | 132 | 69 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 156 | 164 | 108 | 66 |
| 8 years | 182 | 186 | 133 | 72 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 195 | 199 | 140 | 70 |
| 4 years | 204 | 207 | 168 | 81 |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 199 | 201 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **MECHANICS AND REPAIRMEN--RADIO AND TELEVISION** | | | | |
| Total | 183 | 187 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 137 | 139 | ... | ... |
| 8 years | 155 | 159 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 180 | 184 | ... | ... |
| 4 years | 196 | 199 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 199 | 202 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **PAINTERS, CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE** | | | | |
| Total | 167 | 173 | 107 | 62 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 136 | 142 | 92 | 65 |
| 8 years | 167 | 171 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 173 | 178 | 108 | 61 |
| 4 years | 189 | 194 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 182 | 190 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| o of hite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 69 | 201 | 204 | 164 | 80 | 153 | 161 | 96 | 60 |
| 66 | 182 | 186 | ... | ... | 133 | 142 | 90 | 63 |
| 72 | 192 | 195 | 157 | 81 | 154 | 160 | ... | ... |
| 70 | 205 | 209 | 164 | 78 | 166 | 172 | 100 | 58 |
| 81 | 213 | 216 | 186 | 86 | 172 | 177 | ... | ... |
| ... | 204 | 206 | ... | ... | 181 | 184 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 194 | 197 | ... | ... | 159 | 164 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 166 | 168 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 187 | 191 | ... | ... | 163 | 168 | ... | ... |
| ... | 206 | 210 | ... | ... | 171 | 174 | ... | ... |
| ... | 206 | 207 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 62 | 184 | 189 | 132 | 70 | 134 | 141 | 83 | 59 |
| 65 | 157 | 161 | ... | ... | 118 | 125 | 75 | 60 |
| ... | 180 | 183 | ... | ... | 136 | 141 | ... | ... |
| 61 | 187 | 192 | ... | ... | 141 | 148 | ... | ... |
| ... | 200 | 204 | ... | ... | 157 | 164 | ... | ... |
| ... | 196 | 202 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **PLASTERERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 206 | 223 | 124 | 56 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 162 | 184 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 197 | 210 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 223 | 238 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 239 | 249 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **PLUMBERS AND PIPE FITTERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 236 | 241 | 141 | 59 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 195 | 206 | 113 | 55 |
| 8 years..... | 222 | 227 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 242 | 246 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 252 | 256 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 258 | 263 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **TOOLMAKERS AND DIEMAKERS AND SETTERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 276 | 279 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 244 | 248 | ... | ... |
| 8 years..... | 264 | 266 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 271 | 274 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 282 | 285 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 288 | 291 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
nder the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 56 | 223 | 232 | ... | ... | 166 | 196 | 103 | 53 |
| .. | 185 | 195 | ... | ... | 133 | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 208 | 215 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 237 | 247 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 248 | 253 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 59 | 252 | 255 | 196 | 77 | 197 | 207 | 103 | 50 |
| 55 | 238 | 244 | ... | ... | 163 | 176 | ... | ... |
| .. | 238 | 241 | ... | ... | 186 | 192 | ... | ... |
| .. | 255 | 258 | ... | ... | 208 | 214 | ... | ... |
| .. | 259 | 262 | ... | ... | 227 | 233 | ... | ... |
| .. | 267 | 270 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 280 | 282 | ... | ... | 233 | 235 | ... | ... |
| .. | 246 | 251 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 266 | 269 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 275 | 277 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 285 | 288 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | 292 | 295 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| .. | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **OTHER CONSTRUCTION CRAFTSMEN** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 206 | 211 | 133 | 63 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 172 | 180 | 113 | 63 |
| | 8 years..... | 204 | 208 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 212 | 216 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 230 | 234 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 229 | 232 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **OTHER METAL CRAFTSMEN** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 232 | 237 | 171 | 72 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 202 | 208 | 168 | 81 |
| | 8 years..... | 220 | 223 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 237 | 241 | 174 | 72 |
| | 4 years..... | 250 | 254 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 244 | 250 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **OTHER PRINTING CRAFTSMEN** | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 268 | 272 | ... | ... |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 230 | 235 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 252 | 256 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 275 | 279 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 276 | 280 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 258 | 262 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF 26.
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o of hite hite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 63 | 225 | 228 | 172 | 75 | 168 | 175 | 108 | 62 |
| 63 | 201 | 205 | ... | ... | 149 | 158 | 100 | 63 |
| ... | 217 | 220 | ... | ... | 174 | 178 | ... | --- |
| ... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... | 174 | 179 | ... | --- |
| ... | 237 | 240 | ... | ... | 203 | 209 | ... | --- |
| ... | 245 | 247 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| 72 | 239 | 244 | 180 | 74 | 203 | 208 | 135 | 65 |
| 81 | 215 | 221 | 179 | 81 | 175 | 181 | ... | --- |
| ... | 226 | 229 | ... | ... | 193 | 196 | ... | --- |
| 72 | 242 | 247 | 182 | 74 | 214 | 218 | ... | --- |
| ... | 255 | 258 | ... | ... | 225 | 230 | ... | --- |
| ... | 249 | 254 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | 274 | 277 | ... | ... | 242 | 247 | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | 252 | 255 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | 281 | 285 | ... | ... | 244 | 249 | ... | --- |
| ... | 282 | 285 | ... | ... | 243 | 246 | ... | --- |
| ... | 266 | 270 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | --- |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ALL OTHER CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN AND KINDRED WORKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 225 | 230 | 149 | 65 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 183 | 189 | 134 | 71 |
| | 8 years..... | 204 | 208 | 145 | 70 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 218 | 223 | 153 | 69 |
| | 4 years..... | 235 | 239 | 164 | 69 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 259 | 265 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 362 | 367 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 352 | 357 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 390 | 395 | ... | ... |
| OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 188 | 196 | 129 | 66 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 154 | 165 | 111 | 67 |
| | 8 years..... | 186 | 191 | 135 | 71 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 197 | 203 | 141 | 69 |
| | 4 years..... | 210 | 215 | 151 | 70 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 216 | 222 | 157 | 71 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 229 | 236 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 229 | 237 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 228 | 234 | ... | ... |
| BUS DRIVERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 172 | 176 | 133 | 76 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 137 | 146 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 172 | 175 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 176 | 182 | 135 | 74 |
| | 4 years..... | 196 | 198 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 181 | 179 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of ite ite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 65 | 235 | 239 | 173 | 72 | 197 | 205 | 119 | 58 |
| 71 | 201 | 205 | 164 | 80 | 162 | 170 | 114 | 67 |
| 70 | 212 | 215 | ... | ... | 178 | 185 | ... | ... |
| 69 | 226 | 230 | 171 | 74 | 193 | 200 | 127 | 64 |
| 69 | 241 | 244 | ... | ... | 215 | 222 | ... | ... |
| ... | 268 | 272 | ... | ... | 230 | 238 | ... | ... |
| ... | 366 | 370 | ... | ... | 353 | 360 | ... | ... |
| ... | 355 | 359 | ... | ... | 362 | 368 | ... | ... |
| ... | 395 | 400 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 66 | 202 | 206 | 158 | 77 | 152 | 165 | 100 | 61 |
| 67 | 178 | 183 | 148 | 81 | 127 | 140 | 91 | 65 |
| 71 | 195 | 199 | 157 | 79 | 155 | 163 | 107 | 66 |
| 69 | 206 | 211 | 161 | 76 | 166 | 176 | 109 | 62 |
| 70 | 216 | 220 | 169 | 77 | 186 | 195 | 116 | 59 |
| 71 | 218 | 223 | 171 | 77 | 199 | 210 | 122 | 58 |
| ... | 228 | 233 | ... | ... | 233 | 252 | ... | ... |
| ... | 228 | 233 | ... | ... | 240 | 262 | ... | ... |
| ... | 228 | 233 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 76 | 192 | 191 | 187 | 98 | 135 | 145 | 83 | 57 |
| ... | 172 | 169 | ... | ... | 111 | 123 | ... | ... |
| ... | 188 | 189 | ... | ... | 135 | 140 | ... | ... |
| 74 | 200 | 200 | ... | ... | 144 | 153 | ... | ... |
| ... | 203 | 204 | ... | ... | 175 | 182 | ... | ... |
| ... | 186 | 181 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **MINE OPERATORS AND LABORERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 180 | 183 | 132 | 72 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 152 | 155 | 122 | 79 |
| 8 years..... | 173 | 176 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 196 | 199 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 212 | 216 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 268 | 274 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **TRUCK AND TRACTOR DRIVERS** | | | | |
| Total..... | 185 | 197 | 114 | 58 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 146 | 162 | 97 | 60 |
| 8 years..... | 189 | 196 | 127 | 65 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 202 | 214 | 130 | 61 |
| 4 years..... | 212 | 219 | 139 | 63 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 211 | 217 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| **OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS (n.e.c.)** | | | | |
| Total..... | 190 | 196 | 137 | 70 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years..... | 159 | 167 | 120 | 72 |
| 8 years..... | 188 | 192 | 143 | 74 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years..... | 198 | 204 | 150 | 74 |
| 4 years..... | 212 | 217 | 158 | 73 |
| College: 1 to 3 years..... | 218 | 225 | 164 | 73 |
| 4 years or more..... | 239 | 246 | ... | ... |
| 4 years..... | 236 | 243 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more..... | 249 | 256 | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 72 | 187 | 189 | ... | ... | 176 | 180 | 124 | 69 |
| 79 | 162 | 165 | ... | ... | 148 | 151 | 120 | 79 |
| ... | 177 | 178 | ... | ... | 170 | 173 | ... | ... |
| ... | 197 | 197 | ... | ... | 195 | 200 | ... | ... |
| ... | 208 | 210 | ... | ... | 217 | 223 | ... | ... |
| ... | 258 | 264 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 58 | 210 | 215 | 154 | 72 | 138 | 155 | 94 | 61 |
| 60 | 183 | 189 | 140 | 74 | 117 | 132 | 86 | 65 |
| 65 | 204 | 208 | 158 | 76 | 147 | 158 | 106 | 67 |
| 61 | 220 | 226 | 156 | 69 | 160 | 175 | 106 | 61 |
| 63 | 225 | 229 | 167 | 73 | 167 | 179 | 114 | 64 |
| ... | 221 | 225 | ... | ... | 176 | 188 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 70 | 200 | 204 | 162 | 79 | 157 | 169 | 105 | 62 |
| 72 | 178 | 181 | 153 | 85 | 131 | 143 | 97 | 68 |
| 74 | 194 | 197 | 160 | 81 | 161 | 168 | 113 | 67 |
| 74 | 205 | 210 | 167 | 80 | 171 | 181 | 116 | 64 |
| 73 | 216 | 219 | 172 | 79 | 197 | 206 | 122 | 59 |
| 73 | 219 | 224 | 175 | 78 | 210 | 221 | ... | ... |
| ... | 239 | 245 | ... | ... | 253 | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 233 | 240 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 253 | 259 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| **ALL OTHER OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS** | | | | |
| Total | 189 | 196 | 130 | 66 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 156 | 166 | 112 | 67 |
| 8 years | 184 | 189 | 132 | 70 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 194 | 200 | 138 | 69 |
| 4 years | 209 | 214 | 149 | 70 |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 211 | 218 | 148 | 68 |
| 4 years or more | 217 | 223 | ... | ... |
| 4 years | 222 | 229 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | 200 | 204 | ... | ... |
| **SERVICE WORKERS INCLUDING PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD** | | | | |
| Total | 157 | 170 | 109 | 64 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 122 | 133 | 98 | 74 |
| 8 years | 147 | 157 | 108 | 69 |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 160 | 173 | 113 | 65 |
| 4 years | 181 | 192 | 123 | 64 |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 183 | 194 | 127 | 65 |
| 4 years or more | 203 | 217 | 136 | 63 |
| 4 years | 201 | 216 | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | 207 | 216 | ... | ... |
| **BARBERS** | | | | |
| Total | 180 | 189 | 113 | 60 |
| Elementary: Less than 8 years | 159 | 164 | ... | ... |
| 8 years | 184 | 189 | ... | ... |
| High School: 1 to 3 years | 186 | 195 | ... | ... |
| 4 years | 189 | 196 | ... | ... |
| College: 1 to 3 years | 177 | 193 | ... | ... |
| 4 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 4 years | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 5 years or more | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS



hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 66 | 201 | 205 | 154 | 75 | 153 | 164 | 98 | 60 |
| 67 | 178 | 183 | 146 | 80 | 128 | 140 | 89 | 64 |
| 70 | 193 | 197 | 151 | 77 | 152 | 160 | 103 | 64 |
| 69 | 202 | 207 | 155 | 75 | 164 | 172 | 106 | 62 |
| 70 | 215 | 219 | 165 | 75 | 180 | 189 | 112 | 59 |
| 68 | 217 | 222 | 162 | 73 | 185 | 196 | ... | ... |
| ... | 220 | 224 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 226 | 230 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 202 | 206 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 64 | 168 | 176 | 126 | 72 | 127 | 149 | 90 | 60 |
| 74 | 136 | 141 | 118 | 84 | 103 | 118 | 84 | 71 |
| 69 | 155 | 161 | 121 | 75 | 122 | 138 | 91 | 66 |
| 65 | 170 | 178 | 129 | 72 | 133 | 154 | 92 | 60 |
| 64 | 188 | 195 | 137 | 70 | 155 | 178 | 101 | 57 |
| 65 | 189 | 197 | 139 | 71 | 159 | 178 | 109 | 61 |
| 63 | 211 | 219 | ... | ... | 170 | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 212 | 221 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 207 | 213 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 60 | 192 | 197 | 137 | 70 | 154 | 167 | 91 | 54 |
| ... | 169 | 171 | ... | ... | 144 | 154 | ... | ... |
| ... | 196 | 200 | ... | ... | 153 | 162 | ... | ... |
| ... | 198 | 205 | ... | ... | 159 | 171 | ... | ... |
| ... | 197 | 201 | ... | ... | 166 | 181 | ... | ... |
| ... | 190 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| PROTECTIVE SERVICE WORKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 206 | 209 | 167 | 80 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 157 | 160 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 186 | 188 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 204 | 207 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 221 | 224 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 260 | 266 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 253 | 260 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 270 | 275 | ... | ... |
| FIREMEN, FIRE PROTECTION | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 233 | 235 | 200 | 85 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 192 | 199 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 215 | 217 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 228 | 230 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 244 | 246 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 259 | 262 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| POLICEMEN AND DETECTIVES | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 224 | 226 | 187 | 83 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 168 | 172 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 192 | 194 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 217 | 220 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 230 | 233 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 246 | 250 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 296 | 301 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 286 | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| of ite ite | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 80 | 216 | 218 | 177 | 81 | 179 | 182 | 141 | 77 |
| ... | 166 | 171 | ... | ... | 146 | 149 | ... | ... |
| ... | 194 | 197 | ... | ... | 162 | 164 | ... | ... |
| ... | 212 | 215 | ... | ... | 181 | 183 | ... | ... |
| ... | 227 | 230 | ... | ... | 198 | 200 | ... | ... |
| ... | 235 | 238 | ... | ... | 202 | 206 | ... | ... |
| ... | 264 | 270 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 259 | 265 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 270 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 85 | 242 | 244 | ... | ... | 206 | 208 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 201 | 204 | ... | ... |
| ... | 227 | 229 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 237 | 238 | ... | ... | 209 | 211 | ... | ... |
| ... | 250 | 252 | ... | ... | 220 | 222 | ... | ... |
| ... | 267 | 269 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 83 | 233 | 236 | ... | ... | 194 | 196 | ... | ... |
| ... | 181 | 186 | ... | ... | 156 | 158 | ... | ... |
| ... | 197 | 200 | ... | ... | 172 | 174 | ... | ... |
| ... | 228 | 231 | ... | ... | 185 | 186 | ... | ... |
| ... | 237 | 239 | ... | ... | 205 | 207 | ... | ... |
| ... | 252 | 255 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 298 | 303 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ALL OTHER SERVICE WORKERS INCLUDING PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 135 | 147 | 106 | 72 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 115 | 125 | 97 | 78 |
| | 8 years..... | 135 | 144 | 107 | 74 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 140 | 152 | 111 | 73 |
| | 4 years..... | 154 | 167 | 117 | 70 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 152 | 164 | 119 | 73 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 160 | 170 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 163 | 176 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 156 | 162 | ... | ... |
| FARM LABORERS AND FOREMEN | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 80 | 91 | 49 | 54 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 62 | 70 | 45 | 64 |
| | 8 years..... | 90 | 96 | 56 | 58 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 103 | 111 | 62 | 56 |
| | 4 years..... | 128 | 134 | 86 | 64 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 151 | 155 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 192 | 200 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| FARM LABORERS, WAGE WORKERS | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 76 | 87 | 49 | 56 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 60 | 68 | 45 | 66 |
| | 8 years..... | 88 | 93 | 55 | 59 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 97 | 105 | 59 | 56 |
| | 4 years..... | 117 | 121 | 77 | 64 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 138 | 141 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | 167 | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
GION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
e Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| o of hite hite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 72 | 146 | 152 | 122 | 80 | 105 | 121 | 89 | 74 |
| 78 | 130 | 134 | 117 | 87 | 94 | 103 | 83 | 81 |
| 74 | 143 | 148 | 119 | 80 | 105 | 116 | 90 | 78 |
| 73 | 150 | 157 | 125 | 80 | 108 | 124 | 91 | 73 |
| 70 | 162 | 169 | 129 | 76 | 127 | 152 | 98 | 64 |
| 73 | 158 | 165 | 128 | 78 | 133 | 154 | 105 | 68 |
| ... | 168 | 174 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 176 | 184 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 157 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 54 | 100 | 102 | 84 | 82 | 58 | 71 | 42 | 59 |
| 64 | 81 | 82 | 74 | 90 | 50 | 58 | 40 | 69 |
| 58 | 100 | 102 | 76 | 75 | 67 | 75 | 46 | 61 |
| 56 | 115 | 117 | 90 | 77 | 81 | 95 | 47 | 49 |
| 64 | 134 | 136 | ... | ... | 113 | 130 | ... | ... |
| ... | 150 | 152 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 56 | 96 | 98 | 79 | 81 | 55 | 65 | 42 | 65 |
| 66 | 79 | 80 | 73 | 91 | 49 | 57 | 40 | 70 |
| 59 | 98 | 100 | 73 | 73 | 63 | 70 | 45 | 64 |
| 56 | 110 | 113 | 83 | 73 | 72 | 84 | 47 | 56 |
| 64 | 123 | 125 | ... | ... | 96 | 110 | ... | ... |
| ... | 142 | 144 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 1.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR, AND REGION,

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars. These
in the United States; 1960 Census Monograph being prepared under
Social Science Rese

| Occupation and years of school completed | | United States | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| ALL OTHER FARM LABORERS AND FOREMEN | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 138 | 144 | 90 | 63 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 96 | 106 | ... | ... |
| | 8 years..... | 124 | 126 | ... | ... |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 150 | 153 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 195 | 198 | ... | ... |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| LABORERS, EXCEPT FARM AND MINE | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 143 | 157 | 105 | 67 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 118 | 131 | 95 | 73 |
| | 8 years..... | 150 | 158 | 115 | 73 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 157 | 168 | 118 | 70 |
| | 4 years..... | 173 | 182 | 128 | 70 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 174 | 185 | 128 | 69 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 189 | 199 | ... | ... |
| | 4 years..... | 192 | 204 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED | | | | | |
| | Total..... | 215 | 232 | 133 | 57 |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years..... | 157 | 173 | 118 | 68 |
| | 8 years..... | 185 | 194 | 133 | 69 |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 205 | 218 | 137 | 63 |
| | 4 years..... | 239 | 251 | 145 | 58 |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 281 | 294 | 167 | 57 |
| | 4 years or more..... | 360 | 375 | 180 | 48 |
| | 4 years..... | 345 | 359 | ... | ... |
| | 5 years or more..... | 386 | 400 | ... | ... |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
ION, FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS

hese data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends in Income Distribution
under the joint sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and the
Research Council.)

| | North and West | | | | South | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of ite ite | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 63 | 158 | 156 | ... | ... | 118 | 132 | ... | ... |
| ... | 130 | 131 | ... | ... | 76 | 86 | ... | ... |
| ... | 128 | 128 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 156 | 154 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 191 | 190 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 67 | 163 | 169 | 135 | 80 | 105 | 118 | 87 | 74 |
| 73 | 147 | 152 | 129 | 85 | 92 | 99 | 82 | 83 |
| 73 | 161 | 165 | 134 | 81 | 114 | 122 | 97 | 80 |
| 70 | 170 | 175 | 141 | 81 | 119 | 135 | 95 | 70 |
| 70 | 181 | 186 | 146 | 78 | 141 | 159 | 105 | 66 |
| 69 | 180 | 186 | 144 | 77 | 158 | 183 | 111 | 61 |
| ... | 193 | 197 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | 196 | 200 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 57 | 225 | 239 | 148 | 62 | 187 | 213 | 107 | 50 |
| 68 | 171 | 181 | 138 | 76 | 133 | 154 | 96 | 62 |
| 69 | 192 | 200 | 143 | 72 | 159 | 172 | 112 | 65 |
| 63 | 213 | 225 | 148 | 66 | 183 | 198 | 113 | 57 |
| 58 | 245 | 256 | 155 | 61 | 217 | 233 | 116 | 50 |
| 57 | 281 | 293 | 176 | 60 | 259 | 274 | ... | ... |
| 48 | 366 | 379 | ... | ... | 345 | 364 | ... | ... |
| .. | 350 | 364 | ... | ... | 330 | 347 | ... | ... |
| .. | 395 | 407 | ... | ... | 359 | 383 | ... | ... |

Table 2.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR AND MAJOR OCCUPATI

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollar
in Income Distribution in the United States; 1960 Cens
sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and

| Occupation and years of school completed | | North | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonw |
| MANAGERS, OFFICIALS AND PROPRIETORS, EXCEPT FARMS | | | | |
| | Total..... | 378 | 384 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 239 | 249 | |
| | 8 years..... | 276 | 281 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 317 | 322 | |
| | 4 years..... | 351 | 355 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 428 | 434 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 602 | 611 | |
| | 4 years..... | 594 | 601 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 622 | 569 | |
| CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS | | | | |
| | Total..... | 215 | 219 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 179 | 184 | |
| | 8 years..... | 193 | 197 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 206 | 210 | |
| | 4 years..... | 221 | 225 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 228 | 233 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 267 | 272 | |
| | 4 years..... | 264 | 269 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 273 | 279 | |
| SALES WORKERS | | | | |
| | Total..... | 282 | 285 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 188 | 194 | |
| | 8 years..... | 218 | 221 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 245 | 248 | |
| | 4 years..... | 274 | 277 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 317 | 320 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 403 | 408 | |
| | 4 years..... | 405 | 410 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 396 | 402 | |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
CUPATION GROUP, FOR THE NORTH AND WEST

dollars. These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends
) Census Monograph being prepared under the joint
s and the Social Science Research Council.)

| North | | West | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 183 | 48 | 376 | 383 | 246 | 64 |
| 126 | 51 | 257 | 272 | ... | ... |
| 148 | 53 | 309 | 312 | ... | ... |
| 159 | 49 | 332 | 338 | ... | ... |
| 192 | 54 | 369 | 375 | 272 | 73 |
| ... | ... | 411 | 418 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 496 | 507 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 492 | 502 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 505 | 517 | ... | ... |
| 167 | 76 | 223 | 227 | 177 | 78 |
| 146 | 79 | 185 | 191 | ... | ... |
| 148 | 75 | 200 | 203 | ... | ... |
| 162 | 77 | 214 | 218 | 174 | 80 |
| 174 | 77 | 227 | 232 | 185 | 80 |
| 181 | 78 | 229 | 234 | 179 | 76 |
| ... | ... | 254 | 261 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 250 | 257 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 260 | 266 | ... | ... |
| 158 | 55 | 284 | 289 | 203 | 70 |
| ... | ... | 213 | 221 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 224 | 228 | ... | ... |
| 156 | 63 | 244 | 248 | ... | ... |
| 159 | 57 | 278 | 282 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 306 | 310 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 372 | 377 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 383 | 388 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 352 | 359 | ... | ... |

Table 2.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR AND MAJOR OCCUPAT

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dolla
in Income Distribution in the United States; 1960 Cen
sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and

| Occupation and years of school completed | | North | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Non |
| CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN AND KINDRED WORKERS | | | | |
| | Total..... | 233 | 237 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 199 | 204 | |
| | 8 years..... | 214 | 218 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 234 | 238 | |
| | 4 years..... | 248 | 251 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 260 | 264 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 335 | 340 | |
| | 4 years..... | 328 | 333 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 358 | 365 | |
| OPERATIVES AND KINDRED WORKERS | | | | |
| | Total..... | 199 | 203 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 177 | 181 | |
| | 8 years..... | 194 | 197 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 204 | 208 | |
| | 4 years..... | 213 | 217 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 214 | 219 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 226 | 231 | |
| | 4 years..... | 227 | 232 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 223 | 228 | |
| SERVICE WORKERS, INCLUDING PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD | | | | |
| | Total..... | 165 | 172 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 135 | 140 | |
| | 8 years..... | 153 | 160 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 168 | 177 | |
| | 4 years..... | 185 | 192 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 181 | 189 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 207 | 216 | |
| | 4 years..... | 210 | 220 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 202 | 209 | |

N THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
CUPATION GROUP, FOR THE NORTH AND WEST

dollars. These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends
0 Census Monograph being prepared under the joint
s and the Social Science Research Council.)

| North | | | West | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 164 | 69 | 245 | 249 | 187 | 75 |
| 153 | 75 | 212 | 218 | 162 | 74 |
| 159 | 73 | 230 | 235 | 174 | 74 |
| 163 | 68 | 243 | 247 | 188 | 76 |
| 175 | 70 | 255 | 259 | 198 | 76 |
| 187 | 71 | 259 | 264 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 315 | 320 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 306 | 311 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 345 | 351 | ... | ... |
| 158 | 78 | 212 | 217 | 159 | 73 |
| 150 | 83 | 182 | 189 | 140 | 74 |
| 156 | 79 | 203 | 207 | 157 | 76 |
| 159 | 76 | 218 | 222 | 168 | 76 |
| 168 | 77 | 227 | 231 | 173 | 75 |
| 172 | 79 | 229 | 234 | 171 | 73 |
| ... | ... | 236 | 240 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 233 | 236 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 124 | 72 | 178 | 187 | 135 | 72 |
| 115 | 82 | 141 | 144 | 129 | 90 |
| 117 | 73 | 161 | 166 | 136 | 82 |
| 126 | 71 | 174 | 182 | 139 | 76 |
| 136 | 71 | 197 | 205 | 141 | 69 |
| 138 | 73 | 202 | 210 | 142 | 68 |
| ... | ... | 216 | 222 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 215 | 221 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

Table 2.--ESTIMATED LIFETIME EARNINGS FOR MALES IN THE
SCHOOL COMPLETED, COLOR AND MAJOR OCCUPATIO

(Earnings from age 18 to 64 years. Thousands of dollars
in Income Distribution in the United States; 1960 Censu
sponsorship of the Bureau of the Census and

| Occupation and years of school completed | | North | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | White | Nonwh |
| **FARM LABORERS AND FOREMEN** | | | | |
| | Total..... | 93 | 96 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 74 | 76 | |
| | 8 years..... | 91 | 92 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 103 | 104 | |
| | 4 years..... | 122 | 123 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years or more..... | ... | ... | |
| | 4 years..... | ... | ... | |
| | 5 years or more.... | ... | ... | |
| **LABORERS, EXCEPT FARM AND MINE** | | | | |
| | Total..... | 161 | 166 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 147 | 151 | |
| | 8 years..... | 159 | 163 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 167 | 172 | |
| | 4 years..... | 177 | 182 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 178 | 184 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 195 | 202 | |
| | 4 years..... | 199 | ... | |
| | 5 years or more.... | ... | ... | |
| **OCCUPATION NOT REPORTED** | | | | |
| | Total..... | 224 | 238 | |
| Elementary: | Less than 8 years.... | 173 | 183 | |
| | 8 years..... | 191 | 199 | |
| High School: | 1 to 3 years..... | 215 | 228 | |
| | 4 years..... | 243 | 253 | |
| College: | 1 to 3 years..... | 274 | 286 | |
| | 4 years or more..... | 383 | 396 | |
| | 4 years..... | 367 | 381 | |
| | 5 years or more.... | 415 | 427 | |

THE EXPERIENCED CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE, BY YEARS OF
UPATION GROUP, FOR THE NORTH AND WEST

ollars. These data are from Herman P. Miller, Trends
Census Monograph being prepared under the joint
and the Social Science Research Council.)

| orth | | West | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white | Total | White | Nonwhite | Ratio of nonwhite to white |
| 64 | 67 | 108 | 110 | 92 | 84 |
| 55 | 72 | 86 | 87 | 83 | 95 |
| 66 | 72 | 115 | 120 | ... | ... |
| 69 | 66 | 127 | 131 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 146 | 149 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 150 | 154 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 135 | 81 | 171 | 177 | 138 | 78 |
| 130 | 86 | 148 | 153 | 126 | 82 |
| 134 | 82 | 170 | 175 | 133 | 76 |
| 139 | 81 | 179 | 184 | 148 | 80 |
| 143 | 79 | 191 | 196 | 153 | 78 |
| ... | ... | 185 | 191 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 147 | 62 | 230 | 242 | 155 | 64 |
| 139 | 76 | 168 | 176 | 137 | 78 |
| 143 | 72 | 198 | 207 | ... | ... |
| 150 | 66 | 209 | 220 | 142 | 65 |
| 151 | 60 | 257 | 269 | 171 | 64 |
| 171 | 60 | 276 | 283 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 321 | 333 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 303 | 314 | ... | ... |
| ... | ... | 350 | 359 | ... | ... |

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The study therefore proposes both private and public economic policies to restore a better balance in the economy by more vigorous efforts to expand consumption and thus benefit all groups in the economy. It sees in a forthright attack on poverty in the United States a clear road to maximum employment and production and economic growth.

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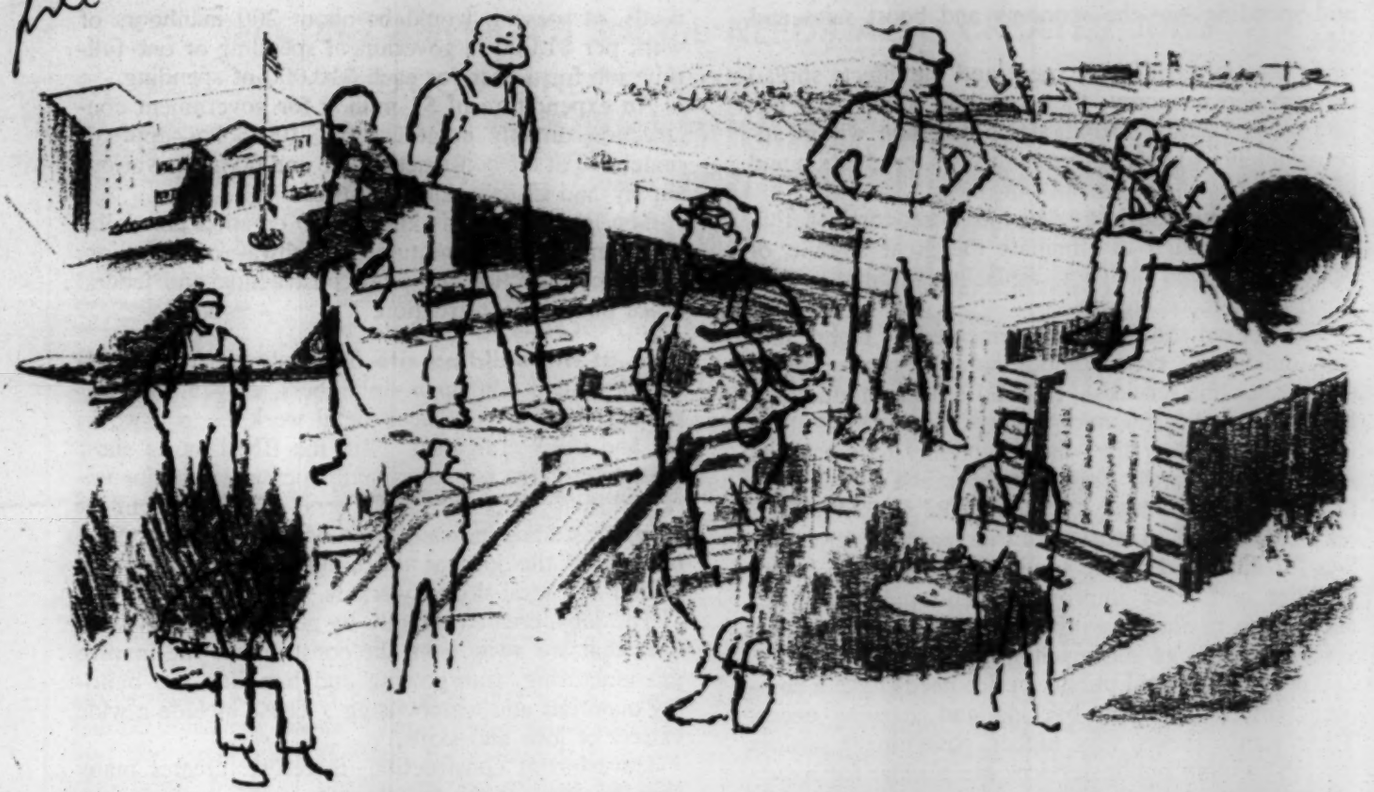


# America's Need: Social Services and Jobs

**A strange paradox afflicts** an America striving to create the good society, the democratic society in which no one shall live in want or fear. For the national economy which has demonstrated such remarkable ability to meet the challenge of war has failed to rise to the challenge of peaceful needs.

The paradox is posed by two conditions. On the one hand, well over 4 million people are jobless and about 15 percent of industry's plants and machines lie idle. On the other hand, a fastgrowing population suffers a continuing shortage of vital social services: children need schools; people generally and the elderly in particular are in want of housing, health care, hospitals and nursing homes; city people and suburbanites require mass transport; communities need libraries; the great cities rotting at the core must be replanned and rebuilt; pollution of water and air must be controlled; the natural beauties of the nation must be preserved and developed for human enjoyment.

Commonsense would seem to say that one problem can be used to solve the other. Federal leadership, action at the national level to start things moving, obviously is required if people are going to be put to work to meet public needs.

The job-creating impact of such government outlays does not stop at the building site. Public works outlays also spur activities in the factory, on the railroads and highways and in warehouses—in producing and distributing building materials and equipment. Jobs, incomes, sales and production rise—providing the basis for increased business investment and a better business climate. More government investment outlays create more consumer spending and business investment.

By taking up the slack in the economy—through the building of essential public services—America can put unemployed manpower and idle plants and machines to work. The result would be a high employment economy which means increased incomes for both business and working people and higher tax revenues for the government. Balancing the nation's job and public service deficits can make it possible for America to achieve balanced economic growth.

In the past ten years, America has lost billions of dollars of potential wealth through rising unemployment, short-time work, idle plants and machines. America's growing potential to produce at maximum use of manpower, plants and machines is about $60 billion greater than actual levels of production and employment.

At present, a $10 billion tax cut is necessary to start America back to work. The right kind of tax cut in 1963—tax reduction for low and middle-income taxpayers—can quickly inject consumer buying power

*Labor's* **ECONOMIC REVIEW**

Prepared by Department of Research
Reprinted from August 1963
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

and spending into the economy and boost sales and jobs.

As the tax savings are spent and the effects spread through the economy, they can add about $20 billion to $30 billion to national production within approximately two years—boosting sales, production and employment.

But such needed improvement in economic activities is not enough to eliminate the great amount of slack in a period of labor-displacing automation and rapid labor force growth.

The tax cut should be supplemented by higher federal outlays to create additional jobs and provide essential public services—to build a firmer foundation for the nation's economic progress.

Only by putting the whole economy to work can America remove the drag that too much idleness has produced for too long. And one of the ways the economy can be put to work is by increased federal outlays for improved public services. The schools, health facilities and other improvements in public services add to the nation's wealth no less than business investment in plants and machines.

America's job and public service needs have a common pattern: A great backlog and growing needs. Their scope shows why higher government outlays for job-creating public services are a must for a successful economy in the 1960s.

### Balancing Both Deficits

Even a brief review of America's job and public service needs shows clearly that action is required. A practical program of increased public works expenditures can help close both gaps simultaneously.

The nation's progress obviously demands government investment in job-creating programs of lasting worth that increase the nation's wealth. Such public investment creates jobs directly for unskilled and semi-skilled workers, as well as for skilled workers. An effective program of increased federal investment in public works can help employ many workers whose job needs are greatest and whose job chances are dimmest in this period of spreading automation.

Public construction uses large numbers of workers at many different kinds of jobs and skills. Public works programs also use large amounts of building materials and equipment. Intelligent economic and social action, therefore, would put to work the idle men, plants and machines in building and improving needed public services.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor has issued several studies which clearly indicate the substantial job impact of government construction programs.

The BLS studied labor requirements for several kinds of public construction in the past few years. The direct job-creation amounted to about 220 manhours of work per $1,000 of government spending. Changes in prices and increases in productivity have reduced needed labor per dollar of expenditure since the studies were made. An estimate of direct labor needs, at present, would be about 200 manhours of work per $1,000 in government spending or one full-time job for a year for each $10,000 of spending.

An expenditure of $1 million for government construction directly creates about 100 jobs—approximately 40 at the construction site and 60 in the various supply and distribution industries.

The BLS found this kind of job creation per dollar of government expenditure in highway construction, school construction, hospital construction and federal office building construction.

**Jobs at the building site** obviously call for experienced, skilled craftsmen—plumbers, carpenters, electricians, bricklayers, sheet metal workers, iron workers and other craftsmen. But the BLS studies show that government construction also creates jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The government agency's studies indicate that about 25 percent to 30 percent of the jobs at the building site are for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

The jobs, created directly by government construction, that are away from the construction site involve manufacturing, transporting and handling the building materials and warehousing. These include a wide variety of jobs and skills.

Government construction, therefore, creates many jobs directly—at the building site and in manufacturing, transportation and warehousing as well. Government expenditures of $1 billion for public building programs create approximately 40,000 on-site construction jobs and about 60,000 jobs in producing and distributing building materials and equipment.

This direct creation of jobs is emphasized by economists who have studied urban renewal programs. Peter Wagner of the National Planning Association explains the job impact in a report on "The Scope and Financing of Urban Renewal and Development."

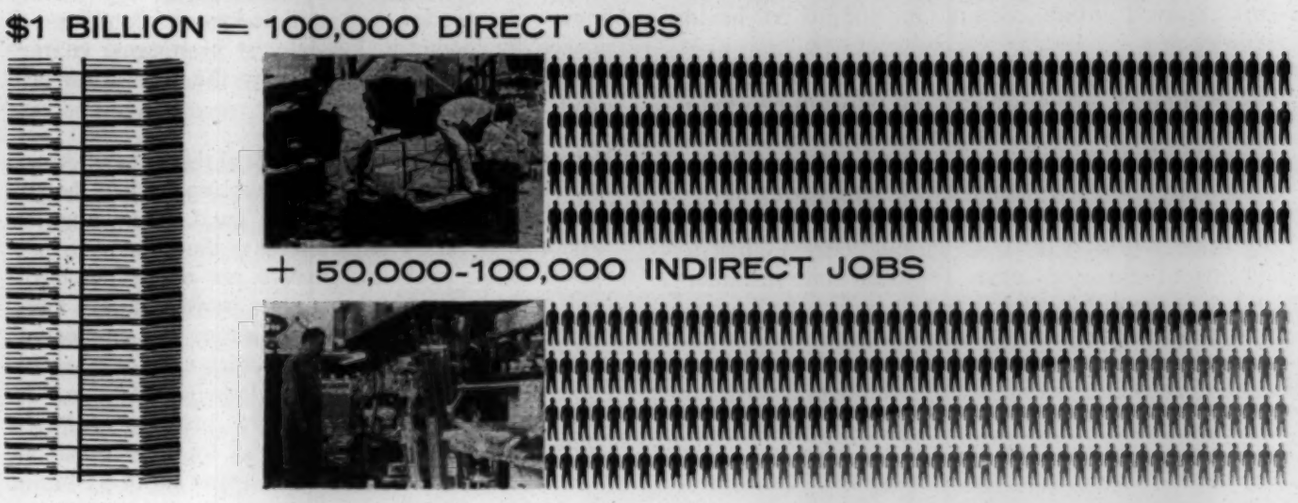
"Urban renewal will require more labor input than almost any other expenditure of equivalent size. To be sure, a considerable increase in labor productivity in this sector must be envisaged during the next two decades, but expenditures for urban development will remain highly labor-intensive. Moreover, the type of labor needed will always include a high proportion of male workers of relatively low skills. This is the very type of labor for which employment opportunities, already a serious problem, will be increasingly scarce in the future."

Other government efforts to meet public service needs also have similar direct job-creating effects. For example, the development of mass transportation, sewage systems and recreation areas would help to meet America's needs. Meeting them would directly create many jobs.

**These direct job-effects** are easy to recognize. Indirect job creation from public works, however, may be less visible but it is just as important.

The jobs created directly by public investment provide incomes to those who are employed on and off the building site. These workers spend all or most

## MEETING AMERICA'S SOCIAL NEEDS ALSO CREATES JOBS




of their take-home pay. As they spend their money—and retailers who deal with them re-spend the money—sales increase and more jobs are created in retail stores, warehouses and companies that produce and handle consumer goods. This improvement in sales and the government's orders for building materials also boost business profits and investment in new plants and machines. This process of spending and investing lifts economic activities and creates jobs.

Such additional spending and investment probably create almost as many new jobs indirectly as government construction creates directly. Since $1 billion of federal outlays directly creates about 100,000 jobs on and off the building site, the economic chain reaction probably creates indirectly an additional 50,000-100,000 job opportunities.

Within about two years, as the combined effects spread through the economy, $1 billion of federal investment in public service construction leads directly and indirectly to about 150,000-200,000 jobs.

The improvement in economic activities from increased public works programs also reduces government expenditures for unemployment insurance and public assistance for destitute families.

Increased government spending for public service construction can boost sales, production and jobs, both directly and indirectly. The expansion of jobs, incomes and profits, in turn, mean increased tax revenues for the government. The entire economy gets a lift from federal public works expenditures.

### Mounting Job Deficits

Over 3 million job openings are needed for full employment now. Moreover, in the seven years between 1963 and 1970, more than 26 million job opportunities must become available to assure full employment in the 1960s—almost 30 million job opportunities in all. That amounts to approximately 4.2 million job opportunities a year or about 80,000 jobs a week.

In the early months of 1963, there were over 4 million unemployed and more than 2 million additional workers who could find only part-time work. Moreover, the President's Council of Economic Advisers conservatively estimates there were 800,000 who had given up looking for work because jobs were not available. To reduce this level of joblessness and under-employment to a minimum would require over 3 million job opportunities immediately.

**America's job needs,** however, do not stand still. They keep growing.

Two factors cause the increasing need for jobs—a growing labor force and rising productivity. (1) The population is growing. About 1.3 million new jobs must be available each year, between 1963 and 1970, just to take care of the increasing labor force—mainly the result of the growing number of young people reaching working age and deciding to look for jobs. (2) Productivity is rising. About 2.5 million additional job opportunities are needed each year to offset displacement by technological changes which result in increased output per hour of work.

Sales and production must be increased substantially to create the great number of needed job opportunities in the 1960s. The need for jobs is greatest for unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Among the millions of unemployed and those who will be displaced by automation are many unskilled and semi-skilled workers. In addition, many of the young people who are entering the labor force lack sufficient skills and training for modern, automated industry. Training and retraining programs will help many of these people to upgrade their skills, but others will be by-passed unless new jobs are created for unskilled and semi-skilled Americans in the 1960s.

To keep the economy moving and to reach full employment, jobs must become available for all Americans who are able to work and want employment.

### Public Services Deficits

Like the job deficit, the public service balance sheet shows both a current backlog and growing needs:

there are more and more Americans each year and they need adequate schools, water and sewage systems, revived urban centers and improved health facilities.

During the Depression and World War II, America neglected many public services and piled up enormous shortages. Since the 1930s people have moved from one part of the country to another and from farms to the cities. The population has been growing all the time. Despite continuing work on essential public services since World War II, an all-out federal effort to help meet these needs never has been started. America began the 1960s with a public service backlog of great proportions.

Stepped-up programs to eliminate present shortages are needed now, even if the population were not growing. But the present backlog will continue to mount if government efforts are not increased. The population is expected to grow from 180.7 million in 1960 to 235 million by 1975 and millions of people will move from one part of the country to another as the postwar population shifts continue.

**The size and scope** of the backlog in various areas, as well as the increasing needs to match the growing population, can be illustrated by a look at authoritative estimates.

School enrollments are expected to mushroom from about 23 million in 1945 to an estimated 44 million by 1968-69, according to the U.S. Office of Education. Public elementary and high school enrollment was 5 percent greater than the normal capacity of available classrooms in 1959-60—causing crowded classrooms and double shifts in many schools.

About 750,000 new public elementary and high school classrooms are needed for the decade ahead or 75,000 new classrooms each year—to eliminate the present shortage and meet the growing need for classrooms. Instead, only about 70,000 have been built annually in recent years—not enough to meet the growing need. The tremendous efforts to meet the challenge, largely resting on local governments, have failed to eliminate continuing shortages. Unless a comprehensive program of federal aid to education is adopted, America can expect these shortages to grow.

Housing also has fallen short of the needed improvements despite a tremendous upsurge in homebuilding since World War II. In 1960, 15.7 million dwelling units—one out of every four—showed either rundown or substandard conditions, requiring replacement of about 10.5 million units. Meanwhile, the number of families has been increasing and will rise very sharply in the latter part of the 1960s as the young people born after World War II marry and raise families of their own. Thus America needs at least 2.3 million dwelling units per year between 1960 and 1974—almost half again the number built in 1962—to replace dilapidated housing and to meet the needs of a growing population.

Government-financed public housing construction for low-income families should be stepped up sharply from the 29,000 public housing units started in 1962. An improved national program of privately-built and cooperative housing, both apartments and single-family homes, is needed for middle-income families—financed by longterm, low-interest mortgages, guaranteed or, if necessary, loaned by the federal government.

**Urban renewal programs** to heal the sores of America's blighted city centers have not approached the size and scope of the problems at hand. They must be expanded to renew and redevelop the cities.

The cities' problems involve not only slum clearance and housing, but also mass transportation. Here, the problems of traffic congestion and inadequate transit services of the nation's cities call for a capital outlay of an estimated $9.8 billion in ten years, according to a 1961 report of the Institute of Public Administration to the Secretary of Commerce and the Housing Administrator. This involves about $1 billion a year for extending, replacing and rehabilitating existing systems and starting new ones where necessary.

Hospital and health needs show a recent shortage of approximately 1 million hospital and nursing home beds, with additional requirements for nearly 2,000 public health centers, 2,500 diagnostic or treatment centers and over 200 comprehensive rehabilitation centers.

An estimate of state and federal needs for public recreational programs, including land acquisition, probably would be close to about $9 billion in the next dozen years. Local community needs, if met on a similarly expanding scale, would involve perhaps another $10 billion over the next decade. Thus, in all, costs of adequate public outdoor recreational programs between 1963 and 1975 would be about $18-$20 billion.

Airports and roads have received much attention in recent years. Plans are on the drawing boards for needed extensions of existing facilities. The Federal Airport Act and the Federal Aid Highway Act have charted the course and the programs have begun. But the needs grow and require continued action throughout the 1960s.

**This brief review** of growing public service needs omits details about community facilities of various kinds—such as sewage systems, water systems, libraries, cultural centers and other important public services—that spell the difference between a nation with enough facilities for its people and a nation that falls short of its citizens' wellbeing.

This account of public needs also does not include the vocational and technical training requirements and the higher education needs that America must meet in the 1960s. The nation must improve the health, education, housing, community facilities and skills of a growing population in an urban society and increasingly technical economy.

These public service requirements will grow as the population continues to increase, as the cities and suburbs change, as people move to different parts of America and as older facilities become obsolete. These

needs must be met by federal leadership and financial aid through direct federal programs, grants-in-aid to the states and local governments, federal loans and financial guarantees. Long-range, comprehensive federal programs are needed to meet America's public service requirements.

### The Boost to Business

Increased government investment in public works boosts business activities. The government's role is that of a leader and coordinator. Federal funds are the seed. They put other funds into action—state and local funds and private business outlays.

Government construction obviously means business for building companies, since the construction is performed by private firms, not the government. It also means business for producers and distributors of building materials and equipment and for firms that service and repair the equipment.

The federal government's task in improving public services is to start the ball rolling. Many public service programs involve federal grants-in-aid to the states and local governments, requiring matching state and local government funds. Some other federal programs involve government-guaranteed loans to business.

The vast majority of federal programs for improved public services open up opportunities for business investments—a new, modern highway may open up an entire area for homebuilding or industrial sites. In some programs, such as urban renewal, the expenditure of federal funds merely starts the ball rolling for substantial investments by business in homebuilding, commercial and industrial construction.

Private business increases its investments in housing and urban renewal after the federal government takes the lead in clearing the way for profitable business investments. Federal leadership in the development of a recreation area means business opportunities for motels, restaurants, entertainment activities and the production and sale of sports equipment.

**Gerhard Colm** of the National Planning Association told the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in March 1963 that $1 of increased government investment for urban renewal can stimulate $2.50 to $3 of private investment. As Dr. Colm explained: "The investment, therefore, applies not only to the direct creation of needed jobs on worthwhile projects, but also to the expansion of private spending so necessary for the economy as a whole."

In the NPA report on urban renewal, Peter Wagner predicted the same kind of results: "By far the greatest part of all funds that will be absorbed in urban renewal and development will be used to finance the private portion of the program. Much of the necessary money will continue to be raised without the benefit of government assistance or guarantee."

The Senate report on the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1963 describes the relationship this way: "A three-year investment of $500 million by the federal government will be matched by at least $250 million of local public investment. It has been conservatively estimated that another $500 million will be provided to finance that portion of construction or equipment purchases reasonably payable from revenues of the system to be assisted. Thus for a $500 million federal investment a total expenditure of $1.25 billion for capital facilities can be expected."

Increased government outlays to help meet America's job and public service needs, therefore, provide the basis for boosting business investments. The whole economy is invigorated.

Increased incomes from the added jobs and sales of government public works programs create added family buying power, rising business profits, increased business investment and higher tax revenues for the government. Federal government action can spur business and industry to help bolster America's growth in the 1960s.

### Accelerated Public Works

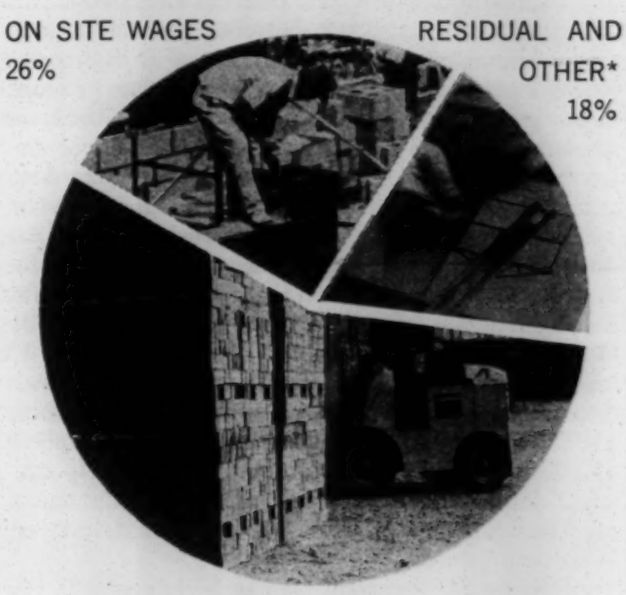
The Public Works Acceleration Act, adopted in 1962, is an example of government leadership in putting meaningful programs into action and creating employment.

The aim of this law is to create jobs by stepping up federal, state and local government public works programs in a period of high unemployment—through federal funds plus matching funds from the states and local governments.

This small program has proved the importance of federal leadership in the major task of getting America back to work. After the President signed the law in September 1962, a great response absorbed all of the

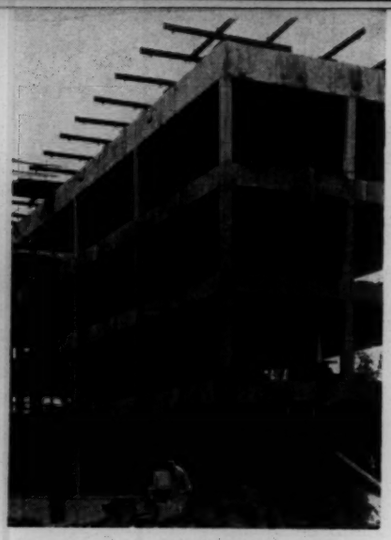
## SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

How Each $1,000 Is Shared (1959)

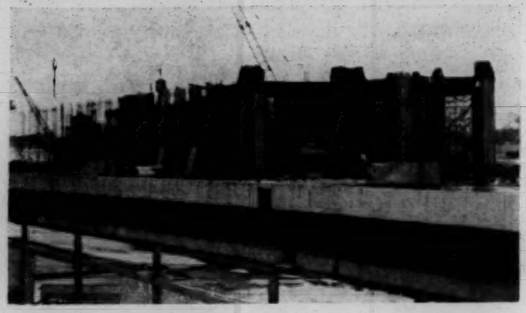



* Residual and other include such items as overhead and administrative costs, taxes and supplementary wage benefits.

Source: Based on data in "Labor Requirements for School Construction," U. S. Dept. of Labor Bulletin 1299, July 1961.



Housing and school in Detroit (right) and hospital in North Carolina (below) take shape, meeting social needs and creating jobs.



$400 million of federal funds originally appropriated by January 1963. This meant that 3,756 projects had been approved and thousands of workers in areas of substantial unemployment were employed to build and repair essential public facilities in various parts of America.

**By April 1963,** another 6,200 projects requiring a federal outlay of about $1.2 billion had been received and awaited approval. The backlog increased in the following months, although only $450 million in additional federal money was appropriated in the spring of 1963. Unless the Congress appropriates enough money and extends the program through 1964, as much as $1.25 billion of needed public service improvements will be kept on the shelf gathering dust, adding to America's waste of resources and manpower.

The AFL-CIO has urged an extension of this Act through 1964 and an appropriation of $2 billion for that purpose. Such a federal program—matched by about $1 billion of state and local funds—would directly create about 300,000 needed jobs. As the $3 billion of increased public works expenditures spreads through the economy, it would indirectly create about 150,000-300,000 additional jobs—a total of about 450,000-600,000 jobs. Moreover it would help construct thousands of projects American communities need badly, now, and will need even more desperately in the near future.

As AFL-CIO President George Meany stated: "At a time like the present, when the private sector of the economy is failing to fully utilize the manpower and productive resources of the country, no better program to put people to work and to permanently enrich the nation could possibly be conceived."

Federal programs to meet America's job and public service deficits could start to meet both needs, at the same time, for the sake of the nation's wellbeing.

A tax cut for low and middle-income taxpayers is needed to quickly lift sales, production and jobs. Increased government expenditure programs for adequate public services are required to supplement a tax cut—to create additional jobs and carry the economy forward towards full employment.

**America's immediate need** is to balance the national economy—through maximum use of the economy's vast and growing ability to produce more goods and services more efficiently.

Some people, however, fear that government efforts to boost sales and employment will cause inflation, with shortages of goods pushing up prices. This fear is not well founded.

The major problem in the national economy at present is not inflationary shortages, but substantial and rising unemployment in a period of spreading automation and a rapidly growing labor force. Demand is not outpacing supply. The problem is, rather, the other way around. The supply of manpower, plants and machines is greater than the demand for goods and services that can be produced.

Sales, production and employment must be lifted quickly to eliminate the considerable slack in the economy. Moreover, demand for goods, services and manpower must continue to increase, each year, to match the economy's growing labor force and increasing productive efficiency.

The aim of a tax cut, supplemented by increased public works expenditures, is to take up the great amount of slack. When sales increase rapidly enough and joblessness drops towards a minimum, further increases in job-creating public works programs can be eased or temporarily halted—to prevent inflationary shortages. But until unemployment is reduced to a minimum, government policies should continue to encourage substantial increases in the demand for goods, services and manpower.

**All of this may be fine,** some people say, but what about the federal budget? The state of the federal budget tends to reflect the state of affairs in the national economy. When the country as a whole is prosperous and unemployment is low, the federal budget is usually balanced or in a surplus—from the high tax revenues paid by wage and salary earners and by businesses. However, when unemployment increases and economic conditions worsen, the federal budget usually shows a deficit—mainly due to the drop in tax revenues that results from the lower incomes of the unemployed and those on short-time as well as from reduced business profits.

The record shows that shortsighted emphasis on trying to balance the federal budget, under almost all kinds of conditions, is self-defeating. President Eisenhower, for example, sincerely tried to achieve a balanced budget and a surplus under almost all conditions. His attempt to achieve a budget surplus in

1957, when the advance of economic activities was slowing down, was a major cause of the 1958 recession. The sharp rise in unemployment and the drop in business profits in 1958 produced a record peacetime deficit of $13.1 billion in the government's cash operations in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959. It would have been wiser to emphasize government efforts to achieve and maintain prosperity in 1957 than to try to produce a budget surplus.

The federal government's economic responsibility is to maintain prosperity—maximum use of manpower, plants and machines. The Employment Act of 1946 declares that "it is the continuing policy and responsibility of the federal government to use all practicable means . . . to promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

The most important way by which the government can "promote maximum employment, production and purchasing power" is through its tax and expenditure policies. The federal government adds to sales, production and employment when it puts more money into the economy's spending stream, through expenditures, than it takes out of the spending stream in the form of taxes. This process adds to economic activities—it lifts the demand for goods, services and manpower.

When the federal government takes more money out of the spending stream through taxes than it puts in through expenditures, it dampens down further increases in sales, production and employment. Such a policy has a braking effect on additional increases in economic activities.

The federal government should put more money into the economy's spending stream—to add to sales, production and employment—until the economy approaches full employment and maximum use of plants and machines. When the economy is operating in high gear and unemployment is at a minimum, the federal government should seek a balanced budget or budget surplus to prevent the creation of inflationary shortages.

**The concentration of federal policy** should be on the state of affairs in the national economy. With high levels of joblessness, the government should continue to place more money into the spending stream than it takes out until the economy approaches full employment and general prosperity.

How would such a policy affect the federal debt? Obviously, if the federal government cuts taxes by $10 billion in 1963 and increases its investment outlays in public works, the federal debt will rise in the next year or two. But sales, production and employment will also increase—family incomes and business profits will rise and the country, as a whole, will be more prosperous. The entire economy will be lifted and the federal government's tax revenues will also increase.

**The main issue** concerning the federal debt is: how big is the debt in relation to the nation's total production of goods and services. A very large debt—in relation to total national production—means that heavy interest payments will be needed. But America does not face this problem. The total amount of interest payments on the federal debt is less than 2 percent of the total production of goods and services and these interest payments on government bonds and securities are made to American families and businesses.

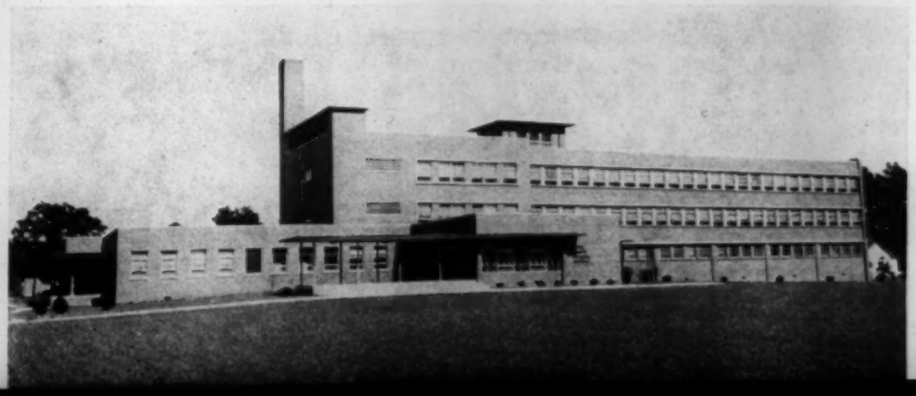
Most of the federal debt was built up during World War II—part of the price that was paid for the war effort. In 1946, after the end of World War II, the federal debt was 27 percent greater than total national production. Between 1946 and 1962 there was some increase in the debt, but there was a much greater rise in the gross national product. In 1962, the federal debt was down to little more than half of total national output. America was in a much stronger position to carry the federal debt in 1962 than it was in 1946.

Rising national production, with increasing sales and employment, lightened the burden of the federal debt in the postwar years. A growing, full employment economy can continue to maintain a light burden in the future. In 1963, America needs major emphasis on programs and policies to put idle men, plants and machines to work—which will also increase government tax revenues.

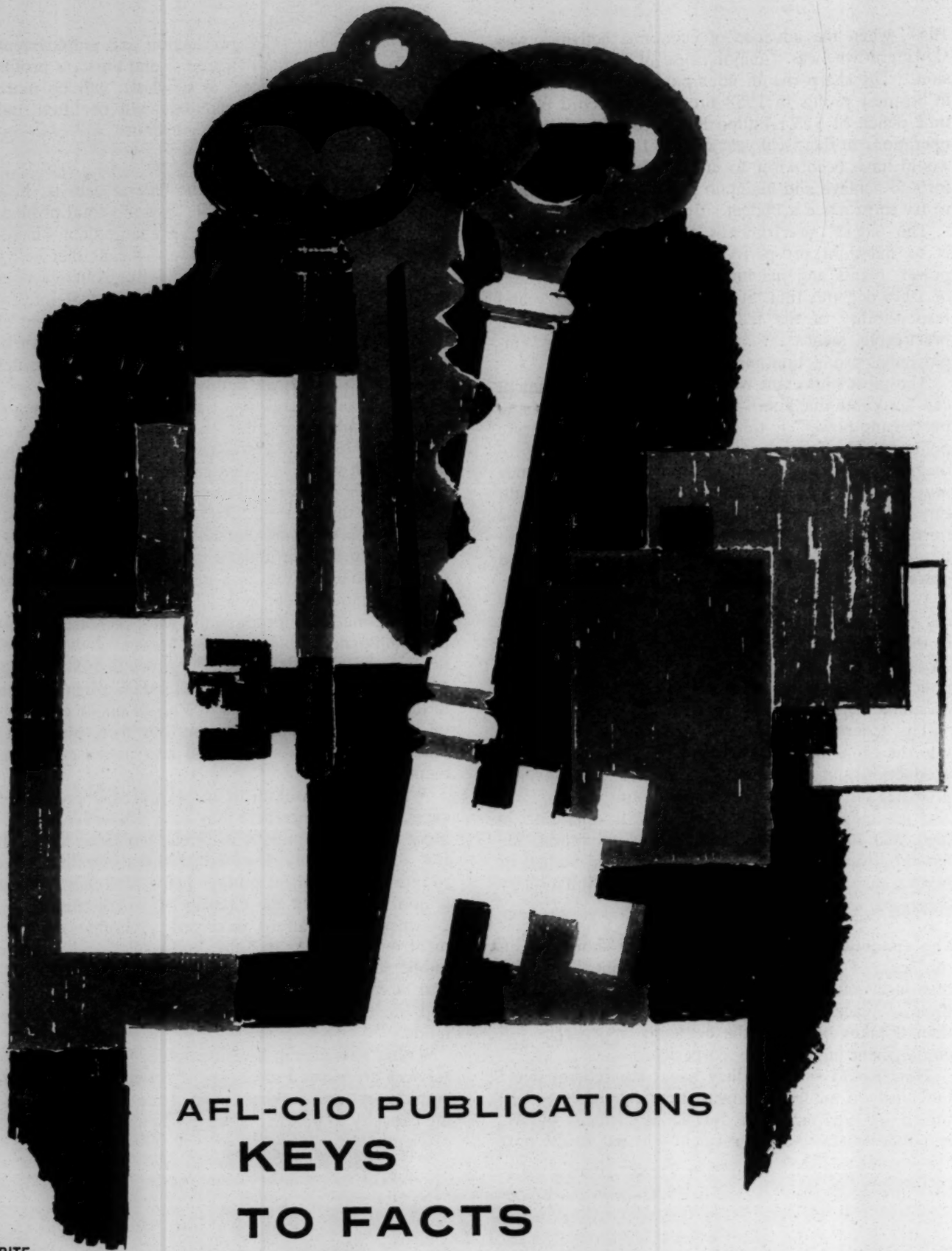
When full utilization of manpower and productive capacity is reached, there may be a reason for government investment outlays in public works to level off. But actions to hold down government investments or to reduce government outlays before full employment is attained will cut the chances of ever getting there.

America can afford increased government investment outlays to create jobs, boost sales and improve public services. The nation cannot afford the waste and increasing social danger of rising unemployment and inadequate public services for a growing population.

Rising government investments for improved public services are needed to boost the economy toward full employment and maximum use of the nation's increasing capacity to produce more goods and services more efficiently.



County hospital in Windsor, N. C., enriches the community; similar needs remain unmet across the nation.



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NOTES TOWARD A MASTER PLAN a proposal on unemployment by Arlon R. Tussing

Department of Economics
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE
SEPTEMBER, 1963

One out of fifteen does not seem so many. Only about 6½% of American workers are without jobs, and half of them will find some work within six weeks. But who are the 6½%? Because they are concentrated among the untrained and uneducated, hundreds of thousands have no hope ever to find work. Because they are concentrated in certain industries and trades, whole communities are in crisis or decay. Since the jobs destroyed by new machines every day are mostly in organized mass production industries, labor organizations are shrinking and their power is on the decline. As long as the jobless include one out of every six Negro workers, the Civil Rights movement can not hope to win equality. Because the number of workers is growing faster than the number of jobs, one out of three young people leaving school can find no work, and we can expect unemployment and juvenile crime to grow side by side.

The effects and the atmosphere of mass unemployment pervade the minority ghettoes of our cities, and the fear of automation makes the possibility of unemployment a real one for millions more so far untouched. The question of jobs then has a special political significance. It is the one issue on which the unions and the Negro people can unite into the only political coalition which could break the power of the Southern oligarchy in Congress . . .

NOT "FULL EMPLOYMENT" BUT JOBS!

At one time, "the right to work" was a central labor demand. But even before that phrase was captured by the open-shoppers, the concept of the right of a job had been eclipsed by the Keynesian notion of "full employment". According to economists, the number of jobs depended directly on the amount of private and public spending, so that the cure for unemployment was more government spending or less taxation, or both. In the Employment Act of 1946, the Congress declared its intention to use the government budget to create and maintain". . . conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities . . . for those able, willing, and seeking work . . ." But "full employment" never meant a job for everyone. Various authorities have suggested that we define full employment as a situation where 2, 3 or 4 per cent of those willing to work are unemployed, and the "tolerable" level of unemployment seems to be rising year by year. (A newer definition would make full employment a state in which the number out of work does not exceed the number of unfilled job vacancies.) So the abstract goal of full employment unites Republicans and Democrats, business and labor, conservatives and socialists, but no one seems to demand a job for every worker.

If the goal of full employment itself is vague and inadequate, the budget or fiscal approach to the problem has both political and economic shortcomings. Public spending is a very blunt weapon, and its operation is wrapped in technical subtleties. Under the American political system, the Federal budget is not considered or voted on as a whole, but each spending program must be justified on its own merits, and by who benefits by it. Each tax program raises first the question of who pays how much taxes. So it is unlikely Congress will ever write a budget primarily designed to promote full employment, and labor and civil rights organizations will have a hard time generating pressure from their members in favor of a tax cut as a solution to their employment problems. Today, every pressure group in the nation, including big business, is for the President's tax cut program, but public opinion polls show that the people are very skeptical, and the foot-dragging of the Congress reflects this fact.

Even the professional economists admit that more government spending will put to work only part of the unemployed. More spending will swell job vacancies for scarce, highly skilled workers in growing industries - - - much more than it will in unskilled and semi-skilled work in declining or automating industries. For this reason, inflation will become serious long before all the jobless can be put back to work; cost of living increases will surely raise opposition to continued budget deficits, and large sections of the working people will join this opposition as they have in the past.

THE RIGHT TO WORK

I propose that we abandon the confusing and misleading demand for a full employment policy, and raise instead the much more radical demand, the right of every American, 18 to 65, to a job! We demand a Federal Law to this effect, and propose a program to implement it. The demand itself is concrete and unambiguous, and all arguments against it are either cynically unsympathetic to the plight of the "other America", or are stuffy and technical, or both. Our emphasis should be on the basic demand, and on our insistence that wealthy America can provide a job for everyone who wants one. While every detail need not be spelled out, we can propose a concise and non-technical program to abolish unemployment. I feel that the program below meets these needs; the demands are stated in logical order rather than in their order of political importance:

I. An effective job-finding service. The USES is far less effective than it might be. The number of "frictionally" unemployed, that is, those who are "between jobs", is scandalously high. It is generally assumed to be about 3% of the labor force in the U.S., in contrast to less than 1% in Western Europe and in Japan. Among industrialized nations only the USSR's job-finding system is worse (it has none). A serious attempt to provide jobs for everyone requires someone to know what vacancies exist and where they are. Only a tiny fraction of job openings are listed with the Employment Service, and they are almost always the worst. The first step then is to require that all job vacancies, their qualifications and rate of pay, be listed with the Employment Service. With modern information handling systems, there is no reason why a worker could not walk into an employment office anywhere and within a few minutes have a report on any and all jobs for which he is qualified anywhere in the country. This plan would be bitterly resisted by employers, of course, because it would also give employed workers information about opportunities and wage rates elsewhere, and would reduce the opportunities for racial discrimination, nepotism and other forms of favoritism which are beloved as "management prerogatives."

II. Retraining, retirement, relocation. After (say) six weeks of unemployment, compensated in much the same fashion as present unemployment benefits, a worker would be able to choose between:

A. retirement on full Social Security benefits for workers over 50 who are unable to find suitable work in their local labor markets;

B. relocation at government expense (cash grants and/or long term loans) for workers who can find jobs which require moving. The Employment service might also assist the worker in selling his old house and in finding suitable housing at his destination;

C. retraining at government expense, plus subsistence and family allowances during training, for any occupation in which there is a labor shortage, and for which an aptitude test shows the worker trainable. This privilege must include remedial education for those in need of it, and ought to extend to college work

for those able to profit from it, as well as more narrowly "vocational" training. All openings in apprenticeship programs and other private training opportunities would be listed with the Service in the same manner as job openings. Special emphasis on inclusion of minority groups by location of programs and emphasis in recruiting participants.

III. Public employment. The remainder of the unemployed, those who can not find any job for which they are qualified, and who can not for any reason be retrained or relocated, would be guaranteed public employment on projects to be established locally for the purpose. Such projects would supplement, but not replace, such programs as the proposed Youth Conservation Corps or Domestic Peace Corps. These workers would be paid the legal minimum wage, making it the absolute income floor for every person willing to work. I suggest a program conditional upon local participation (cities and counties could participate if a State rejected the program or failed to act), with 90% of the funds coming from Federal sources and 10% from the State (or community). The projects on which the workers are to be employed would be chosen and administered locally by committees including labor and minority representatives (to guarantee that the projects would not be used as a source of cheap labor in competition with employed and organized workers and significant numbers of minority employees would be included). The provision for local administration, and the high proportion of Federal funds, would undoubtedly make the program more attractive to the people of socially backward communities which need it most, but from whose ruling cliques most of the opposition will come. The fight over joining the program to get the 90% Federal share (carrying with it of course, minimum standards and anti-discrimination provisions) would "realign" the politics of a Southern town overnight.

EFFECTS

A program like this could eliminate unemployment as we know it; it would also have many virtuous side effects. By providing jobs or training rather than unemployment benefits or relief payments to the unemployed, we can minimize the demoralizing effect of long unemployment which now makes a man on relief for a year or two "unemployable" for the rest of his life. It reassures the "puritans" among the middle class and among workers that their taxes are not being used to support "chiselers". (The number of unemployment and relief chiselers is very small, but they are a big element in the psychology of opposition to social insurance.) It makes for a better allocation of labor, and for that reason should increase productivity. It provides a strong incentive for workers to improve their competitive position via education, and is a beginning of the principle that everyone is entitled to as much education as he is capable of using.

Above all, each of the items in the program is clearly and directly addressed to the problems of unemployment. Control over spending is still used to influence the number of jobs in the private economy, but because spending on training programs, pensions and public employment will vary directly with the level of unemployment there. If inflation becomes a problem, it can still be fought with monetary methods without the fear that tight money will cause mass unemployment. To the extent that anti-inflation policy did cause layoffs in industry, it would provide an additional impetus for redistribution and retraining of the labor force in the direction of greater efficiency.

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# SOME PROPOSALS FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY IN AN AUTOMATING SOCIETY*

by Herbert H. Gans

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At a recent conference on the problems of the low income population, one of the participants proposed this assignment: What measures for coping with poverty and unemployment could the Administration develop if it wanted to - or had to - formulate a crash program like that of the First Hundred Days of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.

The seventeen proposals that follow stem from this assignment. They are a set of individual - and often unrelated - schemes, rather than parts of an integrated program. As a result, they take little cognizance of what is already being done or proposed, for example, in federal depressed area programs, occupational retraining, job formation, education of the unskilled, and the struggle against racial discrimination. Even so, few of the proposals are original.[1] Some are suitable for a crash program; others are longer-range schemes.

Most of the proposals are probably not politically feasible at present. My assumption is, however, that in a crisis - and I think such a crisis may be on the way - new political alignments develop which quickly redefine political feasibility. The important criterion is whether the proposals are workable, and rational; that is, whether they achieve the intended ends, and without unanticipated consequences deleterious to these ends.

I would be the first to admit that most of the proposals are not fully thought out. Indeed, I have written this paper in the hope that they will be subjected to critical comments, and that these will produce schemes that can be undertaken.

## II - The Proposals

The proposals are based on the assumption that in the coming decades, automation and other technological-economic trends will lead to continuing increases in productivity and concurrent decreases in unemployment. The shrinkage of jobs is thus becoming a major problem of American society, and increasingly for more than just unskilled workers.

There are three major types of problems with which the society - and its economy - must deal: the upgrading and shifting of workers and potential workers into the skilled jobs (blue collar, white collar and professional) that will be available; the creation of more jobs, especially for unskilled and semiskilled workers; and the elimination of poverty, a problem left over from the past. Proposals 1 to 4 deal with the first; 5 to 15, with the second; and 16 to 17, with the third.

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*I am indebted to a number of people for critical comments on an earlier draft, especially Stanley Aronowitz, Robert Dentler, Christopher Jencks, Ralph Showalter and Melvin Webber.

[1] I owe an obvious debt to Donald N. Michael, "Cybernation: The Silent Conquest," Santa Barbara: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962. Moreover, many of the proposals were appropriated - even if unintentionally - from friends and colleagues with whom I have discussed this topic over the past year.

## The Shift to Skilled Jobs

The movement of workers from unskilled to skilled occupations essential to the economy is necessary to find employment for those left jobless, and to fill the unfilled jobs that even now exist in considerable number. These aims might be aided by the following:

1. Incentives to Encourage Entry into Unfilled Jobs.

Recruitment for presently unfilled jobs might be increased by certifying entire occupations as Unfilled, and developing programs that eliminate the causes of the undersupply of workers. Higher salaries, better working conditions and training programs for new recruits (see also 3 and 4 below) should be used to encourage entry. An additional possibility is tax reductions, especially during the training period, and while the individual holds the beginning, low paid jobs in the Unfilled occupation.

Among the Unfilled occupations which need workers most urgently are the helping or caretaking professions: teaching, social work, public health, social psychiatry, etc., which require long years of training and hard work, but lack the financial and social rewards of independent professions like medicine and law.

2. The Creation of Helping Sub-Professions.

Perhaps even more important than additional recruitment into the helping professions would be the creation of an entirely new occupational stratum: people who work in the helping professions but on a "subprofessional" level. The needed skills could probably be taught in one or two years programs, or slightly longer ones combining apprenticeship with formal instruction. Recruitment into this stratum should be encouraged among high school or college students who do not - or do not yet - feel themselves ready for professional training, and among adults who want to change occupations.[2] By calling them subprofessions, opposition from the established professions will be reduced, and new curricula can be developed which would avoid some of the lengthy but unnecessary instruction which has become entrenched in these professions.

The greatest need is for subprofessionals, of working and lower class origin especially, who could help the low-income population attain the social and cognitive skills needed to become part of the larger society.[3] Others are needed in almost all welfare and municipal service programs which suffer from a shortage of staff.

These two proposals are needed not only to raise the level of social services and add new jobs to the economy, but also to reduce the current workloads of the existing professions, which is rapidly becoming an overload for some of its members. Expansion of the professions and subprofessions would also halt the stratification of American society into an overworked professional minority and an underemployed majority, a trend that has many undesirable social and political consequences.

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[2] There may be adults who, whatever their jobs, want to be teachers or social workers, but who are too old to start professional training. They might be attracted to the subprofessions - assuming of course that the work would be financially and socially rewarding.

[3] For more detail, see Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Chap. 12, especially pp. 273-278, and Frank Riessman, "The Revolution in Social Work: The New Subprofessional", forthcoming.

3. Incentives to Encourage Occupational Shifts.

Many economic and social obstacles now prevent people from making career or even job-type changes once they are adults, although this applies more to white collar workers than blue collar ones. Some of these obstacles can perhaps be overcome by a grant program which would allow adults to leave the labor force temporarily without loss of income so as to retrain themselves for new jobs. A grant, modelled on the G. I. Bill and equivalent to a going salary or wage, should be made available to anyone wanting to undertake training for an Unfilled job. This scheme might be more successful than current retraining efforts, because it would recruit people who want to be retrained for an occupation of their own choice. It would not, however, be likely to attract the unskilled, who need to make occupational shifts more urgently than anyone else.

Eligibility to participate in this grant program should also be available to adults who dropped out of school in adolescence, and now want to complete their high school and college education. This would attract dropouts who have seen the error of their ways in adulthood, as well as people who are dissatisfied with their initial career choice, and would like to get more education for an as yet unspecified job change.

4. Incentives for Earlier Entry into the Skilled Occupations

Another way of encouraging people to train themselves for skilled work - especially those not planning to go to college - would be combined apprentice-education program which starts in high school and allows students to enter an occupation of their choice while still in school. This proposal, suggested by Arthur Perl, might appeal to youngsters who are unhappy in high school, as well as those who cannot afford to go to college at present. If the grantees are satisfied with their job choice, the apprentice-education program could be continued through college, thus allowing them to obtain a free college education while earning some wage. Income grants, such as those suggested in 3 above, might have to be added as students marry.

A more general variant of this proposal, originally suggested by William Wheaton, would be to give needy students grants to help them complete high school, even if they have not yet made a job choice. This would not only help children who must drop out of school because the family needs their wages, but those who are pulled out of school by the lure of an income and the cars, clothes and entertainment it can buy. A grant program is not the solution to the drop-out problem, of course, for as S. M. Miller and others have pointed out, the fault lies with the lack of meaning of the school curriculum for the lower class youngster, his inability to study, and the desire of the school to push him out.

## The Creation of New Jobs

The second, and in some ways the most important problem is to create new jobs, especially for the unskilled and semiskilled. This is extremely difficult, given the trends of the economy, and the fact that such jobs cannot be of the make-work variety. Before suggesting some proposals along this line, it is worthwhile to discuss another approach, the reduction of work-hours to spread existing jobs among larger numbers of people. Although this idea has been questioned by the Kennedy Administration, it is likely to become more necessary in the years to come.

5. Industry Incentives to Develop a Secondary Work Force

One way of reducing work hours would be for the government to subsidize industry to adopt a standard work week of 25-30 hours - at present pay - and to eliminate overtime. This would encourage the creation of a secondary work force, which would hold the same job the other 15-20 hours a week. This force might hire young people - especially in connection with 3 and 4 above - or older people who want to work fewer hours.

Tax reductions and income incentives, such as suggested in 16 and 17 below, might be necessary to encourage people to shift to the secondary work force.

6. Incentives to Workers to Reduce Work Hours

Another approach, suggested by Christopher Jencks, would be to encourage people who want to work fewer hours to do so. This could be done by taxing overtime work, or by reducing taxes for those who want to work fewer hours - thus tying taxation to the number of work hours - or to give people income grants to reduce the differences in pay between full-time and less than full-time work.

This scheme, like the previous one, would of course encourage moonlighting. It should be noted, however, that moonlighting is possible only when extra jobs are easily available, and then primarily because wages are too low to permit workers a decent standard of living from one job. This can be resolved only by raising wages. Moreover, moonlighting could be discouraged by taxing second jobs at a higher rate than first ones. Finally, a study should be made to see whether moonlighting is clearly undesirable, or whether it does not also create jobs that would otherwise not exist. Since moonlighting jobs generally require fewer than forty hours of work per week, they might be the kinds of jobs suitable for the secondary work force proposed above.

7. Elimination of Involuntary Workers from the Labor Force

Another way of spreading the work would be to make it profitable for people who do not really want to work to leave the labor force. This would include especially older people, and mothers who work for income rather than job satisfaction. In addition to permanent departures, it might be desirable to encourage temporary departures from the labor force for those who want to take some time off for travel or just loafing, although this is not likely to create permanent new jobs.

Some day it may even be necessary to discourage anyone other than the breadwinner in each household from working, either by raising taxes for second and third workers, or by giving allowances to wives and mothers to stay home. Women who want to work and pursue careers should not be discouraged, but those who do not really want to work should be kept out of the labor market as much as possible.

8. Grants for Currently Unpaid Volunteer Work

One way of discouraging women from taking jobs would be to pay them for volunteer work. Many women - and men - work hard in voluntary organizations and derive the same satisfactions as others do from a job. Indeed, being an officer in an important local voluntary association can be a full time job. Paying such officers from government funds would not only encourage them to stay out of the labor market, but it might also attract more people into community service.

9. The Professionalization of Work

Another way of reducing work hours and spreading work would be to encourage the already ongoing professionalization of many jobs, and the extension to them of the temporal fringe benefits - or job interruptions - available especially in the academic profession. All workers should eventually be able to obtain long vacations, sabbaticals, travel grants, periodic return to school, "visiting" appointments in other places, and the like.

10. Export of American Consumer Goods Overproduction and of Skilled Workers

Private enterprise and the government could cooperate in the export - at low cost or

absolutely free - of some of our consumer goods overproduction to the developing areas, not only to raise their standard of living, but also to build up the demand for such goods, and thus to create new jobs in this country.

This is a variant of Seymour Melman's scheme to export machine tools, and David Reisman's "Nylon War" idea of sending consumer goods to Russia to reduce cold war tensions. It would cover yet other items that would be of mutual benefit. Emphasis in such a giveaway should be on those goods not already produced - not likely to be produced in the near future - in the developing areas.

11. "Export" of American Skilled Workers

Another way of opening up jobs here would be to encourage workers whose skills are in oversupply here to work overseas in the developing areas where such skills are in demand, either on the job, or for training the domestic labor force. This scheme may falter because of the reluctance of settled blue collar workers to leave America or even the locality in which they were raised, but it might be possible to encourage young blue collar workers to spend some time overseas as part of their apprenticeship, perhaps in a kind of Peace Corps stressing blue collar skills.

## Jobs for the Unskilled

The most difficult task is to expand job opportunities for the unskilled. The best solution is to make certain that as many young people as possible are trained for marketable job skills, and the number of unskilled is reduced to a bare minimum by the next generation. Thus, providing jobs for the unskilled should be a temporary need, and if so, some policies may be justified as a short range solution that would not be desirable on a permanent basis.

12. Employer Incentives for the Hiring of the Unskilled

One solution would be to discourage private enterprise from resorting to those types of automation which sharply reduce jobs, either by incentives or taxes which would reduce the cost advantages of automating. Another approach would be to offer tax reductions and more direct financial incentives to employers to hire the unskilled, especially those who suffer most from unemployment: the very young and those in late middle age. Such incentives would have to be awarded in such a way that no one of adult working age would be released in order to hire them, and that new jobs would be created as a result. It is, however, doubtful that this proposal could create a significant number of jobs.

13. Temporary Adjustment of the Minimum Wage Law

Another method for creating new jobs might be to cut back the legal minimum wage to, say, 75 cents an hour, and have the difference between it and an adequate wage made up by federal payments to the affected wage-earners. This cutback might lead to the development of new businesses, and with it an expansion of job opportunities for the unskilled. Since such a proposal would in effect mean a government subsidy for marginal firms - where working conditions are often the poorest - and since it would also imply a regression from the wage levels for which unions have fought over a century, such a proposal might have dangerous consequences. Therefore it would need careful study, perhaps through some pilot experiments, in order to see whether the benefits in terms of the number of new jobs would outweigh the social and political costs. If the experiments were successful, the scheme could be tried on a wider scale. The dangers in this proposal might be ameliorated by making it a temporary device; that is, to continue only until the new business is on its feet, after which it would be required to pay the going wages.

14. Encouragement of New Businesses Using Unskilled Labor

A more positive approach to the same problem would be to encourage the formation of new businesses, especially in the area of services, by a low cost loan and loan-insurance scheme - the latter somewhat like FHA - which would facilitate the starting of the business and eliminate a large part of the risk. Early mortality would not necessarily be prevented, but the costs of failure would be born in part by the government.

Market studies and imaginative social invention might indicate a number of feasible new businesses and services. For example, farmers near urban areas might transform their farms into resorts providing low cost vacations for city dwellers. Car rental agencies which would rent out used cars, and commercial baby sitting or lawn care enterprises might be profitable.

15. A Blue Collar National Service Corps

One of the best ways of employing the unskilled is a public works program. In addition, it might be desirable to set up a National Service Corps - somewhat like the new C.C.C. suggested by Paul Goodman and others - which would carry out those additional public works and municipal service functions that are too expensive, or of too low priority to be financed from local revenues or a federal public works program. This Corps would also train youngsters in marketable skills.

Among the most important projects to be carried out by such a Corps would be the rehabilitation of preservable substandard urban housing to bring it up to a livable level. This is suggested by the failure of slum clearance to improve the housing conditions of the poor, and by the possibility that the now proposed rehabilitation programs, to be carried out by subsidizing private enterprise, would raise rents beyond the occupants' ability to pay. If rehabilitation were carried out by a service corps, guided by skilled workers, many people might be employed, and housing conditions could be improved immeasurably, although only if the scheme were part of a government public works program to build additional new housing for the low income population.

In addition, the Corps might also help in the provision of municipal services that can stand some improvement, for example mail delivery, garbage removal, street cleaning, the care of recreational open space, and of public buildings and the like.

## The Elimination of Poverty

Poverty is of course intimately related to unemployment, and would be reduced if the previous proposals were carried out. In addition, the raising of substandard incomes can be accomplished by the following:

16. The Elimination of Income Taxes among the Low Income Population

This measure, which has been proposed many times in recent years, should be tried out to determine whether it would significantly reduce proverty and also increase purchasing power to increase the vitality of the economy. But it is probably not enough.

17. Direct Income Grants to the Low Income Population.

If tax abatement is insufficient, it will be necessary to resort to direct grants, based on the conception that everyone is entitled to a standard minimum income, whether obtained from work or other sources.[4] People who are earning less than this

4 This proposal has recently been presented in greater detail by Robert Theobald, "Abundance: Threat or Promise," The Nation, May 11, 1963., entire issue.

minimum - perhaps $4000 for an urban family, somewhat less for a rural one, and for people without children, etc. - should therefore be eligible for federal grants - not welfare payments - awarded on the same equalization principles now used in allocating grants to the states. Costly as such a scheme would be, the great spur to purchasing power that would result is likely to reduce the net cost to the government. There is of course a danger that such grants would discourage some from working, but experience with welfare payments has made it clear that most people would prefer to earn their income from work. When the day comes that work is no longer available to everyone, an income grant - financed in part from the "profit" of automation - is likely to be considered a less visionary or irresponsible scheme than today, and I can visualize a future era in which all members of society will be eligible for such a grant.

III - The Problem of Implementing the Proposals

All of the aforementioned proposals stem from the assumption that normal methods of job formation, either in private enterprise or in government, will not be enough in the future, and that new approaches have to be found. Moreover, these approaches require that job formation be planned with other than present criteria, that efficiency, profit, and cost-price ratios must sometimes be superseded by social benefit considerations like those which nominally justify the governmental subsidy of family farms. This means not only a more extensive government involvement in the economy and in the planning of that economy than ever before, but also a search for public funds which would pay the initial and sometimes permanent costs of creating the new jobs.

One obvious source of these funds is a diversion of much of the money now spent for missiles and lunar exploration. Another would be the taxation of industry for increasing automation, so that a proportion of its savings would be turned over to the government to pay for the social and economic consequences of automating. But neither of these sources are likely to be enough, and the rest of the funds would have to come from an increase in taxation of the general public. Whether or not the economy can stand a sharp rise in taxes without downturns in productivity is one important question. How to persuade people that taxes must rise is another.

Middle class people could probably pay more taxes than they now do without having to make serious cutbacks in their private expenditures, but this would not be sufficient to gain their assent. One drawback is that Americans believe government spending is almost always wasteful and infringes on their freedom to make their own spending decisions. This belief can only be altered by demonstrating to people that they need the government services for which they pay, and one method of demonstration is to raise a part of the cost of government by user charges, rather than by taxation. This would enable people to see what they are paying for, although it would also allow them not to use services for which they do not want to pay. It might, however, help to create a new climate of opinion about taxation.

Another way to lighten the psychological burden of taxation is to reduce the multiplicity of taxes, and find a way to collect all of them, federal, state and local, in a lump sum income tax. Another would be to find a way of levying taxes in relation to expenditures, so that they would be low during those periods of the lifecycle when home purchases, raising children, etc. create the greatest pressure on the family budget, and high when these pressures abate.

But whatever the method of increasing taxes, it will require a redistribution of income from the haves to the have-nots, which is likely to be met by intense resistance from the former, and by the inability of the latter to exert political pressure on our political institutions.

The federal government has so far been quite unresponsive to the needs of the low in-

come population, and has not felt any real urgency about the state of the economy. Congress is especially insensitive to the problem. One reason is that unemployment affects only a portion of the country and of the society. Not only are the depressed areas highly concentrated geographically, but as Eric Larrabee and David Riesman have pointed out, the economy is a dual one, consisting of affluent and poor sectors, in which the latter is powerless. Congress is elected primarily by the affluent sector - it does not really campaign in the poor one - and the funds which finance election campaigns come almost entirely from a very small portion of the affluent sector. This imbalance might be ameliorated if political campaigns were financed from taxes, rather than by contributions, for this might increase the dependence of Senators and Representatives on a larger number of voters. Even so, it is not likely to produce a legislature that will be favorable to any scheme involving income redistribution or large scale change in the economy.

The real difficulty is that the people in the poor sector of the economy are neither numerous enough, nor unified in area - or even self-interest - nor effective in making their needs felt. They vote less often than others, but even when they vote, their ballots carry little weight because they live in Northern cities or Southern states with one-party political machines, or in districts which have been effectively gerrymandered to reduce their influence within the political structure.

Until this population can demonstrate the power of number at the ballot box, and make its needs felt vocally in other ways, neither Congress nor the Administration will have much incentive to act in their behalf. In all probability, no major changes in the economy, or in government's role in the economy will come about until there is political action by the poor and the unemployed, be this in the form of picketing, protest marches, political organizations, or unions of the unemployed, or all of these.

## IV - Work and Social Worth

Even if the government can initiate changes in the economy to increase job opportunities, a high degree of unemployment is probably here to stay. If present trends continue, most of it will be found among an evergrowing minority of permanently unemployed people, who will endure a life of misery and despair, and will be sacrificed to maintain the present economy.

Many of the proposals presented above seek to prevent the creation of such a group, and to share the work equitably. Yet even if this can be done, it is still possible that in the future, there will not be enough full time employment for everyone who wants it. In addition to the economic consequences, this possibility has some significant social and emotional ones that need to be dealt with.

These consequences result from the traditional American - and Western - culture pattern by which man acquires his social worth, and thus much of his self-respect and ego-strength from his job. If that job is not available, widespread anomie resulting from uselessness is likely to develop, and ways must therefore be found to enable people to be - and feel - socially useful in other, non-work activities.

Now it is true that for many people, especially blue collar workers, the job has never provided much satisfaction, being primarily a source of income to finance the search for satisfaction elsewhere. But even people who do not identify with their work feel useless if they do not have a job, a feeling which permeates their role in the family-visible especially in the marital difficulties of Negro men who have suffered so long from instability of employment - and their entire life. Eventually, joblessness leads to total apathy, despair and personality disintegration.

Criteria of social worth will of course change somewhat as employment opportunity

decreases, but they will probably do so much more slowly than the latter. Even the Great Depression did not do away with the attitude that unemployment is a personal failing.

Consequently, it becomes necessary to discover which institutions, old or new, can enable people to be and feel socially worthy when they are jobless or only employed part-time. The ideal target is a society in which nonwork institutions are more important than work, and in which the departure from the labor market is anticipated rather than feared. This ideal has been proposed in many utopias, past and present, but so far it has been mainly a dream of overworked intellectuals which has not been shared by the rest of society. Now the dream may have to become a reality.

At present, the problem is conceived largely as the availability of extra spare time which must somehow be filled with leisure activity - the socalled threat of leisure. As a result, education for leisure is being advocated again, as it was during the Depression. I am skeptical that this is a solution. For one thing, most people, especially in the middle class, do not lack leisure ideas, but only clusters of time and money with which to carry them out, and of course, the inability to depart from the labor force. Moreover, a considerable amount of leisure training is already being offered as part of the college education - why else are so many schools described as country clubs or playgrounds. Leisure training for the noncollege population may help some people, especially among the most poorly educated, although they would probably not apply for it, since their primary need now is for work.

But the main failing of education for leisure is that it fails to come to grips with the real problem. As depression era studies show, people become less interested in leisure activity when unemployed, because jobloss deprives them of social and personal worth - and leisure cannot easily provide for this loss because it is by definition largely socially useless.

I have not so far seen any feasible solutions to the problem. The professionalization of jobs, and the interruption of work by sabbaticals, as well as the upgrading of rewards for community service (see 8 and 9 above) will help a little. So would a concerted attack on the Puritan ethic, and a recognition of the virtues of spontaneous socializing and loafing that still exist in the cultures of the lower, working and lower middle classes.[5] But these proposals are not enough.

Social planning and social research must begin to find ways of revising the institutional arrangements and beliefs that provide social and personal worth. This task offers an opportunity for meaningful social invention that must combine the best features of utopian thinking, social planning, and political pragmatism, backed up by policy-oriented social science research.

Such planning might begin with the study of societies and groups in which worth is not measured by work, including the leisure classes of past Western society, the adolescents, bohemians, hoboes and Skid Rowers of our own, and especially the preindustrial and preliterate societies which have gotten along without a concept of work and job. Not that such findings can be easily transferred to the modern situation. The three institutions which in the past have been most effective in instilling belongingness: the small community, the tribe and the extended family, play a minor role in a large urban-industrial society, while hoboes and bohemians have been despised for their deviant ways. The only hopeful feature of this problem is that there is still some time - perhaps a generation or two - to find a solution.

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5 It is ironic that these cultures are under attack by upper middle class critics, reformers and caretakers who seek to instill their own work priorities and Puritan-like leisure attitudes at a time when they are in danger of becoming anachronistic.

# League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y. ALgonquin 4-5865



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Program Structure — 1963

## I. URBAN DEMOCRACY PROJECT

To help communities achieve self-determination in solving the problems which confront them in ways which conduce to the increased well-being of the city and the society.

L.I.D.'s pilot project in this area will be undertaken in conjunction with the Harlem Neighborhoods Association, and will seek to strengthen the efforts of a Harlem community to cope with an inadequate urban renewal program which the city is determined to foist upon it.

All of the factors here — HANA as the neighborhood organization, the community, the problem which it confronts — are ideal for LID's effort to find ways of offering intellectual and organizational resources to communities which need them, without impinging on their autonomy or impairing the trial-and-error process essential to learning.

## II. PUBLIC EDUCATION PROJECTS

Now, as at any particular moment in time, the radical community has insights and knowledge about a wide range of social problems which confound the public. To alert, to inform, to propose meaningful social policy alternatives to this public is an essential task of the L.I.D.

Pamphlets, TV programs, lecture tours, and conferences are all potential tools in this educational process which can begin at once. Our 1963 Annual Conference, devoted to the problems of the technological revolution, is a valuable aspect of this program. We are presently developing proposals for publications and other educational tools.

## III. WORKSHOPS IN NEW PROBLEM AREAS

The technological revolution introduces an entirely new framework for social problem solving — a framework which posits new questions and demands fresh answers. For all of this, new knowledge is required. Thus, beyond its traditional role of popularizing the knowledge and ideas developed by socially concerned people, the L.I.D. must provide a vehicle for those capable of discerning these new problems and investigating paths to their solution.

To this end, we propose to organize a series of L.I.D. Workshops on problems like those described in our outline, Abundance and Freedom, and in the appended Draft Perspective, to be located in centers where union, university, and other researchers and writers are concentrated.



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Workshop members will prepare papers, evaluate and criticize the work of other members, with the goal of achieving some degree of new understanding in their problem area. From these Workshops we expect first working papers, to be circulated among other Workshops for comment, and eventually publication. These may be of a technical nature initially, but if they have genuine importance, they will be popularized and circulated to the public.

A News Bulletin and occasional local and regional conferences will enable the various Workshop groups to maintain contact and to keep abreast of intellectual developments in the various areas of specialization and parts of the country.

Needless to say, co-ordinating groups will be established to keep these three major program sub-divisions in harmony with each other and with over-all L.I.D. objectives. Such co-operation is especially desirable between Sections II and III, in order that the style and level of the popular work of the organization relate naturally and without strain to the new work emanating from the Workshops.

March 1963
Prepared by Vera Rony on the basis
of suggestions from Martin Fleisher
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# A Draft Perspective for the L.I.D. Workshop Program

To illustrate the kind of work we propose to do we can take as a starting point the argument advanced by Ralph Helstein in the IUD Digest about the problems created by automation. He pointed out that these problems cannot be solved solely by individual unions through collective bargaining. He argues that the spread of automation changes the entire context in which collective bargaining takes place and poses a new set of basic issues which can be met only by comprehensive, co-ordinated national economic and social policies; in short, national planning. Mr. Helstein concludes that the full use of scientific developments for human purposes without intolerable human costs -- not simply in terms of material destitution in the midst of the capacity for abundance, but also in terms of the denial of useful work to vast numbers of people and of domination by an irresponsible technocratic elite -- requires the reorganization of the social and economic functions of work. This can only be achieved by democratically controlled national planning.

We agree entirely. Our job is to get the case spelled out thoroughly -- not only why planning is essential to democracy in industrial society but what functions planning has to carry out and how. This requires both factual analysis and hard argument. The job cannot be done by a random accumulation of studies on specific subjects taken in isolation from the whole pattern of change and therefore trapped either by the assumption that everything else stays the same or by a failure to show how change is possible precisely because everything else does not stay the same. L.I.D. hopes to find people with expertise and concern who will bring their knowledge to bear on the questions raised by our over-all objectives so as to clarify the connections between the different ways in which the basic problems of our society are faced by different people and how their various solutions relate to a coherent and comprehensive planning proposal.

For example, statisticians can make projections of the future requirements for labor -- in terms of total employment and quantities of different kinds of labor -- on the basis of present trends in technological development and the distribution of economic and political power. But what can we expect the composition of the labor force to be under circumstances of economic planning? To estimate that we need, in turn, to make clear the possible combinations of goods and services we can expect to be made available by a planned economy equipped with the new technology.

How then would the skills necessary to operate and democratically control the economy have to be distributed, or shared, throughout the population? How does this define the tasks of the educational system? How would the educational process have to be altered to fulfill these tasks? What resources would have to be allocated to it? How would the composition of the labor force have to vary if opportunities for satisfying work are to be equitably shared? What kind of mobility among places of work and occupations would this be likely to require? What flexibility in terms of the work week and work day?

What kinds of organization at the workplace and at other levels of decision-making would be necessary to prevent the recurrence of arbitrary authority? How would union functions be likely to be altered? How would managerial decision-making be affected?

How would the channels by which purchasing power flows through the economy have to be altered to make access to goods and services equitable? How would the policies aimed at providing equitable opportunity for satisfying and useful work affect the distribution of goods and services? Would mechanisms have to be

developed to offset or largely replace the flow of purchasing power through the labor market? Could the development of social security institutions serve such functions? Would other kinds of mechanisms have to be developed? Would information have to merely supplement or largely replace monetary incentives as the major influence in matching skills with jobs?

Most obviously, we must have answers to a wide range of questions about what planning involves at the governmental level. What techniques must planning institutions employ? What kinds of information must they have and by what procedures is it analyzed to define the range of possible policies? How are the choices of policies to be made at different levels of specificity? What instruments are necessary to influence activity in the direction of chosen objectives? What techniques are already available? For what kinds of problems are technical solutions not yet available?

What kinds of institutional changes are likely to be needed in the American governmental system to make planning possible? What obstacles are presented by the existing pattern of institutions? Are there ways in which the Council of Economic Advisers and the Budgetary process can be developed for purposes of planning? Can Congress provide the essential function of holding planning authorities in the Executive responsible to the electorate without paralyzing the planning process? How much public ownership might it be necessary to have to facilitate planning? Is public enterprise necessary in order to perform yardstick functions? Is it necessary as a substitute for anti-trust policies where they are inadequate to prevent conglomerations of private power from holding the economic planning process to ransom? What are the interests which have a stake in preventing the establishment of national planning? What are the interests which have varying stakes in different kinds of planning? What are the present and potential sources of political support for planning?

There are such people -- more than contemporary publications would suggest. Many are working in contexts where their knowledge cannot be applied to the problems for which it is needed; others are already working on specific but isolated aspects of these crucial problems. Both would welcome an organization through which they can turn their skills to developing the policies and programs of democracy. We seek to provide it.

March 1963

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# League for Industrial Democracy

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fall, 63


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## A B U N D A N C E  A N D  F R E E D O M

### An L.I.D. Program to Find Ways and Means of Relating the Technological Revolution to the Aims of a Democratic Society

An economic analysis of the United States can begin with the fact that science has removrd the ceiling on physical production. New ways to harness limitless energy to produce inconceivable quantities of resources and goods are constantly being revealed.

While the technological revolution careens headlong in the wake of science, our peacetime progress in expanding production and eliminating poverty from our nation has been at the pace of a bewildered snail. Unlike most human societies, past and present, we cannot blame our sluggishness on too many mouths to feed, too few hands to feed them, and no surplus to invest in new productive facilities. Leaving aside questions of desirability, we can take note that we spend a staggering amount of time and energy on military, space, and foreign aid programs; on regulating, litigating, and picketing; on collecting and avoiding taxes; on advertising, image building, and entertaining; on disposing of sewage, garbage and junked automobiles that we have built to go half again as fast as we allow. After all that and more, we still have enough involuntary unemployed to populate a medium-sized nation. Without our military manpower and equipment programs, our chronic distress would become a cataclysmic economic collapse.

What is our problem? Why can we not operate our mines, mills and factories at their existing capacities, let alone apply known techniques to improve them? Why can we not devote our currently unused time and energy to the elimination of poverty, to reversing the spread of pollution and squalor through our physical environment, to giving our young an education and a social environment worthy of our ideals? Why is it so difficult to distribute what we now produce that every raise in output, every threatened easing of international military tension convulses our system?

The great challenge we have not yet learned to meet — and turn to our benefit — is how to distribute the gains in production and savings in manhours due to technological advance. But we must do more than meet this challenge in its own terms. We must also find ways to




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relate the new physical plenty to the kind of society we desire, and to the classical ideals of freedom and justice. This relationship is, in fact, the essence of the League for Industrial Democracy's concern with the questions raised below.

## DISTRIBUTING THE FRUITS OF ABUNDANCE

I. How to Provide Enough Purchasing Power to Make our Actual Needs and Desires Operate as Stimuli to Production

A. Adding to the "Costs" of Production (without inflation?)

1. Higher wages and greater "fringe benefit" provisions. (Does current emphasis on the latter unnecessarily limit individual choice?)
2. On-the-job benefits; better working conditions and more service and facilities; combining leisure and work.
3. Adding, and omitting to reduce employees; "featherbedding" and standing by; what about keeping quiet, staying away?
4. Increased profit distribution (to whom? in what form?)
5. Charges and taxes on external and social costs, such as prevention of pollution, retraining of people and renewal of places devastated by changed productive patterns, education of future employees and consumers. there are unemployed, can there be waste?)
6. New distributive institutions, new functions for unions, etc. (When/
7. New government and other public and quasi-public controls.

B. Expanding Purchasing Power by Reducing Prices

1. Putting improved techniques and processes to work.
2. Stimulating competition, both domestic and international.
3. Cutting payments to or for employees. (Fewer funded benefits?)
4. Lower profits. (Should consumers provide the capital for modernization and expansion in advance?)
5. Lower charges and taxes on external costs. (In which areas would there be net social benefits?)
6. Elimination of waste, duplication, unnecessary complexity.
7. Reducing the costs of capital by driving down interest rates or lowering taxes.

C. Other Sources of, and Ways of Creating, Purchasing Power

1. Expanded use of government debt. (Money and interest-bearing paper, in what proportions?)
2. Expansion of "private" credit. (Is thrift permissible? What should be paid for now, what later -- in advance -- never?)
3. New techniques to increase the velocity of purchasing power.
4. Increasing production of "non-economic goods" such as military, space and foreign aid; non-market goods, such as improvements in physical and social environment. (What about the "threat" of disarmament? What else can we produce to throw away?)

D. Existing Social Mores as Blocks to Solution to Problems of Distribution

1. Present day attitudes toward work and leisure.
2. Folk lores of capitalism.
3. New Concepts of work and leisure.
4. New definitions of needs and desires.

II. How to Allocate Purchasing Power to Secure What we Actually Need and Want

A. Eliminating poverty and unemployment (What is unemployment: too much leisure? too little work to do? or simply no way of earning? Can poverty be eliminated and involuntary unemployment remain? Amidst technological abundance, who will have the right to "work?")

1. Increased "investment" in education, training, retraining, and "mental health."
2. Additional employment. (Who will create it, control it?)
3. Division of available work into smaller portions (see III).
4. Distribution of more goods and services to the unemployed, or to all regardless of ability to pay; direct provision in kind, subsidy, or cash distribution to individuals, with or without restrictions on how it is spent. (Which techniques are suitable for which goods and services? Is cash equivalent to freedom?)
5. Expansion and innovation in social insurance (paid for by whom? when?)

B. Eliminating Unjust, Inequitable, and Socially Dangerous Concentrations of Wealth and Power

1. Redistribution, through progressive taxation, compulsory insurance, stimulation of voluntary and quasi-voluntary giving and spending.
2. Institutional reform to distribute wealth more evenly as it is created — higher wages and quasi-wages; wider dispersal of the right to receive the earnings of capital (through cooperatives, profit-sharing, stock ownership, stock options and warrants); new techniques.
3. Expanded social control over concentrations of wealth (in corporations, public and non-profit institutions, foundations, unions, pension and other funds, private fortunes); partial separation of power from ownership.

C. Provision of greater Public Benefits

1. Improved physical environment, urban, rural, recreational.
2. More and better public services (such as health, education, welfare, protection, sanitation, transportation).
3. Making additional benefits and services public. (Which?)

III. How to Distribute Manhours "Saved" by Technological Advance

A. Transferral to areas, particularly services, less subject to technological gains (including II. C. and D., above).

1. Market saturation by cheap, mass-produced goods.

2. Reducing the relative cost (by direct subsidy, or by re-allocating and relatively under-assessing external and social costs, or by other means) of goods and services which the direct impact of technology tends to render in relatively short supply (such as housing; products of craftsmanship, care and skill; varieties of goods other than the most efficient to produce and the easiest to distribute; interested, imaginative, flexible exchange of personal services).
3. Expanded opportunities to work at what one is not relatively efficient in doing; at what has no "market" (such as scholarship, poetry, growing corn), and other non-"productive," non-"work," and voluntary pursuits. (Who will authorize? Who will pay? What is the price of freedom from the market, the "public," the powerful?)

B. Fewer Hours Devoted to Production by Each Person in his Lifetime

1. Fewer hours per day, fewer days per week, fewer weeks per year; longer vacations; sabbaticals. (Can individuals be offered greater personal choice among them?)
2. Postponement of the entry of youth into the work force and encouragement (or enforcement?) of early retirement.
3. Raising wages and increasing individual choice of when and how long to work.
4. Discouraging extra work by progressive taxation or other inducements (Lower instead of higher overtime rates?)
5. Lower prices in increasingly efficient industries, to increase purchasing power and enable those in more static industries to buy more for less work and thus share in the overall reduction of the productive workload.

C. Preserving and Creating Inefficiency to Counteract the Trend

1. Delayed introduction or under-utilization of better methods.
2. Decreasing the intensity of work.
3. Building non-productive activity, including idleness, leisure, education, into the job.

* * * * * * * *

fall, 63

L.I.D. National Program Proposal

# A NEW ECONOMICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL ABUNDANCE

The amount of human labor needed to produce more and more physical goods keeps declining as technology advances. Technology already known but not yet fully applied promises a continued and steeper decline; technology still to be discovered may make the decline precipitous. We are far enough into the age of technology to knowthat it can bear two kinds of fruits: abundance and disruption. We have seen enough to know that the first cannot be obtained, nor the second prevented, without greater wisdom on our part.

Already in this country, production is limited only be decision -- or lack of it. We are unlocking the hiding places where physical energy is conserved. We are developing the interchangeability of energy and matter from a laboratory phenomenon to an industrial commonplace. The physical restraints on production are recedinginto the dim distance. Not only can we produce almost anything we decide to, but the very "work" of production tends to become more and more simply a matter of decision rather than exertion.

The decision to produce, then, is controlled not by inflexible physical restraints but by the ability to distribute. But we must still try to distribute in accordance with economic laws derived from a society in which almost everybody had to work as efficiently as possible to produce less than enough. Capital could be created only at the expense of current income. New economic laws are surely needed for an economy such as ours has already become. We produce undreamed abundance while manpower, resources, and energy rot, erode, and dissipate from disuse. Even money has lost its reality as a limit: if certain key decision-makers (in government, in finance, in industry) believe that a market will exist, the mere pieces of paper recording their belief become money.

But where are the markets to come from? The wages of useful (omitting military) production -- even includingthe wages of producing capital equipment for future production -- have been insufficient for thirty years to secure prosperity and sustain an adequate rate of growth in demand. The result is unemployment, poverty, and squalor in the midst of waste and plenty.

In short, our system of allocating purchasing power is not only comparatively inequitable but totally inadequate. A system designed to keep purchasing power down to a low level of producing power is becoming disastrous. The problem is getting worse fast. The decline of physical labor has been partly offset in the recent past by a sharp rise in paperwork, but the mere beginnings of cybernation and automated data processing are reversing this trend. Obsolescence threatens almost all forms of work connected with supplying each other. The only forms that seem relatively immune are those that concern pleasing each other -- such as designing and hand-making, educating and healing, inspiring and entertaining, counseling and arguing and playing. It may be within our power to make these the main employments of the future -- if we want to.

# ABUNDANCE AND FREEDOM

The 58th Annual (1963) L.I.D. Conference could concern itself with some of the following questions:

I. HOW CAN WE SHARE THE FRUITS OF ABUNDANCE? We cannot have it until we learn how to share it.

A. New ways of "earning" — in being and envisionable
   1. New ways of contributing to production and new ways of placing values on contributions (morale building and public relations values; standing by — featherbedding and "consulting"; what about staying away, keeping quiet?)
   2. New forms of distributing "earnings" (fringe benefits; on-the-job benefits; "non-profits" — the right to do desired kinds of work, to use certain equipment)

B. New ways of distributing income not directly and quantitatively attributable to contributions to production ("unearned")
   1. Taxation: redistribution of money, distribution and subsidization of goods and services, public goods and benefits
   2. "Private" equivalents: profit-sharing, fringe benefits, corporate and other philanthropy, etc.
   3. New forms and new combinations

C. What policies will promote which developments? Which developments will promote freedom and personal responsibility?

II. HOW CAN WE SHARE THE WORK OF PRODUCTION? Who has to work how much? Who has a right to work how much? When? How does the right to consume relate to the right to work?

A. Deliberate inefficiency: as a transitional device? As a permanent technique? Can we be free to be efficient — or inefficient?
B. Fewer working hours per year: shorter days? shorter weeks? longer vacations? Can each choose for himself?
C. Fewer working years in a lifetime: longer "youth?" earlier retirement? sabbatical years? Are increasing educational requirements and involuntary retirement trends limiting freedom? Could higher pay and more inventive use of quasi-insurance techniques promote greater flexibility and freedom?

III. CAN EVERYONE HOPE TO BE USEFUL? The problem of "non-workers"

A. How much of the fruits of technology belongs in the first instance to those connected with producing it? What are the limits of taxation?
B. As the proportion of producers declines, will there be enough other kinds of employment for everybody? Will the rest perform at the command of the producers, or vice versa?
C. What new ways of structuring temporary and permanent unemployment will we need? How will they affect the way we live?

IV. CAN EVERYONE BE INCLUDED IN ABUNDANCE?

A. How can we include the presently excluded in this country? By postponing long-range economic reform? By hastening it? By short-range policies unrelated to it?
B. Is it possible to attain greater abundance in one country, or group of countries, while the rest of the world stays poor? How independent is our economy? How free are we politically in the present world? Will aiding other nations aid our own economic advance, hinder it, or not affect it?

COMPLIMENTS OF
MANFRED OHRENSTEIN
SENATOR 25th DISTRICT

file in
Summer
Folder

# STATE OF NEW YORK

Print. 2521 Intro. 2407

# IN SENATE

February 4, 1964

Introduced by Mr. OHRENSTEIN—read twice and ordered printed, and when printed to be committed to the Committee on Finance

# AN ACT

**To amend the executive law, in relation to creating a state economic commission to provide against the hazards of unemployment, to marshal the economic resources of the state for full employment and prosperity, to provide necessary public services and facilities; and to authorize and to submit to a referendum vote of the people a proposition for the issuance of a bond issue in the sum of two hundred million dollars to effect such purposes**

***The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:***

Section 1. The executive law is hereby amended by inserting therein a new article, to be known as article nineteen-h, to read as follows:

*ARTICLE 19-H*

*STATE ECONOMIC COMMISSION*

*Section 525. Legislative finding.*

*526. Short title.*

EXPLANATION — Matter in *italics* is new; matter in brackets [ ] is old law to be omitted.

*527. Definitions.*

*528. Creation and composition of state economic commission.*

*529. Authority of the commission.*

*530. Compensation of members of the commission.*

*531. Executive director.*

*532. Power to adopt rules and regulations.*

*533. Term of office.*

*534. Availability of records to members of the commission.*

*535. Participation by the industrial commissioner.*

*536. Reports to the commission.*

*537. Surveys to be made by the commission.*

*538. Certificates of necessity and convenience.*

*539. Organization of public corporations.*

*540. Supervisory function of the commission.*

*541. Research bureau and other employees.*

*542. Right of condemnation.*

*543. Enterprise finance corporation.*

*544. Manner of organization of public corporations; ownership of stock; methods of procuring additional financing.*

*545. Method of public financing.*

*546. Applicability of laws governing collective bargaining.*

*547. Surrender and revocation of certificates of necessity and convenience.*

*548. Bond issue.*

*549. Separability of provisions.*

***§ 525. Legislative finding. It is hereby declared as a matter of legislative finding that:***

*(a) The accelerated pace of automation, technological changes, the population explosion, the civil rights revolution, the conversion of military to civilian facilities, and the shift in public needs, combine to further sharpen the stark imbalances of our economy and society—increases in productivity alongside increased unemployment; overabundance of material products alongside dearth of public necessities; increased costs of local government alongside record profits of private enterprise. Added to New York state's lagging behind the nation in such economic indices as rate of employment, rate of growth, and average hourly wages, these new factors threaten the very basis of our economic health. Deprived minorities and in-migrants dramatize the poverty amidst our plenty.*

*(b) Now is the time to build the schools and colleges, the hospitals and health facilities, for which the needs grow more acute every year. Now is the time to remove the slums and add to the supply of decent housing. Now is the time to modernize and add to modern mass transit systems. Now is the time for a vast program of public works, in all fields, to benefit all the people with the fruits of human resourcefulness and technological advance. We can no longer afford to be privately wealthy and publicly poor. Nor can New York state, any more than the nation, afford the human blight of one-fifth of the population in sub-standard living conditions. We must lower the economic as well as racial barriers to allow the participation of all people in our abundance.*

*(c) While the products of private industry can now be made by less and less people, it would take vast human resources to carry out the building and public works program here envisoned. Countless more would be employed—teachers, nurses, building workers—to maintain and operate these facilities. Yet such a program must not be regarded as a temporary palliative to create artificial employment. This program must be a creative approach by government to provide a better life in such areas of public need that private enterprise alone cannot, will not, or cannot be expected to, assume.*

*(d) Unemployment insurance and other forms of social security legislation now in force in the state and federal fields, necessary and desirable to cushion, to some extent, against the hazards of unemployment and other individual disabilities; the extension of public works; the distribution of monies through organized systems of public relief; and the organization of works projects on a relief basis are, individually and collectively, inadequate to solve the problem of unemployment or to achieve maximum productive prosperity so that the tax burden existing by reason of social security programs may, thereafter, gradually be reduced. Experience has shown that such programs are even more inadequate in periods of crisis which, as indicated above, are reasonably to be expected in the near future;*

*(e) The state of New York is possessed of great natural resources, industrious and ingenious citizens, and substantial technological development and great general wealth; and the general welfare, full employment and wide prosperity require encouragement of*

*maximum production and maximum purchasing power through real employment at real work for real wages;*

*(f) The example federal agencies assisting private business, and public and semi-public corporations where desirable, and the desirability of maintaining vital economic and political functioning decentralized among the states, co-existent with the spheres of activity of the nation, all point to the need and suitability of state cooperation with capital and labor in the manner provided herein;*

*(g) Use of public funds and credit as provided in this article, is, as a matter of known and sound economics and fact, as direct and specific a use to protect against the perils of unemployment as a direct grant of unemployment insurance, the extension of public works programs, the creation of work relief or the direct use of funds for home relief. It is desirable that the monies so expended should be used in the production of real wealth for the use and benefit of the entire people of the state of New York; and*

*(i) The blocking of numerous fruitful avenues of production which will result in increased employment and wealth by the withholding by their owners of patented inventions from exploitation and the complete utilization, at a fair compensation, of inventions enjoying the privilege of American patent rights and owned by persons and corporations subject to the jurisdiction of the courts of this state is a matter directly affected with a public interest.*

*§ 526. Short title. This article shall be known and referred to as the "State Economic Commission Law".*

*§ 527. Definitions. As used in this article:*

*1. The term "commission" shall mean the New York state economic commission;*

*2. The term "commissioner" shall mean the industrial commissioner or any deputy commissioner acting for and on his behalf;*

*3. The term "person" shall mean and include any natural person, partnership, joint-stock association, private corporation and unincorporated association;*

*4. The term "certificate" shall mean certificate of necessity and convenience;*

*5. The term "enterprise finance corporation" shall mean any public corporation hereafter organized, to which shall be turned over the sum of two hundred million dollars, or any part thereof, realized upon the sale of bonds authorized by referendum to be submitted to the people, and any sum or sums which may thereafter be authorized. It shall not include any person, private or public corporation to whom or to which loans may be made, as hereinafter set forth.*

*6. The term "public corporation" shall mean any corporation organized by the commission, as hereinafter provided, to effect the purposes of this act. It shall not include the enterprise finance corporation.*

*§ 528. Creation and composition of the state economic commission. There is hereby created in the executive department a commission, to be known as the New York state economic commission, which shall be composed of fifteen members, one of whom shall be the industrial commissioner. The other fourteen members shall be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of*

*the senate. The persons appointed as members of the commission by the governor shall be as follows: two members of the commission shall be persons known to represent the interests of organized labor; two members shall be persons known to represent the interests of employers; two members shall be persons known to represent the interests of agriculture; two members shall be persons known to represent the interests of consumers or of the general public; two members shall be persons known to represent welfare agencies, other than governmental welfare agencies; two members shall be persons known to represent educational institutions or groups, public or private, one of whom shall be an econo mist by training and profession and the other of whom shall be identified with vocational training; and two members shall be persons of repute in the fields of technology or applied science or engineering.*

*§ 529. Authority of the commission. The state economic commission shall have authority to act, within the sphere of its rights, powers and duties, by a majority of its members.*

*§ 530. Compensation of members of the commission. The members of the commission, insofar as shall not be prohibited by specific constitutional provisions, may be municipal, state or federal employees, or public officials in other capacities. Such members shall have the right to elect between the compensation provided for by this section and any other compensation to which they may be entitled as municipal, state or federal employees or officials. Subject to such limitation, each member of the commission shall receive, as compensation, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars per*

*annum. In addition, each such member shall be paid his reasonable and necessary traveling and other expenses while engaged in the performance of their duties.*

*§ 531. Executive director. The commission shall select a person, who shall not be a member thereof, as its executive director. Such executive director shall receive, as compensation, the sum of twenty thousand dollars per annum, in addition to reasonable and necessary traveling and other expenses while engaged in the performance of his duties.*

*§ 532. Power to adopt rules and regulations. The commission shall have the power and the authority to adopt such regulations as may be necessary to effectuate the purposes of this article, and such rules and regulations, when adopted, shall have the force and effect of law. It shall adopt rules to govern its proceedings. The executive director shall keep a complete record of all proceedings of the commission, which shall show the names of the members present at each meeting and every matter acted upon by the council. The records shall be kept on file in the office of the commission.*

*§ 533. Term of office. The term of office of a member of the commission shall be six years, except that, at the time of the initial appointment, the classes shall be divided in half so that one member in each class shall be appointed for three years and the other shall be appointed for six years. Thereafter, at the termination of each term of office, all appointments shall be for a period of six years. Any vacancy in the membership of the commission shall be filled only for the unexpired term thereof.*

*§ 534. Availability of records to members of the commission. All records of all departments and agencies of the state shall be available to the commission and to the members thereof at all times.*

*§ 535. Participation by the industrial commissioner. The industrial commissioner may participate in the commission through a deputy commissioner.*

*§ 536. Reports to the commission. The commission, in its reasonable discretion, may require that all persons and corporations, public or private, employing ten or more persons and doing business for profit in whole or in part within the state of New York shall supply to the commission, not later than the thirtieth days of April, July, October and January of each year, a summary report of number of employees, volume of production and/or purchases, volume of sales and distribution, volume of services rendered, balance of inventory, and backlog of unfilled orders for the preceding three months ending with the last day of the preceding month, together with such other information which may be required by the commission. Such reports shall be privileged communications, not subject to subpoena in any legal proceeding in any court and not subject to examination by any federal or other state or governmental agency. They shall be treated as confidential and shall be used by the commission as data for the purpose of compiling statistics and to enable the commission to issue the reports required to be issued by this article and they shall not be used for purposes other than those specified in this act.*

*§ 537. Surveys to be made by the commission. The commission shall make continuous surveys of industrial activities and employ-*

*ment trends, as well as of the status of vocational training. It shall treat the information derived from other departments and agencies of the state and the United States as well as information which may be supplied to it in the quarterly reports provided for by the preceding section with reasonable statistical and research analysis, according to the usual and customary methods of current business, labor, vocational and technological practice. It shall publish quarterly reports of a character indicating, so far as is reasonably possible, those fields in which increased activity is necessary or desirable and in the public interest, with the addition of practical information, suggestions and advice, so as to guide and encourage private enterprise. Such research and reports shall be devoted primarily to industry and employment within the state of New York, but shall include reasonable reference to related national and international business and employment information. Upon the application of any person or on its own motion, the commission, in its reasonable discretion, shall hold public hearings to guide the commission in amending or supplementing its reports.*

*§ 538. Certificates of necessity and convenience. The commission shall entertain applications from persons or corporations for new or enlarged enterprise in fields indicated in the commission's reports for the purpose of providing appropriate employment and increased production; lists of such applications shall be published and hearings held thereon within a reasonable time thereafter; and within a reasonable time after such hearings or opportunities for hearings the commission shall issue certificates of necessity and convenience in response to such applications as are approved by*

*the commission, in its reasonable discretion. Holders of such certificates shall be eligible to financing, in whole or in part, as further provided herein.*

*§ 539. Organization of public corporations. Upon a finding by the commission that more than ninety days have expired after publication of its report and there has been a failure of private business applicants to engage or expand in such recommended enterprises, the commission may, in its reasonable discretion, organize a public corporation to engage in such industry. The organization of such public corporation by the commission shall include, automatically, the issuance of a certificate of the same character as provided in the case of private applicants, as set forth in the preceding section. Such public corporation shall, similarly, be entitled to public financing, in whole or in part, as further provided herein.*

*§ 540. Supervisory function of the commission. It shall be the duty of the commission to keep itself fully informed of the activities of all persons and all private and public corporations to whom or to which certificates shall have been issued by it. To effect the purposes of this article, it may recommend restriction, expansion or cessation of the activities of such persons or such private or public corporations after due notice and hearing, if such hearing is demanded. Such orders of restriction, expansion or cessation shall be enforcible by and reviewable in the courts.*

*§ 541. Research bureau and other employees. The executive director of the commission shall be the director of the research and publication bureau of the commission. The commission may employ such additional employees and counsel as, in its discretion,*

*may be needed from time to time, and in accordance with a budget to be prepared and voted according to law.*

*§ 542. Right of condemnation. The commission is hereby given the right to acquire, in the name of the people of the state of New York, by condemnation proceedings in any state or federal court within the state of New York having jurisdiction, for the benefit of any holder of an unrevoked certificate, absolute title, licenses, easements, or other total or partial property rights, upon the payment of fair compensation, which shall be fixed by the court, in land, machinery or other property, the use of which is found by the court, sitting as a court of equity, necessary or desirable in the public interest for the carrying out of the purposes of this act, through a holder or through holders of a certificate or of certificates issued by the commission. In such proceedings the relevant certified recommendations of the council shall be received in evidence and members or employees of the commission shall be competent to testify as expert witnesses; but neither such papers nor such testimony shall be conclusive upon the court. In all such proceedings it shall be a sufficient answer and defense that the owner of the property or patents in question files, in duplicate, in court and with the council, a bona fide offer or application to proceed with the use or exploitation or expansion of the patent or enterprise in question, as recommended by the commission, within ninety days thereafter.*

*§ 543. Enterprise finance corporation. Upon authorization of the bond issue hereafter provided for, the commission shall organize an enterprise finance corporation, with a capital of two hundred million dollars. The proceeds of such bond issue shall be turned*

*over to such enterprise finance corporation for use as a revolving fund to effectuate the purposes of this article.*

*§ 544. Manner of organization of public corporations; ownership of stock; methods of procuring additional financing. (a) The manner of organizing public corporations by the commission as provided herein, including the organization of the enterprise finance corporation, shall be in accordance with the corporation and other laws of the state of New York. The members of the commission, or any committee thereof, may act as incorporators and a majority of the board of directors shall be members of the commission or persons designated by the commission. One place on the board of directors shall be held by the comptroller of the state of New York, or by a person designated by him; another place on the board of directors shall be held by the superintendent of banks of the state of New York, or by a person designated by him; a third place on the board of directors shall be held by the superintendent of insurance of the state of New York, or by a person designated by him; while still a fourth place shall be held by the commissioner of the department of commerce of the state of New York, or by a person designated by him, but in no event shall the four persons last named constitute a majority of the board of directors. All public corporations so created shall have the power to pay reasonable expenses, including salaries. Rates of interest on public financing herein referred to shall be not more than six per centum per annum. Such rate, from time to time, shall be such as reasonably will help to effectuate the purposes set forth in this act, taking into consideration the necessities of competitive conditions.*

*(b) Ownership of all shares of stock of all classes in any public corporation organized under the provisions of this article shall remain vested in the enterprise finance corporation at all times.*

*(c) Nothing contained in this article shall limit the right or the power of any public corporation to issue bonds for public sale or to apply for loans to any corporation or administration organized or created under the laws of the United States, but any liability thereby accruing shall be the liability of such public corporation exclusively and the state of New York shall bear no responsibility therefor. Any evidence of indebtedness issued by such public corporation shall bear, on the face thereof, appropriate notation of such exemption of the state of New York from liability therefor.*

*§ 545. Method of public financing. Any person or corporation, public or private, to whom or to which there shall have been issued a certificate by the commission may thereupon make application to the enterprise finance corporation created pursuant to the provisions of section five hundred forty-three of this article for such loan or loans as may be necessary to enable such person or corporation to engage in new or enlarged enterprise in the field for which such certificate shall have been issued. Such loan or loans shall be in such amount and for such duration and under such terms and conditions as the commission, in the exercise of its reasonable discretion may determine.*

*§ 546. Applicability of laws governing collective bargaining. (a) All persons and corporations receiving certificates and/or public financing, in whole or in part, including public corporations, shall pay, at least, the prevailing rate of wages and shall comply*

*with all state and federal labor laws, including all laws governing collective bargaining.*

*(b) Nothing contained in this article shall be deemed, in any way, to abridge the right of any employee, or committee, group, association or union of employees of any person or private or public corporation to whom or to which a certificate shall have been issued to use any lawful means for the purpose of resolving a labor dispute and all laws governing labor disputes shall be applicable to any labor dispute involving such employees or committees, groups, associations or unions of employees.*

*§ 547. Surrender and revocation of certificates of necessity and convenience. (a) Any person to whom the commission shall issue a certificate, may, at any time thereafter, voluntarily surrender such certificate; but any such surrender shall immediately work a forfeiture of any rights which may have accrued thereunder. Any monies owing to the enterprise finance corporation at the time of such surrender shall forthwith become due and payable and the enterprise finance corporation shall take such steps as may be necessary to effect the collection thereof.*

*(b) In the event that any person to whom a certificate shall have been issued under the provisions of this article shall fail to avail himself of any of the rights thereby created for a period exceeding ninety days from the date of the issuance, the commission shall have the right, in its reasonable discretion, after a hearing in the event that a hearing is requested, to revoke such certificate and to declare forfeited the rights and benefits thereby created.*

*(c) In the event that any person or corporation to whom or to which a certificate is issued shall fail satisfactorily to discharge the obligations thereby imposed upon it, or shall violate any of the provisions of this article, the commission, in its reasonable discretion, after a hearing, if such hearing is requested, may revoke such certificate and declare forfeited the rights and benefits thereby created. Any monies owing to the enterprise finance corporation shall forthwith become due and payable and the enterprise finance corporation shall thereupon take such steps as may be necessary to effect the collection thereof.*

*§ 548. Bond issue. Subject to the provisions of the constitution of the state of New York, and to take effect upon approval at a referendum of the people, the state of New York, as soon thereafter as is practical, shall incur a debt in the sum of two hundred million dollars by borrowing, through a serial bond issue, according to law, to be offered and sold or marketed by the comptroller of the state of New York, at such rate of interest or discount as prudently may be necessary. The proceeds thereof shall be turned over to the enterprise finance corporation, organized as hereinbefore provided, for the purposes specified and with the primary intent of protecting the people of the state of New York against the hazards of unemployment, while incidentally serving the other advantages referred to herein and found to be cumulative and without detraction from such primary purpose.*

*§ 549. Separability of provisions. If any provision of this article or the application thereof to any person, public or private corporation, including the enterprise finance corporation, or to any*

***public officer is held invalid, the remainder of this article and its application shall not thereby be affected.***

**§ 2. Section five hundred forty-eight of the executive law, as added by this act, shall not take effect unless and until it shall have been submitted to the people at a general election, and have received a majority of all the votes cast for and against it at such election and such section shall be submitted to the people of this state at the** general election to be held in November, nineteen hundred sixty-four. Upon the approval by the people such section shall go into effect January first, nineteen hundred sixty-five. The ballots to be **furnished for the use of the voters upon the submission of such section shall be in the form prescribed by the election law and the proposition or question to be submitted shall be printed thereon in substantially the following form, namely, "Shall section five hundred forty-eight of the executive law, as added by chapter (here insert the number of the chapter) of the laws of nineteen hundred** sixty-four, entitled 'An act to amend the executive law, in relation to creating a state economic commission to provide against the hazards of unemployment, to marshal the economic resources of the state for full employment and prosperity, and to provide necessary public services and facilities; and to authorize and to submit to a referendum vote of the people a proposition for the issuance of a bond issue in the sum of two hundred million dollars to effect such purposes' be approved".

**§ 3. The remainder of this act shall take effect immediately.**

Norm,

I am enclosing this clipping for you to read and to place in your files. Perhaps it may come in handy one of these fighting days.

JUN 9 1964

Regards.

Harvey Gibson

Employ
N.Y.S.

# Thruway Broadens Its Job Policies

ALBANY — J. Burdell Bixby, chairman of the New York State Thruway Authority, has pledged to make greater efforts to inform non-white persons of job openings with the Authority following a meeting with officials of CORE and a labor union.

The meeting was held in Bixby's offices here last Thursday climaxing four days of picketing by CORE and members of Council 50 of the State, County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO, who had charged the authority with discriminating against Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

They had picketed the Thruway's maintenance barns in Nyack, N. Y., protesting racial discrimination and the failure of the officials to give recognition to union grievances.

A survey by the two groups showed that of 1,900 permanent employees and 300 temporary employees only about 80 were Negroes, and a lesser number were employed by the 31 concessionaires who are licensed by the Authority.

The Authority agreed to notify the two groups of permanent job vacancies and to advertise them in minority communities and to inform their concessionaires who will hire some 1,200 employees for the summer rush, of the state's non-bias employment laws.

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The Amsterdam News is the largest Negro weekly newspaper in the country. Read it every week and see why. Out every Thursday.

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Clipping from Amsterdam News June, 1964. Kept in file. Harvey 6/68

# DRAFT ORGANIZATIONAL OUTLINE FOR NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT

## STRUCTURE OF THE COMMITTEE

The national committee is formed as a leadership organization contemplating no direct membership base. However it should have three constituent bodies:

A. A National Council consisting of:

1. leaders of local committees.
2. persons connected with major organizations who are interested in the problems eg. trade unions, civil rights groups, churches and peace organizations.
3. university people and prominent individuals.

This council should meet as often as is necessary to perform the following functions:

Policy making on such questions as local target areas, new program (demands), budget, personnel, and program content (activities).

B. A National Advisory Board, consisting mainly of sponsors and individuals who cannot devote the time to regular meetings. This advisory board should also include some givers.

C. A Research Advisory Council, consisting of academics, whose knowledge and interest in this and related problems make their contributions to various phases of the program important. These people should be consulted on research papers, co-opted for local activity in research projects, and for occasional consultation on other matters.

## STAFF

1. National Director
2. Research Director
3. Field Secretary

### Functions of National Director

Major responsibility would be policy implementation.

a. target areas for organization (field work).
b. continue raising of funds.
c. direct work of research.
d. public spokesman for the committee.
e. liason with other organizations interested in unemployment action.

### Functions of Research Director

a. collect relevant data on national level.
b. organize research in local areas through contact with university people and students.
c. develop programmatic alternatives on both levels.

Functions of Field Secretary

Initiate local projects - work with other groups in local areas, evaluate projects.

Budget for one year

| | |
|---|---|
| National Director - salary | $8,000.00 |
| Research Director | $6,500.00 - $7,500.00 |
| Field Secretary | $6,000.00 - $7,000.00 |
| Office - salaries | $4,000.00 |
| expenses | $1,000.00 |
| Travelling and Misc. | $2,500.00 |
| | $30,000.00 |

The central operation of the committee should revolve around local areas. Its primary constituency in local areas is the unemployed themselves ("jobless" is a more accurate term, since many unemployed are youth who have never worked.). Organizing the jobless may involve several steps:

1. A broadbased citizens committee for full employment on local level should be formed. This should be a responsible group, as well as a working group, and consisting of individuals who would be trade unionists, civil rights leaders, university people, church, peace and other organizational leaders, and prominent persons.

   This committee would serve the following functions:
   a. advise and guide the efforts of the field staff to organize among the unemployed, in terms of policy, program and techniques.
   b. gather financial and other resources, such as personnel, to support efforts.
   c. act as an auxiliary political and social lever in representations to government agencies, including legislative, judicial and administrative bodies which may be considering actions around the problem of full employment.

2. The field organizer should establish contact, both through the committee, but not confined to it, and with the community in which organizing efforts are to take place. This would include unions, churches, youth clubs, fraternal groups etc. The purpose of this contact is to enlist the cooperation of some of them, as well as neutralize political sources of opposition within the organized community. Where possible, the organizer should attempt to co-opt existing facilities for a base of operations, if they can be made available either by a friendly community organization or an individual.

3. A visible base of operation should be established in the community. This could be a store front or a loft, or part of some other facility. This is particularly important so that jobless people know where to go, and also so that the organizer becomes a stable part of the community.

4. An important point of contact might be the initiation of a service operation for the jobless. This would be an individual counseling and representative function. Problems such as unemployment comp., repossession, welfare, discrimination in hiring (both for Negroes and the aged) could be taken up as an avenue for further action. This phase would be an ongoing program which would act for recruitment of the jobless, community acceptance, and public relations. It should be well publicized through organizations, and on the street, through mass media, etc. Volunteer legal aid, social workers and other people could staff this operation. However, it should be open during the day as well as the evening.

5. Simultaneously with 4. a complete research job should be undertaken to determine the dimensions of the problem in the community: viz manpower resources in terms of skills, community needs, both in the social service as well as public facilities and industrial utilization. The objectives of the research job are three fold:

   a. to make the total community conscious of the realities of the situation.
   b. to provide a basis for determining the kinds of groups with whom the Committee will have to deal.
   c. to find a basis for local action to relate to full employment around a program of demands of a national and local scope.

   In some cases, studies are available which can be used as a guide to save time in comprehensive research. These should be collected and evaluated.

6. Through organizations, such as unions, churches, a program of agitation should be undertaken, articualting several demands of a fairly simple character around which direct action could take place. This agitation should be aimed primarily among the jobless, but also among those (unions, civil rights groups) who are concerned about the problem. Mass meetings (both outdoor and indoor) leaflets, canvassing etc. should be undertaken after steps 1-5 (or similar preparation indicated the basis for a constituency) have been gone through.

   One of the preparatory forms which may be appropriate is a mass conference on unemployment which can serve to legitimize, as well as articulate, demands around this problem. The conference could be preparatory to the formation of the citizens committee, or, the result of its ability to reach into the community with an effective service program. This technique should be used carefully, lest it become a substitute for direct action.

7. Direct action of a political nature i.e. demonstrations, picket lines, marches, should be a prime means of making demands known. These might involve wide sponsorship of groups associated with the local committee, but should not be confined to it. Others like veterans groups, youth and fraternal organizations, as well as churches, outside the pale of traditional liberalism, might join in this kind of action.

8. The presentation of demands through delegations of jobless to governmental bodies should be developed including testimony and conference with legislative and public officials. These delegations should not be confined to larger public questions such as the shorter work week, or more public works, but should also take up problems relating to the administration of government agencies, grievances of a more general character, against welfare policies etc.

9. An attempt could be made, although this should not be a mechanical objective, to organize a more stable body of the unemployed themselves, which could have its own leadership and policy. This would necessarily be more of a "movement" than an institution, because of the transiency of a sector of the unemployed who move in and out of work.

Miscellaneous Problems (See working papers)

1. Choice of area.
2. Relations with other organizations.
3. "Service" functions.
4. National and local demands.
5. Relationship with larger social questions e.g. defense, dole, etc.

COMMENTS ON ORGANIZATION

Reaching the unemployed is the most difficult problem facing us. Neither the civil rights movement, which has relied on students and organized middle class elements for its constituency, nor the labor movement, which, on the whole, has cut its jobless members off from participation in the affairs of the union local, have paid much attention to the unemployed. It must be remembered that the civil rights movement has been concerned mostly with the elimination of social and political discrimination and only peripherally with the problem of employment. Those groups such as CORE and NAACP which have conducted actions for equal job opportunities have used students or employed workers to do the actual picketing.

In some UAW locals during the 1960 recession, unemployed committees were organized. These committees were closely linked with the local union and did actually help dramatize the plight of the jobless. Unfortunately, their program and techniques were circumscribed by conservative union policy which did not utilize direct action techniques.

Currently, the unemployed in Northern cities are Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and young people. In certain area such as New England and Pennsylvania, particularly in textile towns and coal regions, and in places where communities have suffered because of shifting patterns of defense procurement, white workers have been chronically jobless. There is not doubt, however, that recovery in the auto and steel industries in recent months coupled with the out-migration of white southerners from large miswestern cities, has reduced the number of white jobless.

Therefore, in the immediate future, our concentration should be in three main areas:

1) Jobless Negroes and young people in large cities.

2) Areas where defense has resulted in layoffs.

3) Areas where automation has hit a dominant industry.

The long term joblessness of textile and mine workers presents an entirely different set of problems relating to the question of total community demobilization. I believe that these groups, as in Eastern Kentucky, might eventually respond to a job fight. At the present, however, the length of time which they have faced this problem has enabled them to make psychological and material adjustments which act as a brake on their militancy. An additional factor retarding the chance for mass action in these areas is the heavy migration to other places. Finally, activity among these groups is likely to center upon the failure of the unions to maintain pensions or other benefits for the jobless, rather than on the issue of jobs.

What with the incredible militancy of the civil rights movement in the past few months, it is possible that the Negro jobless could become a force on this problem. Organizing among working class Negroes does not present the same kind of difficulties as organizing among jobless whites.

This is based on the following:

1) The Negro community is usually concentrated in a small geographic area.

2) The level of community organization among the Negro population is growing on housing and school issues. These groups are usually not related to civil rights organizations but are inclusive of them.

3) Negro workers belong to churches and are active in them.

4) In some cities, the NALC or other Negro worker organizations (TULC) are well organized and relatively mature. These groups might provide an immediate base for activity. Also, these groups have acted, in part, as trade union caucuses and have considerable influence on white trade unionists who might be prone to participation in job movements if initiated within the Negro community.

A project should be set up in a Negro community where a combination of the civil rights groups, active trade unions, and Negro workers organizations could form an effective committee for jobs. It is very important that the main thrust of this committee be directed to the problem of increasing the number of jobs. This does not exclude the issue of discrimination where jobs exist. As indicated in the strategy paper, the demand for jobs within the existing employment structure has considerable limitations, except insofar as it opens up new industries for Negro employment. Without an economic program winning job fights on construction sites, breweries, and in other industries which have been lily white, will not solve the job crisis for masses of Negroes.

At this time, a service operation as indicated in the outlined organizational scheme can probably to circumvented in the Negro community. Large sections of Negroes are in motion and would be receptive to acting on the job issue beyond discrimination. However, catalytic attempts by politically sophisticated civil rights and radical groups who demonstrate for jobs should not replace the task of reaching the jobless themselves.

Contact with Negro unemployed can be established through churches, unemployment offices, and other community centers where people congregate. A lot of plain agitation has to be done before jobless Negroes will respond. Sympathetic union locals with large Negro memberships can be a lever for contact. The street is an additional forum.

## FIRST STEPS

The first step is to form a community committee of civil rights, union and other leading people to set out a program of demands and to agree on forms of action. This committee should include people who actually have contact with the jobless.

Step two is to popularize these demands in the community and to call a mass rally or conference to give the problem further visibility. Another technique of creating visibility is to actually demonstrate at construction sites, City Hall, or at major employers who discriminate.

The key demand should probably revolve around the enlargement of the public works program of a community. These programs should be run by the community if an end to discrimination is sought as well as job opportunities on a broad scale. Negotiations with local officials on this question should be conducted for specific programs prior to and concurrent with these activities.

Another basic battle is around apprenticeships for minority youth. If new opportunities are created, the number of skilled workers to fill these jobs must be increased from the Negro community. However, the precondition for major breakthroughs in this area depends on the growth of the number of jobs; otherwise we will be in the old trap of tokenism.

The civil rights movement in local communities cannot be counted on to give leadership on the whole economic issue at this time. In its initial stages it can lend support and give some leadership, but our committee in the local community will have to provide the impetus and prevent diffusion of energies to other areas. However, it is important to persuade trade unions, civil rights groups and others that fighting for jobs is really the next step in the effort to gain full civil rights. As indicated in the strategy paper, this is no simple matter. In the initial organizing steps, complete agreement around this question cannot be expected, nor should lack of it become a deterrent for action.

It is clear that nationalist groups within the Negro community have rested their case on the impossibility of Negroes gaining full equality in white society, particularly in employment. Their case has been reinforced by the general indifference of most local civil rights groups to the whole economic plight of the Negro worker. On the other hand, the base which Nationalists have established among Negro workers in some communities is an important argument for a broader program by others to work on these unmet needs.

In all areas, full time people to work on this specific project need to be recruited - from civil rights, trade unions, and organizations such as the APSC. These people should be able to perform the dual job of gathering top support and working among the jobless. To set our techniques in advance would be premature since real efforts to mobilize the jobless are nonexistent and haven't been attempted, except within narrow contexts, since the thirties.

## NOTES ON DRAFT OUTLINE FOR ORGANIZATION

1. On service operation: This would require a larger financial and personnel committment than we currently can afford. It may become more viable for a long term community organizational effort, later on.

2. The role of research: This is likely to be underestimated in importance. Actually, it will be extremely useful (absolutely necessary) if the objectives of the job movement are to be linked to real alternatives which are workable at the local level. How do you create jobs? What kind of programs can be fought for? Which are the areas where jobs can be created by the utilization of existing federal or state funds? What kind of legislation should be fought for?

3. The need to create an enduring movement: In order to go beyond the discrimination focus, and to have an impact politically, it is necessary to have an organizational form which has a long term outlook. Ginger group activity will not really be capable of struggling through on long term economic needs. Therefore, while direct action is the chief technique for spurring action, the real focus must be seen in terms of political and legislative activity. Deamnds such as the shorter work week and more public works can only be gained by political action. Moreover, to release vast funds for social need, similar political pressure is needed.

   Finally, the economic questions in the next years may well form the basis for polarization of traditional liberal politicans from their base, Negroes and workers. Cold war committments, which prevent these politicians, even in Northern cities, from supporting dramatic increases in other forms of public expenditures, may have to be replaced if programs leading to full employment are to become policy.

4. Money: There is none, chiefly because:

   a) The civil rights movement is now getting most of it from private individuals and unions;

   b) Nothing has been started in local communities to provide a showcase for fund raising. We have many contacts however. The national structure is completely contigent on the question of funds.

5. Choice of pilot targets: Chicago and Detroit and Newark - chiefly because of the depth of Negro unemployment and socially aware unions, such as UPWA, UAW, and IUE (in Newark). Another area is Boston where a community committee has already been begun. Long Island is a possibility. There the defense economy is going to reek havoc on the area's economic life.

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LID UNIVERSITY WORKSHOPS PROGRAM

## A Project for Drawing Up a Program of Social Reform for the United States

### The Objective:

To develop a broad, comprehensive and consistent set of policies designed to realize more fully America's potentialities for meeting the many human needs it now chronically fails to meet.

### The Approach:

A network of committees to gather information and make proposals for policy in specific problem areas and to relate the various proposals to each other on the basis of thorough, reasoned analyses of the various problems and their causes.

### The Procedure and Personnel:

Some of the committees will be concerned with particular problems, such as: the bearing of technological change on opportunities for employment as source of income and of satisfying work; the relation of social stress to the incidence of mental suffering; the impact on urban development of the segregation of poverty; etc. In each case, the committee involved will document the dimensions of the problem, analyze its persistent causes, identify the obstacles to constructive solutions, and spell out the policies, both immediate and long range, which such solutions require. Other committees will be concerned with the institutional and political conditions for implementing the proposed policies such as: the effectiveness of public economic policy and the additional kins of economic planning which may be needed; the potential sources of political support and opposition to social reform; the areas in which institutional innovations may be necessary to achieve constructive solutions, etc.

Each committee will send copies of its working papers, drafts, and other materials on its current and prospective activities to a

co-ordinating committee which will circulate them among all the other committees. It should thus be possible to identify the need for any further work which may be needed to make the links between related issues clear and the various proposals consistent. The combined efforts of the various committees will thereby be focussed on building up a reasonably systematic critique of contemporary institutions and policies leading to a broad, thoroughly substantiated program for reform which could serve as an agenda for American democracy in this decade and the next.

Since the purpose of the committees is to do serious and sustained work yielding definite criticisms and recommendations, it is anticipated that each committee will be composed primarily of people with specific training or experience relevant to the problem area in question. Meetings will ordinarily be held only when necessary to consider a working paper or draft statement circulated in advance, to coordinate work in progress, or to schedule further work. It is expected that the committees will publish their results in various forms including concise but carefully argued pamphlets stating their proposals, summarizing the evidence underlying them, and placing them in the context of the general program as it emerges. In addition, the materials prepared will be available in full to organizations and groups interested in seeking public support for the proposals advanced.

## Origins, Orientation and Present Status

This project has been launched by a small group of university professors, including the undersigned, who believe that it is now possible, for perhaps the first time since the 'thirties, to gain attention for serious consideration of the need for social reform. The inability of American society to apply its vast resources to

meeting the wide range of needs generated by a changing industrial society, and its glaring failure even to overcome sheer material poverty, have now become so manifest as to shake the complacency and discredit the "conventional wisdom" which dominated the mood of the recent past. There appaars to be a growing awareness of the need not only to complete the unfinished business of the New Deal--the creation of a full-employment welfare state--but to develop a society capable of satisfying more subtle human needs and of realizing broader human possibilities. While the fund of ideas and general outlook of the New Deal have long outlived their usefulness for this purpose, a more adequate alternative has not yet been produced. In part, this reflects the tendency in social science to concentrate on developing research techniquex without much concern for the social relevance or triviality of the research problems which the techniques are designed to solve, with the result that it has largely failed to confront, in any systematic way, the changing configuration of social power and social problems. In part, also, the absence of an alternative reflects the tendency of politically oriented social criticism to take up issues in isolation, or to indulge in generalization divorced from serious research, or, too often, to reiterate doctrinaire preconceptions.

Nevertheless, post-war research and experience have resulted in a growing fund of knowledge on which a new and solid intellectual basis for a movement of social reform can be built. This knowledge is scattered among many people on the staffs of universities, unions, government and other organizations. If those among them with genuine competence and concern join in a sustained and coordinated effort of the kind this project is intended to be, it may at last be possible to overcome the intellectual sterility of the democratic left.

Any attempt to lay down a particular ideological orientation

for this project would be inappropriate since the very purpose is to work out new approaches. It is, accordingly, perhaps enough to say that only those who reject both the pseudo-solutions to social problems imposed by totalitarian power, on the one hand, and the sacrifice of human needs and possibilities to the alleged imperatives of a business civilization, on the other hand, are likely to be interested in this project, or to make a useful contribution.

The League for Industrial Democracy has agreed to sponsor the project and is providing it with administrative and clerical assistance. The project committees, however, have complete autonomy with respect to their agendas, personnel and publication policy. The project is getting under way on the basis of favorable responses from a substantial number of people in the Northeast who have agreed to participate. As this is written, three committees are being set up, others are in the planning stage and inquiries are being sent out to prospective participants over a wider area. As the project takes shape, efforts will be extended to recruit participants and set up committees throughout the nation.

LID WORKSHOP COMMITTEE

Martin Fleisher, Politicial Science, Brooklyn College
Julian Franklin, Public Law & Govt., Columbia Univ.
Andrew Martin, Public Law & Govt., Columbia Univ.
Elliott Zupnick, Dept. of Econ., City College of N. Y.

file

# THE POLITICAL NECESSITIES OF ABUNDANCE

Extracts from paper prepared for the Georgetown Conference on Poverty-in-Plenty.

Robert Theobald

Cross index

We are entering a new socio-economic system. Its requirements are as different from those of the industrial age as those of the industrial age were different from the agricultural. In the agricultural age, human skill combined with human and animal power in a system which provided a minimal standard of living for the vast majority of the people and a leisured existence for a small elite. In the industrial age, which we are now leaving, human skills were combined with machine power to provide great wealth for a few, a reasonable standard of living for most and abject poverty for those unable to find a place within the productive system. Today the cybernation productive system is emerging - a new innovation in productive techniques and organization based on machine power and machine skill -- i.e. automated machinery and the computer.

It is generally agreed that the labels "conservatism" and "liberalism" denote opposites and that these two political philosophies have very little in common. But from the new perspective of the era of cybernation and abundance the differences between these philosophies are seen as opposing opinions as to means and not goals. For the fundamental goal of both conservatives and liberals is the preservation of the outmoded industrial scarcity socio-economic system in an era of abundance. When the myth of scarce resources is accepted as reality, and the vast surpluses, both actual and potential, continue to be regarded as accidental bonuses or a temporary pile-up of production, the only possible disagreement is over the problem of what is to be done with these surpluses and the surplus people they create through unemployment.

Conservative businessmen say that the surpluses are a form of national insurance against scarcity and that they will be used in the economy when needed. In the same way, the more than four million people seeking work are a reassuring evidence of reserve potential in the economy in the form of a plentiful labor supply. Liberal thinkers, while agreeing that scarcity continues to be the fundamental threat to society and the economy, argue that the threat is a daily reality for too many people and that ways must be found to achieve a fairer distribution of resources so that the inevitable deprivations do not fall upon the unfortunate few. The principal liberal solution to the problem of the worker elbowed aside by automatic machinery is to push him back in through legislation. In addition, it is proposed that through the use of retraining schemes the worker should be pushed back in just as many times as he gets elbowed out. Similar ad hoc schemes are devised to cope with each mismatch between abundant production and a scarcity distribution system as it arises. All of these proposals would require legislation in order to become effective.

As a theoretical exercise it is possible to defend the contention that either of the two responses - conservative or liberal would be effective for the maintenance of a functioning economy for a period of years. The functioning of a scarcity economy is not too seriously impaired by the presence of material abundance. But neither response is adequate to solve the social and political problems posed by abundance.

Because both Conservatives and Liberals are still committed to operating within the existing industrial system, they have failed to grasp that the coming of cybernation outmodes it. Before the end of this decade, it will be cheaper and more effective to carry out the vast majority of repetitive physical and mental tasks with the aid of machines rather than men. At this point the industrial system will no longer function because the fundamental social and political requirements required for its continuance will no longer exist. Above all, the mechanism now used for distributing the right to resources will be totally inadequate.

Our present socio-economic system depends upon a very simple resource-distributing mechanism: in effect it is assumed that it is possible for the overwhelming proportion of those seeking jobs to find them and that the incomes received from these jobs will provide adequate funds to allow the job-holder to live with dignity. As a corollary, it is assumed that those having no value to the productive system are totally valueless: they are therefore only provided with a minimum income on a charity basis.

This distribution mechanism can only work satisfactorily if enough effective demand exists to use all the goods and services thus using the time and effort of all those who want to work. Measures to raise demand therefore receive ever-increasing priority. But the drive to provide enough demand to balance supply and so provide full employment must inevitably fail. It will fail because our present industrial system was not designed to distribute additional goods but to produce additional goods. Administration efforts to distribute additional resources outside the conventional consumption channels are regarded by many conservative Congressmen and interest groups as derogations from the proper guiding principles of an industrial age - the allocation of scarce resources and the encouragement of production. All proposed measures of this type are therefore subjected to intensive time-consuming criticism: if this process continues accumulation of pending legislation will inevitably cripple Congress - any Congress.

What evidence can be advanced to justify these statements? First, there is the evidence of the past. Despite all the efforts of the Administration, it has proved impossible to get the unemployment rate down below 5.5%. Even more serious, the teenage unemployment rate has continued to climb and now reaches 15% with the Negro unemployment rate double that for the total population. The improvement in educational levels continues to lag behind requirements. W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, has stated that the machines being produced today have, on the average, skills equivalent to a high school diploma. However, 30% of the students who must compete with these machines will not complete high school.

Second, there is the evidence of the present. The Administration will almost certainly obtain passage of the tax bill but the economic and social costs will be high, not only because the bill inbalances the tax structure by providing too much money to those already saving and not enough to those who would spend to meet their urgent needs but also because the justified and necessary rise in the federal budget has been given up as a political quid pro quo to ensure passage of the tax bill. The Administration will secure a short-lived filip for the economy at the cost of severe, and unnecessary, structural imbalances. The "unconditional war on poverty" cannot be held to compensate for these disadvantages - its funding is so limited that it cannot begin to deal with the historic disadvantages of the poor. This remains true even when the administrative and political necessity for a modest beginning is conceded.

Finally, there is the evidence of the future. We continue to deal with the problems of unemployment and poverty as though we could solve them once and for all: we ignore the fact that if the mechanisms of the industrial age are to be retained we will have to keep supply equal to demand not only this year and next but for ever. Today we have to absorb a $30 billion annual increase in production, this will rise to $40 billion by the end of the sixties, to $50 billion in the first half of the seventies and to $60 billion well before the end of the seventies. We would have to absorb a $150 billion annual increase in production by the end of the century. Even these figures are minimal for they make no allowance for a further rise in production which will result from the productivity increase due to cybernation.

Are we determined to absorb all the available material production whatever level this may reach? Or do we admit that there should be limits? Surely the sober contemplation of these figures must cause us to reject this quasi-reenactment of Huxley's Brave New World. If we are going to implement the concept of limits on production and consumption at some time in the future, we must examine the implications of this fact now, for it means that our children will grow up in a totally new era. We must make urgent efforts to understand the values and institutions which will be necessary in a world where incomes and jobs are not linked and where man can choose his interests freely.

The new society must be based on totally different mechanisms which will be effective in distributing rights to abundant resources. It is impossible to suggest their exact form but it is clear that one mechanism is essential. Every individual must be provided with an absolute constitutional right to an income adequate to allow him to live with dignity. No governmental agency, judicial body, or other organization whatsoever should have the power to suspend or limit any payments assured by this right.

A right to an income would be insufficient to guarantee human rights: society must also take an unlimited commitment to produce the conditions in which every individual can develop his full potential and, as a corollary, the individual must recognize that he bears the full responsibility for developing this potential. Acceptance of these commitments would make me highly optimistic for the long-run. I believe that we have so far only developed a small proportion of the potential of most human beings.

Absolute rights to enough resources to enable the individual to live with dignity and to allow the full development of the individual's capacities would allow him to develop his own pattern of meaningful activity. However, recognition of the validity of new patterns of meaningful activity would require a cybernation-age reinterpretation of the values of work and leisure. The nineteenth century concept of a man's life as a mere division between toil and respite from toil should be allowed to disappear along with the production-oriented factory organization which gave rise to such a curiously twisted version of the relationship between the individual and his society.

In the future, work will no longer be essentially a labor-payment to society but rather the full use of an individual's potential for the material benefit of his fellows and his own self-fulfillment. In the same way, leisure will no longer be time not spent in toiling but rather the full use of the individual's potential for the physical benefit of his fellows and his own recreation. The toiling machines which will produce the bulk of all goods and services need no income rights. Non-toiling men cannot now, and will not in the future, continue their creative process without a guaranteed income for their physical support and for their life-long process of education and training.

The long-run potential is immensely challenging. But we will never reach this desirable future state if we do not recognize that the upbringing and education of so much of the present population has limited their horizons so severely that they cannot benefit from the potential abundance which their own work has created. Society crippled these people in order to get them to produce efficiently. As their productive efforts are no longer required, society must not provide them with rights to adequate incomes but must also provide new types of activity which will give them a sense of satisfaction from their lives.

This can only be done through new types of organization. The provision of a guaranteed income sufficient to allow everybody to live with dignity will greatly simplify this necessary task, for workers will not have to be paid wages. We can anticipate the organization of what I have called "consentives," productive groups made up of individuals who come together on a voluntary basis. The goods produced by these consentives will not normally compete with the mass produced products available from cybernated firms: the consentive will produce the custom-designed goods which have been vanishing within the present economy.

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I spelled out the above thesis in my recent book Free Men and Free Markets. Since this time I have been assailed by liberals as, among other things, unrealistic. A couple of the milder comments by reviewers were: "Seldom have I encountered

a volume which is less closely affiliated to political and social reality" and "Suspended above the gravitational pull of the political world, it defies the ways of the workaday world like the Indian Rope trick."

The economists who made these remarks still accept the conventional view of political reality; it would appear that they are totally unaware of the underlying movements in the country. They do not understand that we cannot control rampant science and technology on the basis of an agricultural political system and an industrial economy. They have failed to see that the confused struggle by both conservatives and liberals to preserve a vanished world must inevitably result in a stalemate. Today, conservatives fear that the market is being hamstrung and the potential for complete government control is being installed. Liberals fear that the continuance of the laissez-faire tradition is allowing the activities of the large corporation to dominate the socio-economic system.

The conflict between the liberals and the conservatives means that Congress is incapable of dealing with the problems raised by science and technology at a time when effective decision-making is not only required by events but also demanded by social pressures. The civil rights groups which began their demands with a claim that they should be allowed to enter the existing socio-economic order are beginning to change their direction as they come to understand that economic policies designed for conditions of scarcity are no longer applicable when abundance exists, as it does in the United States. They are therefore beginning to understand that the sudden emergence of the era of abundance has made it impossible for today's underprivileged Negroes to become tomorrow's fully privileged and contributing citizens while any group of citizens remain mere spectators of the functioning economy and society.

The leaders of the civil rights groups have been demanding jobs as the way to improve the status of the Negro. They are now accepting that cybernation makes it impossible to provide enough jobs and it can therefore be expected that the groups they lead will turn to other avenues which may allow them to obtain a fair share of the nation's resources. Bayard Rustin, the Deputy Director of the March on Washington for Freedom and Jobs, has already stated that he anticipates that when it becomes clear that jobs cannot be provided, the Negroes will demand that totally new means be developed to provide them with incomes. He suggested that this evolution would take place in 1964.

The White power structure still fundamentally believes that the Negro demands can be contained without major change in the present system and without violence. This is politically, socially and psychologically naive; the Negroes will either receive their rights or they will fight for them. This latter alternative is unthinkable: the White power structure must therefore take steps to understand the deeply moral nature of the Negro demands and find ways to make rapid and meaningful progress. The members of the Civil Rights movement are actively seeking means to their own self-fulfillment and have expressed a willingness gladly to accept the full responsibilities of first-class citizenship not within the the present system but within the hoped-for America of the future where expressed ideals have become realities.

There is a crisis in the United States: its manifestations are unemployment, poverty and social unrest but its moving force is the thrust of technology as a total system which is remaking our socioeconomic system to fit its own needs and not our needs as human beings. It is conceivable that mankind will be destroyed as human beings by the dehumanizing impetus of oncoming technology. The thought that the United States is threatened by the final attainment of one of its most desired goals is repugnant to American thinking. However, many forces threaten to break loose during the sixties and have the potential to sweep us irresistably toward a type of society completely alien to our basic beliefs The outlines of the foreseeable future already cast their shadow on the present: we will need all the time we now have if we are to research and analyze the implications of abundance and make the necessary changes in our socio-economic system so that we can benefit from abundance rather than be destroyed by it.

The coming of abundance should liberate our ideas, hitherto painfully constricted by the necessity to economize scarce resources. In these circumstances, it is the practical man, pragmatically using recent historial evidence to argue for small adjustments to our present policies who is "unrealistic." The realistic observer has understood that there are, in effect, no limits to our present actions except those imposed by a failure of our imaginations and energy. Once we recognize the changed nature of the world in which we live, the required changes in our philosophy appear not only essential but also socially and morally desirable. I hope that our concern with the twin problems of unemployment and poverty at the start of 1964 mark the true beginnings of a drive toward the better and freer society which can be achieved within the Century not only in America but throughout the world.

Rap

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

## WIN JOB DRIVE AT BANK

Boston, Mass., April 9--A fair employment campaign against the First National Bank of Boston, during which national CORE wrote all its Massachusetts contributors urging them to withdraw their accounts, ended with an agreement with Boston CORE.

The bank hired 17 Negroes within a three-week period, accepted a broad program for recruitment of minority group employees and agreed to increase the range of positions to be held by Negroes.

The bank is the third with which Boston CORE has negotiated an agreement. More than 200 Negroes have secured bank jobs in the past year as a result of the project.

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## PHONE COMPANY AGREES ON FAIR EMPLOYMENT

Newark, N.J.--On the eve of a direct action campaign, the New Jersey Bell Telephone Co. and Newark-Essex CORE negotiated procedures for employment of non-whites in several job categories in the company's Essex Division.

Richard Proctor, Jr., chairman of the group's industrial relations committee, pointed out that while a substantial number of Negroes are hired as operators, there has been substantial discrimination in other job categories involving both men and women.

###

## HIRE FIRST NEGRO METER MAID

Des Moines, Ia.--This city will hire its first Negro meter maid on May 1 as a consequence of a campaign by Des Moines CORE which included letter-writing, appearances at City Council meetings and conferences with city officials. The new meter maid is Mrs. George Broadus. She had first applied for the job about a year ago.

###

KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

State Office Bldg. Topeka, Kansas
Phone CE 5-0011, Ext. 8011

SURVEY: Employment Practices in Topeka, 1956

One of the responsibilities given the Commission by the Kansas Legislature is, "To study the existence, character, cause and extent of discrimination in the state..." Although severely limited by its budget in carying out this charge the Commission has completed extensive studies of employment practices in two cities in our state. The results of these studies indicate that much needs to be done to provide the same employment and training opportunities for Negro and Mexican-American citizens as exist for white citizens.

The information which follows concerns the Commission's study of Topeka and came from interviews with family heads of 364 families: 142 majority group (white) 112 Negro and 110 Mexican-American. In addition interviews were held with 69 employers, selected to provide a cross-section of the basic types of business in Topeka.

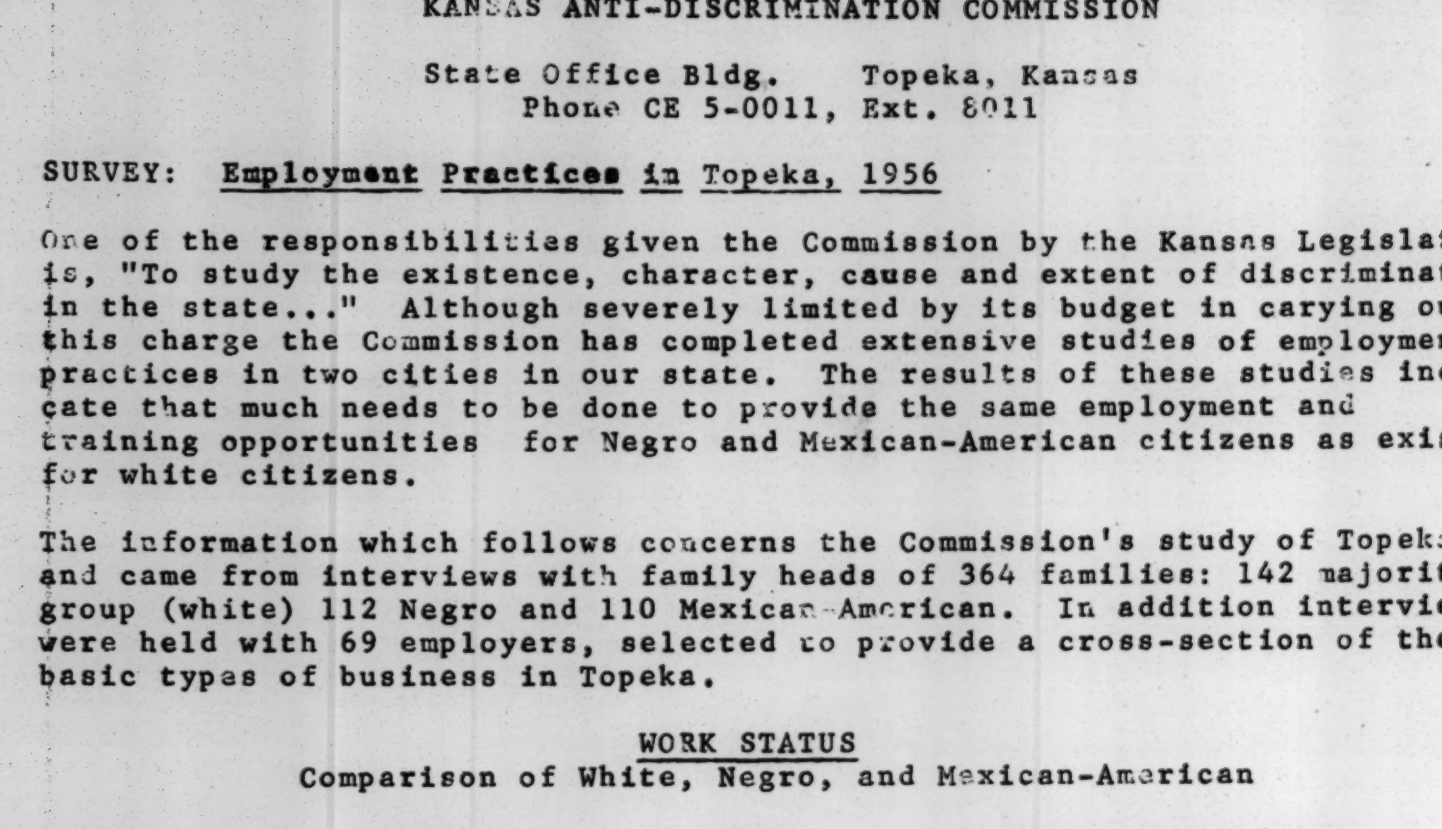
WORK STATUS I

Comparison of White, Negro, and Mexican-American

| Status | White No. | White % | Negro No. | Negro % | Mexican-American No. | Mexican-American % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self-Employed | 18 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| Wage-Earners | 106 | 75 | 84 | 75 | 103 | 93 |
| Unemployed | 5 | 3 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 4 |
| Retired | 11 | 8 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 2 |
| No Answer | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Total | 142 | 100 | 112 | 100 | 110 | 100 |

WHAT KINDS OF JOBS DO NEGROES AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN TOPEKA HAVE? HOW DO THEY COMPARE WITH WHITES?

II




* Negroes employed in predominately Negro Institutions (church, school, YMCA)

There were no Negroes or Mexican-Americans in sales positions. Four times as many whites as Negroes and Mexican-Americans are in skilled positions.

HOW MUCH DO NEGROES AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS EARN? HOW DO THEIR EARNINGS COMPARE WITH THOSE OF WHITE WORKERS?

Over half of the white workers make over $80 a week while less than 1/5 of the Negroes and Mexican-Americans make over $80. The following table compares hourly earnings of the three groups. Hourly earnings are used because they represent basic rates of pay, uncomplicated by differences in number of hours worked.

| HOURLY PAY | White Percent | Negro Percent | III Mexican-American Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| over $2.00 | 44 | 13 | 14 |
| 1.50 - 1.99 | 27 | 28 | *53 |
| 1.00 - 1.49 | 10 | 43 | 26 |
| Less than 1.00 | 6 | 14 | 7 |
| No Answer | **13 | 2 | 0 |

* Almost all Mexican-Americans interviewed worked for one employer and were employed under a union wage contract.

** The white workers who refused to give information about their wages were employed in professional and managerial occupations. It is reasonable to assume their hourly pay would be over $2.00 an hour.

As the table reveals, 44% of the white workers earn over $2.00 an hour as compared to only 13% of the Negro workers and 14% of the Mexican-American workers. Almost half of the Negroes earn less than $1.50 an hour, while only 1/10 of the white workers have similar earnings.

HOW MUCH EDUCATION HAVE NEGOES IN TOPEKA HAD? HOW DOES THIS COMPARE WITH THE EDUCATION OF WHITE WORKERS?

| EDUCATION | White Percent | Negro Percent | IV Mexican-American Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Some College | 20 | 20 | 3 |
| H.S. Completed | 31 | 25 | 10 |
| H.S. Incomplete | 20 | 22 | 18 |
| Elementary Only | 28 | 33 | 56 |
| No Schooling | 1 | 0 | 13 |

It is significant to note that in Topeka there is not much difference in the amount of formal education of Negro and white worker. 31% of the white workers and 25% of the Negro workers have completed high school. The same percentage (20%) have had some education beyond high school. The Mexican-Americans have less formal education than Negroes or whites.

Since education is considered an important factor in determining an individual's earning ability it is interesting to compare the amout of education of the Negro and white workers with the jobs they hold, as shown in Chart II. Of the jobs shown in Chart II, it is reasonable to assume that semi-skilled and unskilled labor and service occupations are the ones which require least education, and which would likely be filled by persons who have had only grammar school education.

81% of the Negroes are in these jobs, although only 33% of the Negroes have less than some high school education. On the other hand only 24% of the white workers are in such jobs, yet 29% have not gone beyond grammar school. From this it would appear that the types of jobs Negroes have is not entirely a result of their education, More Negroes, than would be expected on the basis of education, and fewer whites, than would be expected on the basis of education, are in relatively low skilled jobs. In other words, the Negro in Topeka, disregarding his education, finds most of his employment opportunity in the less skilled, lower paying and menial occupations.

We also found out what the minority group members think about their chances of employment in Topeka firms. This is important since these impressions, whether accurate or not, influence the types of jobs for which Negroes and Mexican-Americans prepare themselves and apply.

"DO YOU THINK THERE ARE SOME TYPES OF JOBS IN TOPEKA THAT NEGROES (MEXICAN-AMERICANS) CAN'T GET, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE QUALIFIED?"

V

| | Negro | | Mexican-American | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | % | No. | % |
| Believe some jobs closed to their group | 106 | 95 | 84 | 76 |
| Believe jobs filled on basis of merit | 6 | 5 | 16 | 15 |
| Don't know | 0 | 0 | 10 | 9 |
| No Answer | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 112 | 100 | 110 | 100 |

A very large percentage of both minority group members said they believed there were firms in Topeka which did not hire Negroes and Mexican-Americans for jobs for which they are qualified. Two firms in particular were mentioned with greater frequency than all other firms combined! This widespread belief on the part of minority group members that they will not be hired for certain jobs is perhaps one important reason why, as employers reported, few Negroes and Mexican-Americans have applied for clerical and white collar jobs.

More information is available on the Topeka survey, but enough has been given to indicate that Negroes and Mexican-Americans do not have equality of employment opportunity in our Capital city. This presents a real challenge to the Anti-Discrimination Commission, Employers, and labor unions to see that the State's non-discrimination policy is complied with and that every qualified worker is given an equal chance for a job, regardless of the color of his skin.

HOWARD W. BREWER
Wichita
WADE R. COFFEY
Winfield
REV. I. H. HENDERSON
Kansas City
JESSE RODRIGUEZ
Dodge City

STATE OF KANSAS
JOHN ANDERSON, JR., GOVERNOR

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
STATE OFFICE BUILDING TOPEKA, KANSAS
PHONE CE 5-0011, EXT. 5011

CARL W. GLATT
Executive Director
ERNEST RUSSELL
Educational Director
HOMER C. FLOYD
Field Representative
NORMA J. HODISON
Secretary

December 8, 1961

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

# OF THE

# KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

COPIES OF THESE RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE PROCEDURES OF THE KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS ARE AVAILABLE UPON REQUEST TO THE COMMISSION'S OFFICE. BECAUSE OF COST, THE COMMISSION ASKES THAT EMPLOYERS AND ORGANIZATIONS HAVING A BONAFIDE NEED FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THESE RULES AND REGULATIONS MAKE A VERY CAREFUL ESTIMATE OF THEIR NEED TO ASSIST THE COMMISSION TO AVOID WASTE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THIS ITEM.

STATE OF KANSAS

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Pursuant to Section 4, subsection 3, of Chapter 248 of 1961 Sessions Laws, entitled Kansas Act Against Discrimination, effective July 1, 1961, the Commission on Civil Rights hereby rescinds the previous Rules and Procedures of the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission (Rules 21-1 through 21-4 inclusive) heretofore established, adopted and promulgated and establishes, adopts and promulgates the annexed Rules and Regulations to carry out the provisions of this Act, and the policies and practices of the Commission in connection therewith.

THIS ORDER shall become effective on December 8, 1961

Date December 5, 1961 Signed Howard A. Brown

Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights

Filed in the office of the Kansas Revisor of Statutes

on this 8th day of December, 1961.

Signed Franklin Corrick

Kansas Revisor of Statutes

STATE OF KANSAS

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

ARTICLE I DEFINITIONS

21-1-1 to 21-1-10 (Authorized by Chapter 44, Article 10, 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes. Compiled August 15, 1955.) Revoked December 8, 1961.

ARTICLE II COMPLAINTS

21-2-1 to 21-2-4 (Authorized by Chapter 44, Article 10, 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes. Compiled August 15, 1955.) Revoked December 8, 1961.

ARTICLE III PROCEDURE

21-3-1 to 21-3-4 (Authorized by Chapter 44, Article 10, 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes. Compiled August 15, 1955.) Revoked December 8, 1961.

ARTICLE IV AMENDMENTS

21-4-1 (Authorized by Chapter 44, Article 10, 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes. Compiled August 15, 1955.) Revoked December 8, 1961.

KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Rules and Regulations

The following rules and regulations shall constitute the practice and procedure and shall govern all parties in cases before the Commission on Civil Rights.

## ARTICLE V

## DEFINITIONS

When used in these Rules and Regulations:

21-5-1 The term "person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, organizations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-2 The term "employer" includes any person in this state employing eight (8) or more persons, and any person acting directly or indirectly for an employer as herein defined, and labor organizations, nonsectarian corporations, and organizations engaged in social service work, and the state of Kansas and all political and municipal subdivisions thereof including school districts and educational institutions, but shall not include a nonprofit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, or sectarian association or corporation. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-3 The term "employee" does not include any individual employed by his parents, spouse, or child, or in the domestic service of any person. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-4 The term "labor organization" includes any organization which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment, or of other mutual aid or protection in relation to employment. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-5 The term "employment agency" includes any person or governmental agency undertaking with or without compensation to procure opportunities to work, or to procure, recruit, refer, or place employees. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-6 The term "commission" shall mean the Commission on Civil Rights created and amended by this act. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-7 The term "unlawful employment practices" includes only those unlawful practices and acts specified in section 5 of this act, and includes segregate or separate. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-8 The term "Commissioner" shall mean one of the duly appointed members of the Commission on Civil Rights. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-9 The term "Chairman" shall mean the chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights duly designated by the Governor pursuant to Section 3 of this Act, or, in the event of his absence, the Acting Chairman designated by the remaining members of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-10 The term "Investigating Commissioner" shall mean the Commissioner duly designated by the Commission to make investigation of a verified complaint filed with this Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-11 The term "Hearing Commissioners" shall mean the Commissioners designated by the Chairman to conduct a hearing. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-12 The term "Commission's Attorney" shall mean the attorney appointed by the Commission to assist it to carry out the provisions of this Act, subject to approval by the Attorney General. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-13 The term "Executive Director" shall mean the Executive Director employed by the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-14 The term "complaint" shall mean a written statement made under oath and filed with the Commission alleging an unlawful employment practice within the meaning of this Act. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-15 The term "complainant" shall mean any person filing a complaint with the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-16 The term "respondent" shall mean any person against whom a complaint has been filed alleging an unlawful employment practice within the meaning of this Act. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-17 The term "party" or "parties" shall mean the complainant and/or the respondent. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-5-18 The term "Act" shall mean the Kansas Act Against Discrimination. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE VI

## COMPLAINTS

21-6-1 WHO MAY FILE:

a. Any person claiming to be aggrieved by an alleged unlawful employment practice may, by himself or by his attorney-at-law, make, sign, and file with the Commission a verified complaint in writing. Assistance in drafting and filing complaints shall be available to complainants at the Commission offices or through the Commission and its professional staff.

b. The Attorney General may, in like manner, make, sign, and file such complaint.

c. Any employer whose employees, or some of whom, refuse or threaten to refuse to cooperate with the provisions of this Act, may file with the commission a verified complaint asking for assistance by conciliation or other remedial action.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-2 FORM:
The complaint shall be in writing, the original and four copies being signed by the complainant and verified before a notary public or other person duly authorized by law to administer oaths and take acknowledgements. The complaint, where feasible, shall be on forms prepared by the Commission, blanks of which shall be supplied by the Commission upon request. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-3 CONTENTS:
A complaint shall contain the following:

a. The full name and address of the complainant.
b. The full name and address of the respondent.
c. The alleged unlawful employment practice and a statement of the particulars thereof.
d. The date or dates of the alleged unlawful employment practice, and if the alleged unlawful employment practice is of a continuing nature, the dates between which said continuing acts of discrimination are alleged to have occurred.
e. A statement as to any other action instituted in any other forum based on the same grievance as is alleged in the complaint, together with a statement as to the status or disposition of such other action.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-4 PLACE OF FILING:
A complaint shall be filed with the Commission at its office in Topeka. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-5 TIME OF FILING:
The complaint must be filed within six (6) months after the date of the occurrence of the alleged

unlawful employment practice. If the alleged unlawful employment practice is of a continuing nature, the date of the occurrence of said unlawful employment practice shall be deemed to be any date subsequent to the commencement of the unlawful employment practice up to and including the date upon which the unlawful employment practice shall have ceased. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-6 MANNER OF FILING:
The complaint may be filed by personal delivery, ordinary mail, or registered mail, addressed to the Commission's office. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-7 COMPLAINT FORMS:
Complaint forms may be obtained at the office of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-8 AMENDMENT:
The Commission or the complainant shall have the power reasonably and fairly to amend the complaint as a matter of right at any time before hearing thereon, and thereafter at the discretion of the Hearing Commissioners. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec.4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-6-9 WITHDRAWAL:
A complaint may be withdrawn at any time by the complainant. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE VII

## INVESTIGATION AND CONCILIATION

21-7-1 INVESTIGATION:
After the filing of a complaint the Chairman shall designate one of the Commissioners as Investigating Commissioner to make, with the assistance of the Executive Director and the Commission's staff, a prompt investigation of the allegations of the complaint. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1044, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-7-2 DISMISSAL:

a. If after investigation of the complaint the Investigating Commissioner as assisted by the Executive Director and the Commission's staff, determines no probable cause exists to credit the allegations of the complaint, he shall, within ten (10) days from such determination, cause to be served upon the complainant written notice of such determination and dismissal of the complaint.

b. The respondent, likewise, shall be served a written notice of such determination and dismissal of the complaint.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-7-3 CONFERENCE AND CONCILIATION:

a. If the Investigating Commissioner finds that probable cause exists for crediting the allegations of the complaint, he shall, assisted by the Executive Director and the Commission's staff, immediately endeavor to eliminate the unlawful employment practice by conference and conciliation.

b. Before commencing such conference and conciliation, the Investigating Commissioner shall instruct the Executive Director to enter into the record of the case progress a statement that formal conference and conciliation procedures are to be commenced based on the finding of probable cause.

c. The members of the Commission and its staff shall not disclose what has transpired in the course of such endeavors at conference and conciliation.

d. If the Investigating Commissioner, assisted by the Executive Director and the Commission's staff, shall succeed in endeavors under conference and conciliation, the case shall be closed as a satisfactory adjustment and the parties shall be notified by registered mail, return receipt requested of the terms of the adjustment.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE VIII

## NOTICE OF HEARING

21-8-1 WHEN HEARING ORDERED:
In case of failure to eliminate the unlawful employment practice by conference and conciliation, or in advance thereof, if in the judgement of the Investigating Commissioner or the Commission circumstances so warrant, the Investigating Commissioner or the Commission shall cause to be issued and served in the name of the Commission a written notice of hearing, together with a copy of the verified complaint, as the same may have amended. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-8-2 NOTICE OF HEARING:

a. The written notice of hearing shall state the time and place of hearing which shall be not less than ten (10) days after the service of such notice, and shall require the respondent to answer the charges of such complaint at this hearing. The notice shall inform the respondent that he may file written answer to the complaint and that a failure to answer shall be deemed an admission of the allegations of the complaint. The notice of hearing and verified copy of the complaint, as the same may have been amended, shall be served by registered mail, return receipt requested, or by personal service on all parties. If an attorney has previously appeared on behalf of a party, a copy of the notice of hearing and complaint, as the same may have been amended, shall be furnished to said attorney.

b. The place of such hearing shall be in the county where respondent is doing business and the acts complained of occurred.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE IX

## ANSWER

21-9-1 TIME OF FILING:
The respondent against whom a verified complaint, as the same may have been amended, is filed and on

whom a notice of hearing and a copy of such complaint has been served, may file a written verified answer in person or through an attorney-at-law within ten (10) days from the service of such complaint and notice of hearing. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-2 PLACE AND MANNER OF FILING:
The answer must be filed in triplicate at the office of the Commission. The filing shall be by personal delivery or by registered mail, return receipt requested. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-3 EXTENSION OF TIME FOR FILING:
Upon application the Chairman may for good cause shown extend the time within which the answer may be filed. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-4 FORM OF ANSWER:
The answer shall contain a general or specific denial of each and every allegation of the complaint controverted by the respondent or a denial of any knowledge or information thereof sufficient to form a belief and a statement of any matter constituting a defense. The answer shall contain the post office address of the respondent, and if he is represented by an attorney, the name and post office address of said attorney. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-5 FAILURE TO DENY OR ADMIT:
Any allegation in the complaint which is not denied or admitted in the answer, unless the respondent shall state in the answer that he is without knowledge or information sufficient to form a belief, shall be deemed admitted. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-6 AMENDMENT OF ANSWER:
The answer or any part thereof may be amended as a matter of right at any time before the first hearing and thereafter in the discretion of the Hearing Commissioners on application duly made therefor. An original with two copies of the amended answer shall be filed with the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-7 AMENDMENT OF ANSWER UPON AMENDMENT OF COMPLAINT: In any case where a complaint has been amended, the respondent shall have an opportunity to amend his answer within such period as may be fixed by the Hearing Commissioners, and the hearing shall be postponed to a date at least 15 days after the filing of such amended complaint. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-8 SERVICE OF ANSWER: The Commission shall, within 10 days after the date of the filing of an answer or amended answer, but in any case not less than 3 days before the date set for hearing, serve a copy of such answer or amended answer on the complainant at his last known address. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-9 FAILURE TO FILE ANSWER: The Hearing Commissioners may proceed, notwithstanding any failure of the respondent to file an answer within the time provided herein, to hold a hearing at the time and place specified in the notice of hearing and may make its findings of fact and enter its order upon the testimony taken at the hearing. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-9-10 OPENING OF DEFAULT: Upon application the Chairman may for good cause shown open a default in answering. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE X

## HEARINGS

21-10-1 APPEARANCES:

a. The complainant shall appear at the hearing in person, with or without counsel, and submit testimony.

b. The respondent may appear at the hearing in person or by counsel and may submit oral testimony and other evidence.

c. In the discretion of the Hearing Commissioner, any other person may be allowed to intervene, in person or by counsel, for such purposes and to such extent as the Hearing Commissioners shall determine. Provided such person makes application to intervene at least ten (10) days before the hearing.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-2 WHO SHALL CONDUCT:

a. Hearings shall be conducted by three Commissioners designated by the Chairman, one of whom shall be designated as presiding member by the Chairman.

b. The Investigating Commissioner shall not be designated as Hearing Commissioner, and shall not participate in the hearing except as a witness, nor shall he participate in the deliberations of the Commission in such case.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8. 1961.)

21-10-3 PLACE OF HEARING:

Hearings shall be held in the county where respondent is doing business and where the acts complained of occurred at a place designated by the Chairman of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-4 PROCEDURE OF HEARING:

a. The case in support of the complaint shall be presented before the Commission by one of its attorneys or agents, or by private counsel, if any, of the complainant.

b. The Commission shall be bound by the rules of evidence prevailing in courts of law or equity, and only relevant evidence of reasonable probative value shall be received. Reasonable examination and cross-examination shall be permitted.

c. The Hearing Commissioners shall have full authority to control the procedure of the hearing, to admit or exclude testimony or other evidence, and to rule upon all motions and objections.

d. All rulings and determinations of the Hearing Commissioners shall be by majority rule.

e. The Hearing Commissioners may call and examine witnesses, direct the production of papers or other matter present in the hearing room, and introduce documentary or other evidence.

f. All testimony taken at the hearing shall be under oath and be transcribed and filed with the Commission.

g. No testimony or evidence shall be given or received at any hearing concerning endeavors at conciliation.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-5 STIPULATIONS:
Written stipulations may be introduced in evidence, if signed by the persons sought to be bound thereby, or by their attorneys. Oral stipulations may be made on the record at open hearings. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-6 CONTINUATION AND ADJOURNMENTS:
The Hearing Commissioners may continue a hearing from day to day or adjourn it to a later date or to a different place by announcement thereof at the hearing or by appropriate notice to all parties. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-7 MOTIONS AND OBJECTIONS:
Motions made during a hearing and objections with respect to the conduct of a hearing, including objections to the introduction of evidence, shall be stated orally and shall be included in the stenographic report of the hearings. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-8 ORAL ARGUMENTS AND BRIEFS:
The Hearing Commissioners shall permit the parties to submit oral arguments before them and to file briefs within such time limits as the Hearing Commissioners may determine. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-9 IMPROPER CONDUCT:
The Hearing Commissioners may exclude from the hearing room or from further participation in the proceedings any person who engages in improper conduct before them. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-10 RIGHTS OF PARTIES AT HEARINGS:
All parties to a hearing may call, examine and cross examine witnesses and introduce papers, documents or other evidence into the record of the proceedings, subject to the ruling of the Hearing Commissioners. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-10-11 PUBLIC HEARINGS:
Hearings shall be public. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XI

## WRITTEN TRANSCRIPT OF THE RECORD

21-11-1 The written transcript of the record of the proceedings before the Commission shall consist of the complaint and the amended complaint, if any, notices of hearing, written applications, stipulations, motions, orders, stenographic transcript of the record on the hearing, exhibits, depositions, motion for re-hearing, the final order, and along with the final order any modifications thereof. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XII

## DEPOSITIONS

21-12-1 The Commission or any member thereof on its or his own motion or on the application of one of the parties, shall, whenever necessary, and on such terms and conditions as it or he may determine, take or cause to be taken depositions of witnesses residing within or without the state. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XIII

## ORDERS

21-13-1 CONTENTS OF ORDER:
An order of the Commission issued after a hearing

shall set forth the findings of fact of the Hearing Commissioners, their decision, and, in their discretion, an opinion containing the reasons for said decision. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-13-2 ISSUANCE OF ORDERS:
If, upon all the evidence in the hearing, the Commission shall find a respondent has engaged in or is engaging in any unlawful employment practice as defined in this Act, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such respondent an order requiring such respondent to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice and to take such affirmative or other action, including the hiring, reinstatement with or without back pay, or upgrading of employees, admission or restoration to membership in any respondent labor organization, as, in the judgement of the Commission, will effectuate the purposes of this Act, and including a requirement for report of the manner of compliance. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-13-3 ISSUANCE OF DISMISSAL:
If, upon all the evidence, the Commission shall find that a respondent has not engaged in any such unlawful employment practice, the Commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on the complainant an order dismissing the said complaint as to such respondent. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-13-4 DECISIONS BY HEARING COMMISSIONERS:
The decisions of the Hearing Commissioners shall be by majority vote. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-13-5 SERVICE OF ORDERS:
a. Copies of orders shall be delivered in all cases by the Commission to the complainant, respondent, Attorney General, and to such other public officers as the Commission may deem proper.
b. Copies of orders shall be sent registered mail, return receipt requested, accompanied by a notice of the statutory right to judicial review.
(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-13-6 FILING OF ORDERS:
All orders rendered after a hearing shall be filed at the office of the Commission and shall be open to public inspection during regular office hours of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec.4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XIV

## REHEARING

21-14-1 Any party being dissatisfied with any order or decision of the Commission may, within ten (10) days from the date of the service of such order or decision, apply for a rehearing in respect to any matter determined therein; the application shall be granted or denied by the Commission within ten (10) days from the date same shall be filed, and if the rehearing be not granted within ten (10) days it shall be taken as denied. If a rehearing be granted the matter shall be determined by the Commission within thirty (30) days after the same shall be submitted. No cause of action arising out of any order or decision of the Commission shall accrue in any court to any party unless such party shall make application for a rehearing as herein provided. Such application shall set forth specifically the ground or grounds on which the applicant considers such order or decision to be unlawful or unreasonable. No party shall, in any court, urge or rely upon any ground not set forth in said application. An order made after a rehearing abrogating, changing or modifying the original order or decision shall have the same force and effect as an original order or decision. Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XV

## CERTIFICATION

21-15-1 The Chairman or such other person as may be designated by the Commission is authorized to certify all documents or records which are a part of the files and records of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XVI

## ENFORCEMENT AND JUDICIAL REVIEW

21-16-1 WHO MAY APPLY:

a. The Attorney General or County Attorney, at the request of the Commission, may secure enforcement of the order of the Commission by the district court of the county where the unlawful employment practice shall have occurred or where any person required in the order to cease and desist from an unlawful employment practice or to take any affirmative action resides or transacts business, through mandamus or injunction in appropriate cases, or by action to compel the specific performance of the order.

b. The Attorney General, County Attorney or any person aggrieved by an order made by the Commission may obtain judicial review thereof in the said court by filing with the clerk of said court within thirty (30) days from the date of service of the order, a written appeal praying that such order be modified or set aside.

(Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-16-2 COPY OF TESTIMONY AVAILABLE TO PARTIES:
The Commission's copy of the testimony shall be available at all reasonable times to all parties for examination without cost, and for the purpose of enforcement or judicial review of the order. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-16-3 PROCEDURE:
The procedure on appeal from an order of the Commission shall be in accordance with that spelled out in Section 8 of this Act. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-16-4 FINAL APPEAL:
The jurisdiction of the district court of the proper county as aforesaid shall be exclusive and its final order or decree shall be subject to review by the supreme court as in other cases upon appeal within thirty (30) days of the filing of such decision. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XVII

## AMENDMENT OF REGULATIONS

21-17-1 New rules and regulations may be adopted and any rule or regulation may be amended or rescinded by the Commission at a regular or special meeting, provided that at least a quorum of 3 Commissioners are present and notice of the proposed adoption, amendment or rescission has been given to all members of the Commission at least 72 hours before the meeting at which action is to be taken. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XVIII

## AVAILABILITY OF REGULATIONS

21-18-1 The rules and regulations of the Commission shall be available to the public at the office of the Commission and upon request. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

21-18-2 The rules and regulations of the Commission are filed pursuant to law with the Kansas Revisor of Statutes. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

## ARTICLE XIX

## CONSTRUCTION

21-19-1 These rules and regulations shall be liberally construed to accomplish the purposes of the Act and the policies of the Commission. (Authorized by G.S. 1959 Supp., 44-1004, as amended by L 1961, Ch. 248, Sec. 4; effective December 8, 1961.)

#####

# 1961 report of progress

KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

State Office Building

Topeka, Kansas

LEONARD H. STRAUSS, Chairman
Kansas City
HOWARD W. BREWER
Wichita
WADE R. COFFEY
Winfield
REV. I. H. HENDERSON
Kansas City
JESSE RODRIGUEZ
Dodge City

STATE OF KANSAS
JOHN ANDERSON, JR., GOVERNOR

CARL W. GLATT
Executive Secretary
ERNEST RUSSELL
Educational Director
NORMA J. HODISON
Secretary

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

STATE OFFICE BUILDING TOPEKA, KANSAS
PHONE CE 5-0011, Ext. 5011

June 30, 1961

The Honorable John Anderson, Jr., Governor,
and Honorable Members of the Kansas Legislature,
State of Kansas.

Sirs:

In accordance with Article 10, Chapter 44 of the 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes, we have the distinct honor to submit the following report of the activities, accomplishments and recommendations of the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission from July 1, 1960 to June 30, 1961.

Respectfully,

Chairman

Commissioner

Commissioner

Commissioner

Commissioner

## COMMISSION MEMBERS

| | Term expires |
|---|---|
| Mr. Leonard H. Strauss, *Chairman*<br>Kansas City | July 10, 1961 |
| Mr. Howard W. Brewer<br>Wichita | July 10, 1963 |
| Mr. Wade R. Coffey<br>Winfield | July 10, 1964 |
| Rev. I. H. Henderson<br>Kansas City | July 10, 1962 |
| Mr. Jesse Rodriguez<br>Dodge City | July 10, 1961 |

## STAFF

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Carl W. Glatt | Executive Director * |
| Mr. Ernest Russell | Educational Director |
| Mr. Homer C. Floyd<br>(Appointment July 1, 1961) | Field Representative |
| Mrs. Norma Jean Hodison | Secretary |
| Miss Donice I. Fajen<br>(Appointment July 1, 1961) | Stenographer |

* Title change July 1, 1961.

## PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION

Section 1 of the Kansas Act Against Discrimination (Chapter 44, Article 10, 1953 Supplement to the General Statutes) declared it to be the public policy of the state of Kansas to eliminate discrimination in all employment relations. It further declared that the opportunity to secure and to hold employment without discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a civil right. To protect this right the law provided for the establishment of the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Basically the Commission's job is to help the state effectuate its policy against employment discrimination. To accomplish this objective the Commission undertakes two major duties:

*a.* To develop a broad range educational program designed to prevent and eliminate discrimination in employment against persons because of race, color, religion or national origin.

*b.* To receive, investigate and resolve complaints alleging discrimination in employment against persons because of race, color, religion or national origin.

## COMMISSION AND STAFF

The Commission is composed of five members, appointed by the Governor, representing employers, labor, and the general public. It is inter-racial and nonpartisan. The Commissioners serve without pay.

The staff in fiscal year 1961 consisted of Mr. Carl W. Glatt, Executive Secretary, Mr. Ernest Russell, Educational Director, and Mrs. Norma J. Hodison, Secretary. The 1961 legislature expanded the staff to include Mr. Homer C. Floyd, Field Representative, and Miss Donice I. Fajen, Stenographer. The title of Executive Secretary was changed to Executive Director, with Mr. Glatt continuing in that position.

## COMMISSION'S BUDGET

Budget appropriations for fiscal year 1961 provided $33,093 for Commission operations of which $30,134 was spent for actual operations. The largest item accounting for the unexpended funds was the failure of the Commission to obtain an outside resource to conduct a survey of employment practices for which $2,000 had been appropriated to the 1961 budget. None of the colleges or universities in industrial areas which the Commission contacted were available to undertake such a research project, so the funds

allocated for this purpose were returned to the state as unexpended balances. The additional unexpended funds resulted when actual travel on Commission business for the Executive Secretary did not reach original estimates because more of that official's time had to be spent on administrative office duties. Some of the educational program had to be curtailed for similar reasons and the Commission returned monies not spent for these purposes as unexpended balances.

For fiscal year 1962, the legislature appropriated $47,033 to provide for the additional staff and the increased operating responsibilities under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination.

## LEGISLATION

Concurrent Resolution No. 25 in the 1959 Kansas Legislature called upon the Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council to conduct a study of discrimination in employment, public accommodations, and housing, and to study also the effectiveness and needs of the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission. On November 7, 1960, as part of this study concerned with Proposal No. 7—Civil Rights, Chairman Charles S. Arthur and Senator Laurin W. Jones of the Committee on Federal, State, and Local Government reported the results of their study trip to the Twelfth Annual Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination at North Falmouth, Massachusetts, on June 12, 1960. Chairman Arthur and Senator Jones reported also of their visits with industrialists and the state anti-discrimination commissions in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island. The "Arthur Report" recommended enforceable fair employment legislation for Kansas as being necessary if the state government hoped to eliminate discrimination in all employment relationships based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry.

House bill No. 243 was the outcome of Proposal No. 7—Civil Rights. It had the backing of Governor John Anderson, Jr., and was supported in hearings before the House Committee on State Affairs by representatives from twelve civic and religious organizations. The bill had supporters among the thirty organizations affiliated with the Kansas Conference on Civil Rights which has sponsored and supported progress in civil rights at the three annual Kansas Conferences on Civil Rights. House bill No. 243 passed the House with a vote of 104 to 1, and after amendments by the Senate Committee on Federal and State Affairs it passed in the Senate 34 to 0.

The 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, effective July 1, 1961, is an enforceable fair employment practices law applying to employers of eight or more persons, employment agencies, labor unions, and the state of Kansas and all political and municipal subdivisions thereof. It fulfills the recommendations of the Commission as presented in the 1960 Annual Report by providing:

*a.* A clause protecting a complainant, or any witness relative to a complaint, from reprisal,

*b.* The power to hold public hearings when conciliation efforts have failed and to issue cease and desist orders with court enforcement and judicial review provided by the Act,

*c.* For additional professional and office staff to administer the Commission's increased responsibilities under the new Act.

The Commission's name was changed, as it had recommended, to the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights, and school districts and educational institutions were no longer excepted from the jurisdiction of the Act. The legislature did not grant subpoena powers to the Commission but this may not necessarily be a handicap because in any court enforcement proceedings the court itself would very likely subpoena records necessary to its determination of the facts of the matter.

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The Commission's educational program is the most important part of its work. From July 1, 1960, to June 30, 1961, the Executive Secretary and the Educational Director served as principal speakers or panelists at ninety-nine engagements attended by 5,761 persons throughout the state of Kansas. The Executive Secretary demonstrated the "Rotating Trapezoid" on an additional twenty-nine engagements before 1,855 persons. These two professional staff members served a total of seventy-five times as consultants or as participants on human relations programs or to organizations and individuals interested in promoting good human relations in Kansas. During the 1961 Legislative session, the Executive Secretary was on call and did confer with legislators on many occasions to answer questions concerning the proposed fair employment legislation.

Commission educational films were supplied at no charge for the programs of eighty-nine groups and were seen by 4,210 persons. Two films, "The New Girl" and "The Burden of Truth" were utilized most often (30 and 19 times, respectively), but a new film, "A Morning for Jimmy," purchased in the spring of 1961 was

utilized 22 times and seen by 1,229 persons and seems likely to prove the most popular and valuable of the human relations films available from the Commission. Through the courtesy of and as a service to the public by KAKE-TV, Wichita, KTVC-TV, Ensign, and KAYS-TV, Hays, "The New Girl" was seen by a large television audience at prime viewing time in western and mid-western Kansas.

The above speaking, consultant, and film services were rendered to organizations grouped as follows:

| | Speaker-consultant services and "Rotating Trapezoid" | Films |
|---|---|---|
| Human relations groups | 85 | 25 |
| Church groups | 39 | 36 |
| Schools and colleges | 23 | 15 |
| Business, labor and civic groups | 56 | 13 |
| | 203 | 89 |

The Outdoor Advertising Association of Kansas displayed the Commission's human relations billboard poster at 150 locations throughout the state, making the space available as a public service at no charge to the Commission. The Commission had hoped to repeat this poster campaign in fiscal year 1962 but its entire budget request was not granted and this educational-public relations item will have to be curtailed.

Educational Director Ernest Russell arranged for a sequence of four human relations car cards bearing the Commission's message and address to be displayed in 350 busses in Junction City, Kansas City, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Salina, Topeka, Wichita, and Winfield. It was planned to continue this valuable car card educational campaign but the organization which supplied these cards at cost, the Institute for American Democracy, no longer will produce the car cards and the Commission may have to forego this program because of the high cost of obtaining cards from other sources.

Commission spot announcements with human relations messages were supplied to and were utilized by 67 Kansas radio and television stations as a service to the public. The Commission plans to continue these spot announcements on radio and on television during the coming year. The Executive Secretary appeared on a formal program with Dr. Harry Levinson of the Menninger Foun-

dation on WIBW, Topeka, and on several occasions during the legislative sessions he commented briefly for radio and television on the merits of the proposed fair employment legislation.

Commission distribution of human relations material continued to be another major factor of its educational program. Five thousand copies of its annual report "1960 Report of Progress" were distributed. One pamphlet prepared by the Commission, the speech of Martha Douglas at the Second Annual Kansas Conference on Civil Rights entitled "A Positive Program for Merit Employment," had a distribution of 5,000 with requests continuing to be received for this very worthwhile educational item. In addition, the Commission purchased and distributed materials originating from other human relations resources, most significant of which were "The Gentle People of Prejudice," "Who Chooses the People You Know?," "Prejudice: Effects on Children," and "Prejudice and Society." All materials are free and available to organizations and individuals upon request. The bi-monthly newsletter, *The Reflector*, has been so well received that its mailing list has expanded from 2,500 to 4,000 in the past year. Requests for additional copies and to be put on the mailing list for *The Reflector* continue at a regular rate to indicate this little paper and the work of the Commission is appreciated.

Educational Director Ernest Russell attended the Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials at Cincinnati in November, 1960, and the Executive Secretary represented the Commission at the Thirteenth Annual Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination at St. Clair, Michigan, in June, 1961. The purpose of these attendances was to keep the Kansas Commission and its staff informed of the latest developments in the field of civil rights. New knowledge and techniques obtained from these conferences will prove helpful to the Commission's educational and compliance program.

The Commission's Executive Secretary served as Conference Chairman in again organizing the Third Annual Kansas Conference on Civil Rights which 150 persons attended on May 13, 1961, at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas. The Conference theme, "Co-operation: Key to Fair Employment," was topical in the light of the passage of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, and the Executive Secretary, pinch-hitting for Mrs. Mildred H. Mahoney, Chairman of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination who was unable to attend due to illness in the family, did a creditable job in describing the new law and how it would

work through co-operation from employers, labor unions and the general public. Mr. Samuel S. White, Personnel Manager, Coronet Manufacturing Company, Kansas City, was principal speaker to describe that firm's successful implementation of its merit employment policies through the co-operation of the management, the labor union and the employees. A panel moderated by Dr. Howard Baumgartel, Chairman of the Human Relations Program, University of Kansas, and composed of Mr. H. J. Yount, Vice-president, Kansas State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Mr. Charles Henson, Assistant Attorney General, Dr. C. R. Roquemore, President, Kansas State N. A. A. C. P., and Mr. Robert T. Castrey, Chief of Industrial Relations, Topeka Air Force Station, Convair Astronautics, a division of General Dynamics, reviewed the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination from the viewpoint of the respective panelists in concluding that co-operation was necessary and to be expected and that the new legislation would be effective. Rev. W. Cecil Findley, Chairman, Manhattan Council on Human Relations, moderated an open discussion on the "Future for Civil Rights in Kansas" to close the Conference.

Most outstanding aspect of the Conference is implied by the genuine support for civil rights progress from the following thirty organizations sponsoring the Conference. These organizations represent the people of Kansas, the grass roots people of goodwill who want Kansas to be outstanding in its advocacy of equality of opportunity and full citizenship for all persons regardless of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry. Other organizations have since contacted the Commission reminding that they too want to be numbered among the sponsors of next year's Conference.

### Sponsoring Organizations

Community Committee on Social Action of Wichita
Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission
Kansas Chapter, National Conference of Christians and Jews
Kansas City (Kansas) Citizens Forum and Civic Committee
Kansas Co-op Council
Kansas Council of Churches, Division of Social Relations
Kansas Federation of Colored Women's Clubs
Kansas League of Women Voters
Kansas N. A. A. C. P.
Kansas State Association of B'nai B'rith
Kansas State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
Kansas State Nurses' Association
Kansas State Teachers' Association
Kansas UNESCO
Kansas University Civil Rights Council
Lawrence Council of Churches
Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy
Plymouth Congregational Church (Lawrence) Social Action and Education Committee
St. Benedict's College, Atchison
Temple Beth Sholom, Topeka
Topeka Chapter B'nai B'rith
Topeka Chapter, National Association of Social Workers
Topeka Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
Topeka Fellowship
Topeka Y. W. C. A.
United Church Women of Kansas
United Packing House Workers
Wichita Human Relations Commission
Wichita Urban League
Wichita Urban League Guild

## COMPLAINT PROCESSING

The 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination obligated and empowered the Commission and the Executive Secretary to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in employment and to study the existence, character, causes and extent of such discrimination, and if it found such discrimination to exist, the Commission was required to immediately endeavor to eliminate the unfair employment practices complained of by informal methods of conference and conciliation. Employers, labor organizations and employment agencies were designated within the jurisdiction of the Act.

Table I, "Complaints Processed July 1, 1960, through June 30, 1961," has two parts. Table I-A shows the "Disposition of Formal Complaints Received Prior to July 1, 1960, and Processed Through June 30, 1961," and that the Commission was able to conclude processing this backlog of previous cases. The three cases involving government agencies comprised one Federal agency and one state agency (actually 2 individual complaints) both of which cited Federal rules which prevented co-operation with a state anti-discrimination commission. Lacking further powers to bring these matters to public hearing (as will be possible under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination), the Commission had no recourse but to discontinue processing these cases under the category "Open —Respondent Unco-operative." One of the complainants continued

TABLE I. COMPLAINTS PROCESSE

A. Disposition of Formal Complaints Received Pr

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause |
|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 0 | 1 |
| Private employer | 1 | 6 |
| Labor union | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 1 | 7 |

B. Disposition of Formal Complaints

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 0 | 1 |
| Private employer | 3 | 2 |
| Labor union | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 3 | 3 |
| Cumulative totals | 4 | 10 |

TABLE II. DISPOSITION OF FORMA

July 1, 1953, T

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause |
|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 4 | 4 |
| Private employer | 16 | 12 |
| Labor union | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 20 | 16 |

ROCESSED JULY 1, 1960, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1961

eived Prior to July 1, 1960, and Processed Through June 30, 1961

| No obable ause | Open—respondent unco-operative | Withdrawn by complainant | Withdrawn by commission | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 12 |

plaints Received July 1, 1960, Through June 30, 1961

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 7 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 12 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 13 |
| 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 26 | 32 |
| 10 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 26 | 44 |



F FORMAL COMPLAINTS RECEIVED AND PROCESSED

1953, Through June 30, 1961

| No bable use | Open—respondent unco-operative | Withdrawn by complainant | Withdrawn by commission | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 20 |
| 12 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 54 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 13 | 15 |
| 16 | 24 | 1 | 2 | 26 | 89 |

to press his grievance against the state agency in a suit for an injunction in a Federal District Court to compel the agency to cease and desist from the discriminatory practices. That lawsuit is still pending.

Table I-B, "Disposition of Formal Complaints Received, July 1, 1960, through June 30, 1961," shows that in no cases were respondents unco-operative with the Commission's investigatory and conciliatory efforts. However, of the 26 cases "In Process" on June 30, 1961, there were indications that in at least 2 cases there were respondents tending to resist the Commission's efforts. The fact that of 32 cases received, 26 had not been processed to a conclusion by the end of the fiscal year may have several reasons, not necessarily inferential of respondent lack of co-operation. With the passage of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination in March of 1961, the Commission became temporarily overburdened with preparations for administering the new law effective July 1, 1961, along with increased calls for its educational services interpretive of the new law. Some of the respondents, and quite frankly the Commission, were uncertain of the status of these cases filed under the old law but perhaps about to be moot under the new law. (Note: the Kansas Attorney General did reply to the Commission's formal request that the Commission was obliged to process these cases to a conclusion under the procedures of the 1953 Act and that the cases were not to be docketed and then subject to the more legal procedures of the 1961 Act. Processing of these cases did continue during the summer of 1961 but are not properly to be included in this Annual Report of the year ending June 30, 1961.)

Table II depicts the entire complaint processing experience of the Commission from its inception in 1953 to the end of its responsibilities under the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination on June 30, 1961. As stated in the previous Annual Reports this eight year record of infrequent use of the law's compliance function by minority group persons attests more to their lack of confidence in the effectiveness of this function than it does to the prevalence or non-prevalence of discriminatory practices in the state. In November, 1960, then Attorney General, now Governor John Anderson, Jr., rendered a formal opinion to the Commission that the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination "while stating a legislative policy with regard to discrimination, does not constitute a statutory prohibition against such practices." Governor Anderson then supported efforts to secure enforceable fair employment practices legislation which

resulted in the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination which he signed into law on April 14, 1961.

Table III is self-explanatory and does conform to the pattern of complaints received by other state antidiscrimination agencies showing that race is more prevalent a factor in employment discrimination.

TABLE III. BASIS OF COMPLAINTS RECEIVED
JULY 1, 1953, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1961

| | Formal |
|---|---|
| Total complaints | 89 |
| Race | 87 |
| Religion | 1* |
| National origin | 1† |

* Religious complaint involved Seventh Day Adventist.
† National origin complaint involved person of Mexican descent.

The Commission feels its eight years of effort to secure compliance with the non-enforceable antidiscrimination law were not without value. Quite apparently, it indicated the need for some measure of enforcement powers if the law was to be effective in eliminating employment discrimination. There were indications also that respondent employers and labor unions learned not to fear that the Commission's processing of complaints constituted harassment or lacked objectivity in determining probable cause or the absence of probable cause to credit the allegations of discrimination. In many cases, even where the Commission found no probable cause to credit the allegations, respondents expressed appreciation for the Commission's objective handling of the matter and made efforts to further implement a merit employment program based on some of the positive information offered by the Commission in its positive approach to the problem of employment discrimination.

The complaint processing experience complemented the Commission's formal educational program from which may be attributed the establishment, in Kansas, of an atmosphere receptive to ideas and techniques to promote genuine progress in human relations and the declared policy and purpose of the state of Kansas and the people of Kansas to eliminate discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry in all employment relationships.

## KANSAS STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U. S. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

During fiscal year 1961, the Kansas State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission held a series of four public inquiry meetings in order to gain an insight into local civil rights conditions in various parts of the state. The meetings were held in Wichita, Kansas City, Topeka, and Chanute. They were well attended, and much useful and informative testimony was received. The following prominent Kansans served on this Committee without compensation and as a public service to their fellow citizens: Mrs. Victor W. Haflich, Garden City, Chairman; Hon. A. B. Howard, Kansas City, Vice-chairman and Secretary; Dr. Harry Finch Corbin, Wichita; Mr. Pete Esquivel, Winfield; Mr. Arch E. Gibson, Arkansas City; and Dr. Harry Levinson, Topeka.

The report prepared by this Committee will be available after it has been submitted to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Preliminary perusal of this report indicates the Committee has performed an outstanding fact-finding service documenting the nature and the degree of discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry in the areas of employment, education, housing, and public accommodations in the state of Kansas. Not all their findings were negative and the committee after each inquiry meeting stated there is room for both pride and optimism that efforts by Kansas and Kansans exemplified by the new enforceable fair employment law will go a long way to alleviate some of the most serious problems with which our minority citizens are faced.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission does not feel impelled to make any recommendations concerning which, as the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights, it will carry out its responsibilities to eliminate employment discrimination under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination. The enforceable fair employment law constitutes a working tool with which the Commission in co-operation with employers, employment agencies, labor unions and the general public is confident of achieving major progress in this important field of civil rights.

The Commission does feel impelled to recommend that the individuals and organizations typified by the example of the thirty organizations listed previously in this report as supporters of civil

rights progress in Kansas should organize a formal Kansas Civil Rights Advisory Council. Such a Council comprised of representatives from a wide cross-section of civic life and civic organizations would keep abreast of the needs and developments relative to civil rights throughout the state of Kansas in the areas of public accommodations and housing as well as those pertaining to employment discrimination. The Council might convene four times each year at which its subcommittees might report to the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights, or to the legislature, or to the Governor on the areas of progress and the need for further measures in those areas where progress was not manifest and yet was requisite if all citizens were to enjoy that equality of opportunity and advantages paramount to the fulfillment of democratic ideals. Such a Council, more so than the Commission on Civil Rights, would not be limited by the ramifications of economics, geography, political or legislative expediencies or priorities, and from a wider perspective would be able to present objectively based recommendations which would warrant serious consideration. The involvement of these individuals and organizations in this responsibility would in itself serve an educative function valuable within their own activities and in the communities which they serve.

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# 1962 report of progress

KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
State Office Building
Topeka, Kansas

HOWARD W. BREWER, CHAIRMAN
WICHITA
WADE R. COFFEY
WINFIELD
REV. I. H. HENDERSON
KANSAS CITY
CHRIS PALACIOZ
NEWTON

STATE OF KANSAS
JOHN ANDERSON, JR., GOVERNOR

CARL W. GLATT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ERNEST RUSSELL
EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR
HOMER C. FLOYD
FIELD REPRESENTATIVE
NORMA J. HODISON
SECRETARY
DONICE I. FAJEN
STENOGRAPHER

## COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

STATE OFFICE BUILDING TOPEKA, KANSAS
PHONE CE 5-0011, EXT. 5011

June 30, 1962

The Honorable John Anderson, Jr., Governor
and Honorable Members of the Kansas Legislature,
State of Kansas.

Sirs:

In accordance with Article 10, Chapter 44 of the 1961 Supplement to the General Statutes, we have the distinct honor to submit the following report of the activities, accomplishments and recommendations of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights from July 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962.

Respectfully,

Howard W. Brewer
Chairman

Wade R. Coffey
Commissioner

I. H. Henderson
Commissioner

Chris Palacioz
Commissioner

## COMMISSION MEMBERS

| | Term expires |
|---|---|
| Mr. Howard W. Brewer, *Chairman*<br>Wichita | July 10, 1963 |
| Mr. Wade R. Coffey<br>Winfield | July 10, 1964 |
| Rev. I. H. Henderson<br>Kansas City | July 10, 1962 |
| Mr. Chris Palacioz<br>Newton | July 10, 1965 |

## STAFF

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Carl W. Glatt | Executive Director |
| Mr. Ernest Russell | Educational Director |
| Mr. Homer C. Floyd | Field Representative |
| Mrs. Norma Jean Hodison | Secretary |
| Miss Donice I. Fajen | Stenographer |

## PURPOSE OF THE COMMISSION

Section 1 of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination (Chapter 44, Article 10, 1961 Supplement to the General Statutes) declared it to be the public policy of the state of Kansas to eliminate discrimination in all employment relations. It further declared that the opportunity to secure and to hold employment without discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a civil right. To protect this right the law provided for administration by the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights. The 1961 Act made it an unlawful employment practice for an employer, labor organization, or employment agency to discriminate on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

Basically the Commission's responsibilities are to help the state of Kansas effectuate its policy against employment discrimination. To accomplish this objective the Commission undertakes two major duties:

*a.* To develop a broad range educational program designed to prevent and eliminate discrimination in employment against persons because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

*b.* To receive, investigate and resolve complaints alleging discrimination in employment against persons because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

## COMMISSION AND STAFF

The Commission is composed of five members, appointed by the Governor, representing employers, labor, and the general public. It is interracial, interreligious, and nonpartisan. The Commissioners serve without pay. With the resignation of Commissioner Leonard H. Strauss upon the expiration of his term on July 10, 1961, the Commission has lacked one representative of employers during the period of this report.

The staff in fiscal year 1962 consisted of Mr. Carl W. Glatt, Executive Director; Mr. Ernest Russell, Educational Director; Mr. Homer C. Floyd, Field Representative; Mrs. Norman J. Hodison, Secretary, and Miss Donice I. Fajen, Stenographer.

## COMMISSION'S BUDGET

Budget appropriations for fiscal year 1962 were $47,033, of which $28,018 were for salaries and wages, and $19,015 for other operating expenditures. The Commission utilized these appropriations to the full except for a balance of $644.30 in the salary account representing per diem estimates for Commissioners not expended during the fiscal year.

The Commission's budget for fiscal year 1963 is $48,289, of which $31,679 will be for salaries and wages, and $16,610 for other operating expenditures. The increased salaries and wages comprise routine annual increments for Civil Service employees, the increase in salaries for all state employees authorized by the State Finance Council on September 1, 1961, and state contributions to the new Kansas Public Employees Retirement System.

## LEGISLATION

There was no new legislation pertaining to the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights during the period of this report. This period represents the first full year of operation under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, effective July 1, 1961, as an enforceable fair employment practices law applying to employers of eight or more persons, employment agencies, labor organizations, and the state of Kansas and all political and municipal subdivisions thereof. The Act fulfilled the recommendations of this Commission as presented in its 1960 Annual Report by providing:

*a.* A clause protecting a complainant, or any witness relative to a complaint, from reprisal,

*b.* The power to hold public hearings when conciliation efforts have failed and to issue cease and desist orders with court enforcement and judicial review procedures,

*c.* That school districts and educational institutions are no longer excepted from the Act.

In its first year under the new Act the Commission has not been handicapped by the lack of subpoena powers in the investigatory stage. Most all respondents have co-operated in furnishing information requested by the Commission, though one large national corporation has taken under advisement whether to supply complete information on its entire workforce at its Kansas plant and office. The Commission understands that if required to resort to court enforcement proceedings the court itself would very likely subpoena records necessary to determination of the facts of the matter.

## ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OPINIONS

The Commission prepared rules and regulations, a guide to pre-employment inquiries, and a poster abstract of the Act required to be posted on the premises of all those covered by the Act. These were submitted to, and approved by, the Attorney General after certain recommended changes were made. Then, with copies of the Act, these items were mailed to some 23,000 employers, employment agencies, labor organizations, and government agencies. This mailing brought requests for about 2,000 additional copies of these items, along with questions concerning the Commission's interpretation of some aspects of the new law. In addition, several hundred firms asked questions about or submitted their employment application forms for the Commission's review to assure compliance with the Act. The Commission can report that this response and interest was typical of the wholesome co-operation it has been receiving throughout the year from employers, employment agencies, labor organizations, government agencies, and the general public.

Attorney General William M. Ferguson offered the following formal opinions related to the administration of the 1961 Act Against Discrimination:*

*No. 61-195:*

That a "nonsectarian" corporation, as used in the Act, means a corporation engaged in religious activities but not connected with any one particular sect, group, order or denomination, and is covered by the Act whether or not it employs eight or more persons. In Section 44-1002 (*b*), the term "employer" includes "any person in this state employing eight (8) or more persons, *and any person acting directly or indirectly for an employer as herein defined, and labor organizations, nonsectarian corporations, and organizations engaged in social service work, and the state of Kansas and all political and municipal subdivisions thereof,* but shall not include a non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social educational or sectarian association or corporation . . ." The underscored groups are not required to employ eight or more persons.

The Attorney General was of the further opinion that a school district, being a municipal subdivision or at least a quasi municipality, would meet the definition of the term "employer," regardless of the number of persons employed by said school district.

*It should be noted that these opinions were not sought by the Commission to extend its jurisdiction but were in answer to outside inquiries or the Commission's own need for clarification before proceeding further in certain matters.

*No. 61-268:*

That an application for employment cannot contain the requirement that the applicant furnish a photograph of himself. To require an applicant for employment to submit his photograph along with his application is in effect an inquiry in connection with prospective employment which expresses directly a specification as to race, color, national origin or ancestry. Section 44-1009 of the Act states: "It shall be an unlawful employment practice: (*c*) For any employer, employment agency or labor organization to print or circulate or cause to be printed or circulated any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment or membership or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment or membership, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, or any intent to make such limitation, specification or discrimination, unless based on a bonafide occupational qualification."

*No. 61-274:*

That cases docketed under the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination prior to the effective date of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination be processed through to completion by the Commission under procedures established by the former Act.

*Letter Opinion dated November 30, 1961:*

That enrollment of a person in a private school such as a school of cosmetology is not an employment relationship, and thus denial of such enrollment because of race is not a violation of the Kansas Act Against Discrimination. Furthermore, the licensing authority of the Kansas Board of Cosmetology (in licensing schools of cosmetology) being based upon the exercise of a police power in protecting public health does not concern or depend upon the admission policy of the prospective licensee.

*No. 62-7:*

That forms of the Kansas Department of Labor in connection with work permits for children under the age of sixteen and the use of these forms and permits does not fall within the scope and jurisdiction of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

*Letter Opinion dated April 6, 1962:*

That the powers and duties of the Commission are limited to discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, so that discrimination because of *age* cannot be considered an "employment relationship" also covered by the Act.

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The Commission's educational program is the most important part of its work and requires about seventy-five percent of its total staff time and effort. The Commission feels it is holding its own in those educational and public relations functions reaching the general public. However, lack of manpower has prevented the Commission from embarking upon the preparation of "a comprehensive educational program designed for the students of the public schools of this state and for all other residents thereof, calculated, to emphasize the origin of prejudice against the various ethnic groups in the state, its harmful effects, and its incompatibility with American principles of equality and fair play" as required by Section 44-1004 of the Act. Though it is doing some of this on a pilot or catch-as-catch-can basis, the Commission does not have a most necessary program of education of minority youth involving motivation, guidance, and preparation for employment opportunities. It is recognized that as new employment opportunities are being opened up for minority group persons there must be such persons motivated and prepared to qualify for acceptance of these opportunities. Without this reservoir of qualified minority group persons, the efforts to eliminate employment discrimination will have been in vain. Much of the Commission's co-operative efforts with school and college guidance and placement officers lacks that continuity and persistency to make such efforts meaningful in terms of on-going state-wide programs.

From July 1, 1961, to June 30, 1962, the Executive Director, Educational Director, and Field Representative served as principal speakers or panelists at 135 engagements attended by 9,020 persons throughout the state of Kansas. The professional staff served a total of 115 times as consultants or participants on human relations programs or to organizations and individuals interested in promoting good human relations in Kansas.

Commission educational films were supplied at no charge for the programs of seventy-one groups and were seen by 14,693 persons. "A Morning for Jimmy" and "The New Girl" were films utilized most often in this period (22 and 15 times, respectively), but a new film on housing, "All the Way Home," purchased late in the spring of 1962 was utilized 16 times and will continue to be in demand as more and more Kansas citizens question what might be done to eliminate

problems resulting from discrimination in housing. The Commission purchased two additional housing films, "Property Values and Race" and "Crisis in Levittown," in its efforts to help interested groups to study and understand the problem of discrimination in all or specific instances of discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry as directed by Section 44-1004 (7) of the Act. In January, the Executive Director presented the work of the Commission on Civil Rights in the half-hour program, "Ideas in Action," sponsored by the University of Wichita Department of Educational Television and produced as a public service by KARD-TV in Wichita. It is estimated 35,000 persons may have seen this program. The Commission purchased a 16 mm. sound film of this TV program available for use in the schools and colleges of the state and to other interested organizations.

The above speaking, consultant, and film service were rendered to organizations grouped as follows:

| | Speakers—panelists | Consultants | Films |
|---|---|---|---|
| Human relations groups | 51 | 31 | 12 |
| Church groups | 36 | 11 | 25 |
| Schools and colleges | 17 | 23 | 19 |
| Business, labor, civic groups | 31 | 50 | 15 |
| | 135 | 115 | 71 |

Lack of funds curtailed the Commission's human relations car card program in the buses of the state, but the Commission's spot announcements with human relations messages were utilized by 59 Kansas radio stations as a free public service. Production commenced on a series of six television spot announcements supporting fair employment practices and the Commission on Civil Rights starring Governor John Anderson, Jr., Commissioner of Labor Harold L. Smith, Chancellor W. Clarke Wescoe of the University of Kansas, President Ellis Cave of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, Vice-President Merle Worman of the Kansas State Federation of Labor, and University of Kansas' head football coach Jack Mitchell. This series will be presented during the Fall of 1962.

Commission distribution of human relations material continued to be another major factor of its educational program. Just as state and local boards of health prepare and distribute educational materials for the prevention and control of physical diseases, so does the Commission view its materials distribution for the prevention and

control of the twin social diseases of prejudice and discrimination. Five thousand copies of the "1961 Report of Progress" were distributed along with an equal number of a "Brochure of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination." As mentioned previously, copies of the Act were distributed to 23,000 employers, employment agencies, labor organizations, and government agencies, with an additional 5,000 printed to meet the additional demand. "The Gentle People of Prejudice" and "Prejudice: Effects on Children" continued to be the most sought-after of the human relations educational materials distributed by the Commission. Late in the fiscal year, to meet requests for factual information related to discrimination in housing, the Commission reprinted at a fraction of the original cost the excellent pamphlet, "The Myths of Racial Integration," prepared by the American Jewish Congress. The bimonthly newsletter of the Commission on Civil Rights, *The Reflector*, continues to be well received and praised as a very effective source of human relations news and information.

The Executive Director represented the Kansas Commission at the Fourteenth Annual Conference of Commissions Against Discrimination in Seattle, Washington. The Commission is now a member of this conference of agencies administering enforceable civil rights laws. The Executive Director also represented the Kansas Commission upon invitation of Vice-president Lyndon B. Johnson for a meeting with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in Washington, D. C. The Executive Director was appointed one of a committee of five state agency officials to develop plans for mutual co-operation in compliance and educational programs between the President's Committee and state fair employment practices agencies.

Educational Director Ernest Russell was assigned by the Commission to attend the Nineteenth Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, in June, 1962, to advance his professional growth and increase his effectiveness in directing the Commission's educational program. Expenses for this worthwhile assignment were met in full by contributions from several organizations affiliated with the Kansas Advisory Council on Civil Rights. Field Representative Homer C. Floyd served as speaker and consultant at the Governor's Conference on Civil Rights in Jefferson City, Missouri, in May, 1962. The exchange of information and the new techniques acquired from attendance at these human relations conferences will prove helpful to the Commission's educational and compliance program.

## KANSAS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Pursuant to Section 44-1004 (7) of the Act, the Commission's staff assisted in the formation of the Kansas Advisory Council on Civil Rights at a planning meeting on March 24, 1962. At subsequent meetings an Executive Board was formed with the following officers: Chairman, Mrs. Nathan Shechter, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Treasurer, Rev. Harold Statler, Kansas Council of Churches, Division of Social Relations; Secretary, Richard Whitaker, Salina Human Relations Council; Vice-chairmen, George Vega, American G. I. Forum; Samuel Jackson, Kansas State N. A. A. C. P.; Mrs. June Horwitz, Social Action Committee, Temple Beth Sholom, Topeka; and Executive Members at Large, Rev. Raymond P. Jennings, Sidney Alexander, Wichita Urban League, and Father Robl, Wichita Catholic Interracial Council.

The Kansas Advisory Council on Civil Rights seeks to "foster good will and co-operation among all the elements of the population of the state." The Council shall inform, promote and co-ordinate: (*a*) information on civil rights problems and programs; (*b*) efforts by organizations that are educational, and in support of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights; (*c*) legislative programs on civil rights; (*d*) state level strategy for programs on civil rights. Its first project will be sponsorship of the Fourth Annual Kansas Conference on Civil Rights on October 13, 1962, at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Following are the organizations which indicated affiliation with the Council at the original planning meeting:

1. American G. I. Forum Auxiliary of Kansas
2. American G. I. Forum of Kansas
3. Beta Eta Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity
4. Catholic Interracial Council of Wichita
5. Commission on Christian Social Concerns, Countryside Methodist Church, Topeka
6. Commission on Christian Social Concerns, First Methodist Church, Anthony
7. Community Committee on Social Action of Wichita
8. Dodge City American G. I. Forum
9. Douglas County Association for the United Nations
10. Enlightener Newspaper, Wichita
11. Episcopal Diocese of Kansas, Department of Christian Social Relations
12. Family Service and Guidance Center of Topeka
13. Jack and Jill of America, Inc., Topeka Chapter
14. Junction City Improvement Association
15. Kansas Association of Colored Women and Colored Girls Clubs
16. Kansas Bar Association
17. Kansas City Call, Newspaper
18. Kansas City Chapter, Lutheran Human Relations Association of America
19. Kansas City, Kansas, Bar Association
20. Kansas City, Kansas, Beth Horon Lodge of B'nai B'rith
21. Kansas City, Kansas, N.A.A.C.P. Branch
22. Kansas Commission on Civil Rights
23. Kansas Co-op Council
24. Kansas Conference of the Methodist Church, Commission on Christian Social Concerns

25. Kansas Council of Churches, Division of Social Relations
26. Kansas League of Women Voters
27. Kansas N. A. A. C. P.
28. Kansas State Association of B'nai B'rith
29. Kansas State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
30. Kansas State Nurses' Association
31. Kansas State Teachers' Association
32. Kansas UNESCO
33. Lawrence Human Relations Commission
34. Lawrence League for the Practice of Democracy
35. Manhattan Council on Human Relations
36. Newton American G. I. Forum
37. Plains States Region of Anti-Defamation League
38. Plymouth Congregational Church (Lawrence) Social Action and Education Committee
39. Presbytery of the High Plains of the Presbyterian Church
40. Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Kansas
41. Region IV N. A. A. C. P.
42. Salina Human Relations Council
43. St. Benedict's College, Atchison
44. St. John A. M. E. Church, Topeka
45. State Social Action Committee of the Congregational Conference
46. Temple Beth Sholom, Topeka
47. Topeka American G. I. Forum
48. Topeka American G. I. Forum Auxiliary
49. Topeka Chapter, National Association of Social Workers
50. Topeka Council of Churches
51. Topeka Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO
52. Topeka Fellowship
53. Topeka Highlands Presbyterial
54. Topeka League of Women Voters
55. Topeka Lodge No. 698 of B'nai B'rith
56. Topeka N. A. A. C. P. Branch
57. Topeka Y. W. C. A.
58. United Church Women of Kansas
59. United Packing House Workers
60. Wichita Association of Colored Women and Colored Girls Clubs
61. Wichita Human Relations Commission
62. Wichita N. A. A. C. P. Branch
63. Wichita Urban League
64. Wichita Urban League Guild
65. Winfield N. A. A. C. P. Chapter

## COMPLAINT PROCESSING

At the close of the period of the 1961 Annual Report on June 30, 1961, the Commission's docket contained 29 formal complaints which had not been processed to completion. It was these cases which the Attorney General ruled should be completed but under the procedures of the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination. Table I-A shows the "Disposition of Formal Complaints Pending From July 1, 1961, Through June 30, 1962," and that the Commission was able to conclude processing this backlog of prior cases with but two exceptions. Actually, these exceptions involved two separate complaints filed against one labor organization. This labor union refused to meet with Commission representatives and never acknowledged registered letters requesting such conciliation meetings as might have resolved the matter amicably. Under the 1953 Act the Commission had no recourse to proceed further, and unless complaints should be filed under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination the alleged discriminatory practices may be continuing.

One of the 29 cases had been pending for two and a half years against a federal agency which had not co-operated with the state Commission. The Commission, on behalf of the complainant, kept

contact with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity which saw that the complainant's appeals were finally processed to remedy his grievance. The complainant, a Negro, had passed the Federal Civil Service examination for a supervisory position. Because he was the only person to pass this exam and qualify for the eligible list, that federal agency exercised its right not to appoint him to the position because there was not a certified list of eligibles containing at least three qualified candidates for selection. However, the agency then appointed to this position a white candidate who had taken and had failed the examination the Negro candidate had passed. It was this action which brought the charge of racial discrimination which was eventually not disproved and which led finally to the complainant's appointment to the supervisory position.

One other case which the Commission could not process to completion because the 1953 Act did not contain a provision for public hearing or court enforcement of the Commission's findings was resolved by an action instituted by the complainant in a federal court. On November 27, 1961, in the U. S. District Court in Wichita, Judge Delmas C. Hill signed a consent decree issuing a permanent injunction that the Kansas State Employment Service be restrained from accepting, filling and making referrals on the basis of racially discriminatory job requisitions. The decree stated "That any policy, custom, usage, and practice of the defendants in refusing to refer and/or place qualified Negroes pursuant to job requisitions and denying to Negroes the right to use and enjoy all of the facilities of the Kansas State Employment Service, and in accepting and/or filling racial discriminatory job requisitions, contravenes the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States and the Kansas Act Against Discrimination, under Chapter 44, of the General Statutes of Kansas, as amended."

The Kansas Commission on Civil Rights has maintained a most co-operative working relationship with the Kansas Department of Labor and the Kansas State Employment Service, with both these state agencies providing assistance to the Commission and themselves making daily contributions towards the extension of equal employment opportunities for all qualified persons throughout the state of Kansas without regard to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

Table I-B depicts the entire history of complaint processing under the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination with a total of 23 cases unresolved due to respondents' refusal to co-operate with the Commission's efforts to conciliate.

Table II shows the "Complaints Processed Under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination" from July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962. Here the record has been one of excellent co-operation with the Commission and its representatives during the course of investigation and conciliation. Eight of the 13 Satisfactory Adjustment closings have led to hiring of either the complainant or other minority group persons; 2 of the 13 cases so closed have involved newspaper help-wanted advertisements which contained racial identifications; the remaining 3 cases involve a declaration of a fair employment policy that must await a seasonal or expected hiring situation when the policy can be implemented. In the cases closed No Probable Cause, the Commission achieved a friendly relationship and spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding, which has led to verified reports in five of the cases of increased hiring of minority group persons.

Of the cases closed for No Jurisdiction, 2 involved employers of less than 8 persons, 2 involved schools of cosmetology which refused to enroll Negroes as students, and 1 involved a charitable organization. In all of these 5 cases there had been admissions by respondents of the policy and practice not to employ (or enroll) members of the Negro race. In each instance the Commission made one informal attempt suggesting compliance with the spirit of the fair employment law that there be no discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry in all employment relations in the state of Kansas. None of the respondents indicated any desire or interest in relaxing the discriminatory policies or practices, whereupon the Commission closed the cases forthwith in keeping with the confidential procedures of the Act.

The 4 school complaints have afforded the Commission most wholesome co-operation from school officials which could well be the expected pattern whereby the schools of the state will take the lead in promoting, by example, the democratic principles which fair employment represents. One respondent school system hired the Negro complainant and two other qualified Negro teacher candidates at the next available opportunity, and for the follow-up 1962

TABLE I. COMPLAINTS PROCESSED UNDER 1953

A. Disposition of Formal Complaints Pending fro

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause | Open respond unco operat |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 6 | 3 | 0 |
| Private employer | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| Labor union | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| Totals | 13 | 13 | 2 |

B. Disposition of Formal Complaints Received and Pr

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 10 | 7 | 2 |
| Private employer | 18 | 16 | 19 |
| Labor union | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| Totals | 33 | 29 | 23 |

TABLE II. COMPLAINTS PROCESSED UNDER 1961 K

Disposition of Formal Complaints Received and Processe

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause | Publi hearin |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Private employer | 13 | 4 | 0 |
| Labor union | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Schools | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Totals | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| Under 1953 act | 13 | 13 | *2 |
| Total processed this year | 28 | 23 | *2 |

* Respondent unco-operative—No public hearing authorized by 1953 Act.

ER 1953 KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

ding from July 1, 1961, through June 30, 1962

| Open—respondent unco-operative | Withdrawn by complainant | Withdrawn by commission | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9 |
| 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 |
| 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 29 |

d and Processed July 1, 1953, Through June 30, 1962

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| 19 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 54 |
| 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 15 |
| 23 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 89 |



1961 KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Processed from July 1, 1961, Through June 30, 1962

| Public hearing | Withdrawn by complainant | No jurisdiction | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 8 |
| 0 | 0 | 5 | 6 | 28 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| 0 | 0 | 5 | 11 | 41 |
| *2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 29 |
| *2 | 0 | 6 | 11 | 70 |

Fall term has hired several more Negro teachers, according to reports to the Commission which emphasize there has been community acceptance and appreciation of the advantages gained from hiring qualified teachers from all racial, religious, and ethnic groups.

Of the workload of 70 formal complaints processed in the period of this report, the Commission reiterates it has met with excellent co-operation in carrying out its responsibilities. This may be attributed in part to respect for the enforceable 1961 Act Against Discrimination and in part to the Commission's increased staff and resulting increase in its education activities.

Table III is self-explanatory and conforms to the pattern of complaints received by other state antidiscrimination agencies showing that race is more prevalent a factor in employment discrimination.

TABLE III. BASIS OF COMPLAINTS

| | Under 1953 Act | Under 1961 Act |
|---|---|---|
| Total complaints | 89 | 41 |
| Race | 87 | 40 |
| Religion | 1* | 1*** |
| National origin | 1** | 1** |

* Seventh Day Adventist.
** Mexican-American.
*** Roman Catholic (filed as both a race and religion complaint so above totals do not match).

TABLE IV. TYPE OF RESPONDENT

| | Under 1953 Act | Under 1961 Act |
|---|---|---|
| Total complaints | 89 | 41 |
| Government agency | 20 | 8 |
| Manufacturing | 31 | 8 |
| Retailing | 9 | 7 |
| Service industries | 4 | 7 |
| Schools | 0 | 4 |
| Newspapers | 0 | 2 |
| Offices | 0 | 2 |
| Transportation | 4 | 1 |
| Construction | 6 | 1 |
| Labor unions | 15 | 1 |

## RECOMMENDATIONS

As in the 1961 Annual Report, the Commission on Civil Rights does not feel impelled to recommend any changes in the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination as it pertains to the elimination of employment discrimination. There have not been occurrences in the administration of this Act to date which justify recommendations for change, though the prospect that lack of subpoena powers may prove to be a handicap to the disadvantage of either/or both the complainant and the respondent may one day warrant further consideration.

The Commission is concerned that its present staff is short that one additional professional intergroup relations worker to enable it to carry out a well-rounded educational and compliance program. Members of the 1961 Kansas Legislature did ask the Commission for an estimate of the manpower needs contingent upon passage of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, and the Commission's estimate for four professional and two clerical staffers was conservatively based on the industrial composition of the state. For proper and consistent concentration of its educational programming in the area of motivation of minority youth and placement and guidance counselling so necessary for the preparation of these youths to fulfill the job opportunities that are opening up, the Commission again recommends legislative approval and budgetary appropriation for one additional professional worker.

Because the Commission continues to receive reports of discrimination in places of public accommodations, and because these reports indicate inadequacies in the coverage and administration of the present Kansas public accommodations law, the Commission recommends consideration of legislative changes to overcome these inadequacies similar to the administrative agency type of public accommodations laws successful in other jurisdictions.

Housing discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin and ancestry creates problems and disadvantages for the entire community. In some Kansas cities, school districts desegregated in compliance with the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision have witnessed the re-creation of *de facto* segregated schools due to neighborhood patterns evolving from discriminatory housing practices. Urban renewal relocations of minority group persons

have led to further concentration, congestion, and high density neighborhoods with attendant educational, health, welfare, law enforcement and fire protection problems because of discriminatory restrictive housing practices elsewhere in the community. There are, in Kansas, growing instances of white homeowners victimized by the unreasoning urge to "move away" at the advent of a Negro home buyer, again concentrating the relatively limited Negro effective demand on the "break through" neighborhood because that demand is restricted by discriminatory real estate practices from shopping for housing from the larger pool of available housing that the total community has to offer.

The Commission on Civil Rights recommends that serious consideration be given to remedial housing legislation to accord with language in the present Kansas Act Against Discrimination that "such discrimination threatens not only the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of the state of Kansas but menaces the institutions and foundations of a free democratic state."

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# REFLECTOR

Series 3 No. 23 & 24 KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS SEPTEMBER - NOVEMBER 1963

## " ... OF THE INNOCENTS,"

DENISE McNAIR

CAROLE ROBERTSON

AP

ADDIE MAE COLLINS

CYNTHIA WESLEY

The bomb blew them into little pieces...in an American city...these four little girls in Sunday School to study the lesson "THE LOVE THAT FORGIVES"...and the year was 1963.

"Suffer the little children to come unto Me"...but it was never meant to be that way...in little pieces...horrible little pieces of what once had been smiles and giggles and "sugar and spice and everything nice..."

## "...BY THE INNOCENTS,"

That same day...in 1963...in that same American city...a brother on the handle-bars of his brother's bike...grinning, joking, happily shouting at their chasing pup...was shot to death...the Negro, age 13, a happy child, now dead at the hands of a white boy, an Eagle Scout.

And there is nothing in the Scout oath or the Scout law that says "hate and kill."

## "...BY THE NOT-SO-INNOCENT:"

Lest there be those that take comfort that this happened in another state, in a distant city, it must be said none of us are without guilt for the slaughter of these innocents. We can read, we can hear...we have read, we have heard... we've known all along what was going on down there. That citizens have been denied the rights of all American citizens...rights guaranteed by the Constitution...because they were Negroes.

We did nothing...we did very little...we let it go on that way. And even now too many of us continue in the conspiracy of silence that will let prejudice and discrimination eat away at the very foundations of our democratic nation...so that the little pieces may never be put together again...little pieces of little girls...little pieces of a great nation.

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# THE ISSUE IS SILENCE

I speak to you as an American Jew.

As Americans we share the profound concern of millions of people about the shame and disgrace of inequality and injustice which make a mockery of the great American idea.

As Jews we bring to this great demonstration, in which thousands of us proudly participate, a two-fold experience — one of the spirit and one of our history.

In the realm of the spirit, our fathers taught us thousands of years ago that when God created man, he created him as everybody's neighbor. Neighbor is not a geographic term. It is a moral concept. It means our collective responsibility for the preservation of man's dignity and integrity.

From our Jewish historic experience of three and a half thousand years we say:

Our ancient history began with slavery and the yearning for freedom. During the Middle Ages my people lived for a thousand years in the ghettos of Europe. Our modern history begins with a proclamation of emancipation.

It is for these reasons that it is not merely sympathy and compassion for the black people of America that motivates us. It is above all and beyond all such sympathies and emotions a sense of complete identification and solidarity born of our own painful historic experience.

When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned many things. The most important thing that I learned under those tragic circumstances was that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problem. The most urgent, the most disgraceful, the most shameful and the most tragic problem is silence.

A great people which had created a great civilization had become a nation of silent onlookers. They remained silent in the face of hate, in the face of brutality and in the face of mass murder.

America must not become a nation of onlookers. America must not remain silent. Not merely black America, but all of America. It must speak up and act, from the President down to the humblest of us, and not for the sake of the Negro, not for the sake of the black community but for the sake of the image, the idea and the aspiration of America itself.

Our children, yours and mine in every school across the land, each morning pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the republic for which it stands. They, the children, speak fervently and innocently of this land as the land of "liberty and justice for all."

The time, I believe, has come to work together — for it is not enough to hope together, and it is not enough to pray together — to work together that this children's oath, pronounced every morning from Maine to California, from North to South, may become a glorious, unshakeable reality in a morally renewed and united America.

**Address by Rabbi JOACHIM PRINZ, President of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, at the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Lincoln Memorial, Aug. 28, 1963**

THE SILENCE IS BREAKING:

The excerpts from a front-page article in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, September 17, 1963, tell of the silence being broken.

# Church Pressure Aids Chances for a Strong Civil Rights Measure

By Jerry Landauer
*Staff Reporter of* The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON — Powerful religious pressure for a strong Federal civil rights bill is offsetting, at least in part, the so-called backlash of white resentment against Negro demands for equality.

In great sections of the Midwest, it's clear, the church-organized civil rights campaign has firm roots. Kansas Republican Sen. Pearson's mail runs heavily for civil rights and many letterheads indicate a church inspired campaign. Letters and petitions come in from Kansas church-goers in such places as Pretty Prairie, Alma, Pittsburg, Manhattan, Fredonia and Parsons.

Even when the mail isn't clearly church-inspired, much of it conveys a distinctly religious flavor. Many letters begin with something like "As a Christian and as an American, I urge you to support. . . ." A Methodist minister in Blue Mound, Kan., writes: "There is an increasing feeling in our community that justice can be achieved only with the help of bold Federal legislation concerning civil rights."

With some exceptions, religious leaders hesitate to lobby personally in Congressional offices. But last month the National Council of the Episcopal Church gathered 50 of its leading clergy in the capital; a number of them spent considerable time on Capitol Hill. "After a week in Washington," one Midwest clergyman wrote later, "I feel that our quiet, unpublicized effort has done a lot in reaching many Congressmen and Senators."

Nearly all lawmakers from the Bible Belt have received visits from home-district clergymen. Mennonite ministers from Kansas and Pennsylvania have made the round of House delegations from those states; Church of God leaders from Northern Indiana are active in Congress; Midwest rabbis and priests also have called on legislators.

"Pretty Prairie,..." just north of Kingman, where the red and white of a Mennonite church gleamed in the moonlight as we passed on our way to a program in the Methodist Church. Pop. 565.

"Alma,..." due west of Topeka. Pop. 792.

"Fredonia, Parsons and Pittsburg..." down in the Balkans of Kansas. Bigger little towns with more and bigger churches, all with a united concern for the dignity of man.

"Blue Mound, Kansas." Pop. 331.

We recall a trip last Spring to Ashland, Kansas, pop. 1,366, for a program on civil rights where our host was a farmer whose losses in winter wheat from too much cold and too little snow cover had been devastating. As we sat down to his supper table, he said Grace, and offered a prayer, not for rain and prosperity for his crops and his family, but for this great country that it might be free from prejudice and discrimination..."let these twin evils pass from our land that all men may be truly equal as in Thy sight."

On another trip, this time for a program at the First Baptist Church in Dodge City, we stopped to climb Pawnee Rock, thirteen miles southwest of Great Bend. Here is where Kit Carson, brave as he was, shot his pack mule in the dark...for this was jittery country for the pioneers crossing the prairie...this long and wide expanse of open country with no shelter from Indian attack. We climbed Pawnee Rock for a breathless view of the land...land, land, and more land...and we meditated on its golden greatness and the courage of the men who pioneered its greatness...and of the blue sky, the "Kansas blue," which is as wide, wide, wide as the land it shelters.

And from all this length and breadth, this expanse of beauty and greatness, this proof of a God above, we wondered how there ever could be a narrowness in man, hate among men.

In Dodge City, haunt of Wyatt Earp, Doc and Kitty, and Boot Hill, the Chamber of Commerce told how all the hotels, motels, cafes and restaurants were open to ALL the public in this great American tourist attraction of a town. For these reasons, and because Kansans are taking the lead in "breaking the silence" we are proud to be a mid-American, a Kansan!

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PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER:

The minutes of the meeting of the Kansas City, Kansas, Human Relations Commission on August 27, 1963 reported the Fire Department is now 100% integrated. The Police Department reported it will be fully integrated as of September 1, 1963. The following month's meeting reported "Everything is going nicely in the Fire and Police Departments."

The same minutes reported a Negro has been assigned as a member of the field staff of the Huron District, Kaw Valley Council of Boy Scouts.

The clipping from the Kansas City CALL, September 20, 1963, tells of another piece falling quietly into place in the jigsaw puzzle that is America's civil rights dilemma.

This represented years of dedicated concern and effort among the lawyers to bring about this positive change. We wonder why they still haven't amended the rules to permit women lawyers as members of this county bar association?

BARTON COHEN, one of the most active members of the Kansas City Human Relations Commission, was one of the lawyers leading the efforts to admit Negroes to the bar association.

## Kansas Bar Group Votes To Admit Negro Lawyers

KANSAS CITY, Kas.—(UPI) — The Wyandotte County Bar Association voted Wednesday to admit Negro lawyers to its membership, deleting the word "white" from its constitution.

Previous votes had been to continue the wording which said membership was limited to white persons.

Don Martin, association president, said Negroes will be admitted to the group immediately. About 14 local Negro attorneys are eligible, including City Court Judge John Royston and former City Court Judge A. B. Howard.

Martin would not disclose the vote total, but said the move to admit Negroes was approved "by a sizeable majority." An unofficial total was 72 in favor of admitting Negroes and 11 against.

On Sunday, October 27, 1963, about 4,500 persons, white and Negro, joined in a "March For Fair Housing" in Wichita. The day was cold and blustery, but depending on what newspaper you read or what TV or radio commentator you heard the total crowd gathered at the Wichita City Hall numbered from 3,000 to 10,000.

The occasion was to dramatize the presentation to the City Commission of a proposal for a fair housing ordinance. This was the culmination of a many months campaign by church and civic groups to create interest in open occupancy in housing for the City of Wichita which included full page advertisements in the local newspapers listing thousands of citizens who chose this way of making public their declaration of belief that discrimination in housing based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry should be ended.

Thus, the pieces fall in place. The silence breaks.

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MORE PIECES INTO PLACE; MORE SILENCE BROKEN:

The editorial is from the Kansas City TIMES of August 13, 1963. The news article from the same newspaper on September 7, 1963 tells that the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce really means business with its equal employment opportunity committee.

This is one silence broken that can really do a great deal of good. These are the "hiring and firing" guys -- with the know-how for getting things done. The mid-West IS on its way!

**The Kansas City Times**

**(THE *Morning* KANSAS CITY STAR)**

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Net paid circulation, July, 1963:
Evening (daily average) .....334,286
Morning (daily average) .....331,957
Sunday (average) .....372,292

## THE CHAMBER CONSIDERS JOB EQUALITY

THE Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, in moving to establish a committee on equality in employment opportunity, is performing a real service for the community and, in particular, its commercial interests.

This would have been an easy one for the Chamber board to have ducked. The proposal could have been tabled, continued and forgotten. Instead, the board chose to show the kind of leadership that a Chamber concerned with the facts of life is expected to show.

In the face of pressures to hire without regard to race, it ought not to be assumed that most—or even a majority—of businesses in this area are resisting the trend. Unquestionably there are business executives of conscience and good will who are quite ready to drop a tradition against hiring Negroes.

In many cases such a tradition probably isn't so much a formal, deliberate policy, but something that "always has been that way." The report noted that "businessmen, understandably, are hesitant to move alone into this uncertain area, but would not be as reluctant to do so if it were done on a broad community basis." The Chamber committee, through studies of employment policies, vocational and on-the-job training and scholarship needs, can provide the basic information necessary for a smooth transition.

**Last fall the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce removed from its by-laws restrictions limiting membership to "white male citizens." Now it is taking positive action to deal with a problem that affects the commercial structure, prosperity and employment picture of the community. Furthermore, it provides a standout example of moderate leaders tackling a situation that otherwise would have left a natural vacuum in which extremists on both sides would be expected to clash. If the Chamber had ignored the problem it would have done both the city and its membership an injustice.**

# EQUAL WORK IS AIM OF GROUP

**Chamber of Commerce Job Opportunity Committee to Meet Tuesday**

## ON HIRING PRACTICES

**Employment and Training Goals Outlined by Chairman**

The Kansas City Chamber of Commerce committee on equal employment opportunity will hold its first meeting, an organizational session, at 10 o'clock Tuesday, it was announced yesterday.

The committee was formed, by a 19 to 0 vote of the chamber's board of directors, to develop a program for encouraging the city's employers to hire and promote personnel impartially, without regard to race, creed or color.

D. Peter Newquist, 5609 West Seventy-eighth street, Prairie Village, has been named chairman of the 11-member committee. Newquist is assistant director of industrial relations and security, The Bendix corporation. Other members:

Lewis W. Clymer, municipal court judge; Ernest A. Dick, Jack Henry, Inc.; Meyer L. Goldman, Beacon Printing & Publishing Co.; Virgil S. Hanson, Spencer Chemical company; Walter Hiersteiner, Tension Envelope company.

Chester P. Hoevel, Ford Motor company; L. E. Kinser, Building and Construction Trades council; Floyd Lubert, Western Electric company; Robert J. Metzler, Metzler Brothers and company; Dale M. Thompson, City Bond and Mortgage company.

D. Peter Newquist

"We intend to come up with a constructive, objective program to assist Greater Kansas City business men to implement equal employment programs in their own companies," Newquist said.

Part of the effort, he indicated, may include solicitation of major business concerns for employees to serve as instructors in vocational training education.

"After the program is established," he said, "we want to share it with anyone who'll listen to us. We'll be working with members of the Negro community and the mayor's human relations commission."

Newquist said he hopes the committee will be able within a month to present an outline of its program for consideration by the board of the 2,000-plus-member chamber.

Techniques of carrying the equal employment message to Kansas City employers likely will include direct letters, brochures and public speakers.

TABLE I. COMPLAINTS PROCESSED UNDER 1961 KAN

A. Disposition of Formal Complaints Previously Pending

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause | Public hearing |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Private employer | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Laber union | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Schools | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 6 | 2 | 0 |

B. Disposition of Formal Complaints Received and Proces

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| Private employer | 11 | 9 | 0 |
| Labor union | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Schools | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Totals | 13 | 13 | 0 |
| Total processed this year | 19 | 15 | 0 |

961 KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

ending from July 1, 1962 through June 30, 1963

| g | Withdrawn by complainant | No jurisdiction | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | 0 | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | 0 | 0 | 3 | 11 |

Processed from July 1, 1962 through June 30, 1963

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 0 | 5 | 9 |
| | 0 | 0 | 6 | 26 |
| | 0 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | 0 | 0 | 13 | 39 |
| | 0 | 0 | 16 | 50 |

Table I (cont.)

C. Disposition of Formal Complaints Received and Proc
(Two Year Period)

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause | Public hearing |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 3 | 9 | 0 |
| Private employer | 28 | 14 | 0 |
| Labor union | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Schools | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| Totals | 34 | 25 | 0 |

TABLE II. COMPLAINTS PROCESSED UNDER 1953 KAN

Disposition of Formal Complaints Received and Proc
(Nine Year Period)

| | Satisfactory adjustment | No probable cause | Open respondent unco-operative |
|---|---|---|---|
| Government agency | 10 | 7 | 2 |
| Private employer | 18 | 16 | 19 |
| Labor union | 5 | 6 | 2 |
| Totals | 33 | 29 | 23 |

cont.)

nd Processed July 1, 1961 through June 30, 1963
eried)

| c ng | Withdrawn by complainant | No jurisdiction | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 0 | 5 | 17 |
| | 0 | 5 | 7 | 54 |
| | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 |
| | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| | 0 | 5 | 16 | 80 |

953 KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

nd Processed July 1, 1953 through June 30, 1961
eriod)

| n ndent tive | Withdrawn by complainant | Withdrawn by commission | In process | Total complaints |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| | 0 | 1 | 0 | 54 |
| | 0 | 2 | 0 | 15 |
| | 1 | 3 | 0 | 89 |

ANNUAL REPORT PREVIEW:

The two previous pages are the box score for the Annual Report of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights of cases processed from July 1, 1962 through June 30, 1963. We might add that since the end of that period and commencing July 1, 1963 to the present date of November 2, 1963, the KCCR has docketed 29 new complaints of employment discrimination and 5 complaints of discrimination in public accommodations, or almost as many complaints in these four months as in the entire previous year. And in the two years under the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination a total of 80 formal complaints were docketed and processed as against 89 complaints processed under the 1953 Kansas Act Against Discrimination in eight years.

Outstanding feature of this report will be that no complaints required a public hearing to resolve the problems presented, whereas under the nonenforceable 1953 Act, 23 complaints remained unresolved because the Commission lacked enforcement powers through recourse to a public hearing and court enforced cease and desist orders. The Commission sincerely gives credit for this record not so much to the Act's enforceability as to the genuine spirit of cooperation Commission representatives received from public and private employers and labor unions.

Cases ranged from small employers of 15 or 20 persons to companies with several thousand employees. One small company went out of its way to seek out qualified Negro clerical workers after the complainant had taken a job elsewhere and was not available for work with that company. Total case processing time for this complaint was less than a month, but the complainant was that well qualified she had already gotten employment before the respondent could offer her a job.

Another small company was found not to have discriminated against a Negro employee upon the KCCR's investigation. The employer corresponded later with the Commission to describe the 4 or 5 additional Negroes he had employed as his business expanded.

A Negro employee of a large Federal agency became the first of his race to be promoted above a janitorial level through the combined efforts of the KCCR and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The first investigation of this complaint within the Federal agency itself resulted in a decision of "no discrimination." The KCCR appealed on behalf of the complainant and a day and one-half of new hearings with representatives from the Kansas Commission present brought about proof of discrimination and upgrading for the complainant.

A case involving a heavy construction company could have been closed the day after the complaint was filed because the company did hire the complainant and four other Negro workers at that time. However, the Commission held discussions with this employer and several labor unions involved over a period of several months to fully understand and assure how equal employment opportunity could be achieved in that type of work.

It is still too early to analyze the situation relative to complaints filed against places of public accommodations since the law became effective on July 1, 1963. One complaint against one establishment drew additional complaints through repeat of the violation. This proprietor persists in closing the place temporarily when Negroes approach as customers, but it is expected full compliance will be achieved once the proprietor fully understands that his is the only place in that area not complying with the public accommodations law and the other businesses are prospering.

Commission representatives are not assigned to check places of public accommodations to see if the "Notice To The Public" is displayed as required by the Act. However, in those places they patronize on their travels over the state the KCCR representatives do call attention to the poster and furnish a new one if the old one has been lost or destroyed. About fifty per cent of the covered establishments are posting this notice in a conspicuous place.

One proprietor commented when the KCCR representative thanked him for having the notice properly and prominently displayed: "Are you the guys who sent this poster?" "Let me thank you!" For years I've been secretly ashamed at myself for refusing to serve Negro and Mexican-Americans in my restaurant. I thought my customers didn't want me to serve them." "Then along came your poster with a copy of the new public accommodations law. I tacked up the sign and gave it a try. I served one or two Negroes -- nothing happened. Now I serve anyone who comes in the place and my customers never say a word to me about it, one way or the other. Maybe they never cared before; maybe your sign did the trick. At any rate, I feel better about the whole thing."

So, the silence is broken by a silent sign. The pieces are falling into place.

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The REFLECTOR is the official bi-monthly newsletter of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights. Please address all news items, comments, or inquires to CARL W. GLATT, Executive Director.

# # # # # #

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"The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing."

--- EDMUND BURKE

"SOCIAL INJUSTICE ALWAYS BALANCES ITS BOOKS WITH RED INK."

Kansas City TIMES, Saturday, February 8, 1964

FEB 8 1964

# HOSPITALS CUT OUT RACE BIAS

## Negroes Able to Enter Any General Facility in Area

## AS SILENT, EFFECTIVE

### Miss Sue Jenkins Describes Change to Relations Commission

A quiet revolution, one without fanfare but one which has opened up the doors of all Kansas City general hospitals to Negroes in the last 10 years, was described to the city human relations commission yesterday.

Miss Sue Jenkins, executive director of the Kansas City Area hospital association, said the work toward integration of the general hospital — hospitals performing surgical, obstetric, in- and out-patient care and other services — has been silent and effective.

**As No Discrimination**

"Today there is not a general hospital in the Kansas City metropolitan area which does not admit Negro patients, staff Negro doctors, or hire Negro technicians," she said.

In fact, Miss Jenkins said, integration has been so complete that a recent study of the racial policies and performance of Kansas City hospitals may be impossible to do again. Hospitals are no longer keeping records of Negro patients.

"They are just patients," said Miss Jenkins. "The only way to determine the number would be to count them when they come in."

There are problems remaining, Miss Jenkins said. They are found most in the area of staffing Negro doctors in predominantly white hospitals. And the problem is not one so much of exclusion, she said, but of the lack of Negro doctors. Of the 1,500 medical and osteopathic physicians in Kansas City, she said, only three per cent—about 50—are Negroes.

Dean Frederick D. Lewis, chairman of the commission, said the report of the association's study was encouraging.

**Was Difficult Before**

"Ten years ago," he said, "as a matter of policy, it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for Negro citizens needing hospital care to be admitted to any but a very few area hospitals. This documents a marked advancement in the stated policies of hospitals in the Greater Kansas City area.

Dean Lewis then moved the commission commend the hospitals and the association for their work. The commission did.

Miss Jenkins said the survey of area hospitals included 44 facilities which are members of the association. Thirty-five answered the questionaire sent out. The remaining nine were small outlying hospitals, the largest being the Olathe Community hospital.

Of the 35 which answered, only the Ralph clinic, a 15-bed hospital which is devoted to the treatment of alcoholism and drug addiction, stated that it would not accept races other than white.

"But of all the major hospitals," said Miss Jenkins, "not one has a policy of excluding Negroes. Only one has a segregated nursing school. That one is St. Luke's. They state that applicants must be female caucasians, a statement I resent not only for its discrimination against races, but for its discrimination against men. A whole new field of nursing opportunities for men is now open."

**Performance Also Studied**

Miss Jenkins said the survey included not only the policies of the hospitals but their performance in carrying out their stated policies.

Miss Jenkins said the study was prompted by a similar study made in 1953 by Community Studies, Inc.

"That report came as a sense of shock to all of us," she said. "It showed that Kansas City had an extremely limited number of places where Negro patients, physicians and doctors could go."

Miss Jenkins said that one predominantly white hospital now has seven Negro physicians on its staff, Negro instructors, nurses, nursing supervisors, dietitians, and pharmacists, and admits Negroes to its professional schools. Ten years ago that hospital had two rooms set aside for Negroes, and Negro doctors could practice there if their patients' bills were paid by workmen's compensation.

"What has happened has taken hard work," said Miss Jenkins. "And we have come a long way."

Lewis announced to the commission that the President's Cabinet of the Association of Community council has endorsed the public accommodations ordinance which will be voted on in the April special election.

# Human Relations Classes For Some City Employees

An in-service training program in the field of human relations will start February 4 at the City hall for personnel of the community service division and the public recreation division of the city welfare department.

The classes, meeting each Tuesday for six weeks, will be arranged by Richard Anderson, executive secretary of the Kansas City commission on human relations.

### View of Problems

The program will deal with intergroup problems that generally involve Negroes. James D. H. Reefer, welfare director, said community service and public recreation division members constantly are out in the community and need to understand human relations problems and how to deal with them.

The in-service program will be the third launched in the welfare department since Reefer was appointed department head by Carleton F. Sharpe, city manager.

Reefer said he plans to make such training programs a regular part of department operations.

Parole section case workers and employees completed a training program in the fall on alcoholism and its treatment. The course is being offered again for municipal farm and women's reformatory personnel.

### May Consider Neighborhoods

Also under consideration is a program for the community service division on fundamentals of community organization and neighborhood problems.

A frequent criticism of the personnel program of the city has been the omission in recent years of on-the-job training program.

JAN 30 1964

KC Star

# BEGIN LINE-UP FOR RACE REFERENDUM

### Steering Committee Is Organized to Support Public Accommodations Bill

## TRADITION AT STAKE

### Ordinance Expresses Right of All to Be Treated as Humans, Rev. Judd Jones Says

Formation of a steering committee to organize support of Kansas City's public-accommodations ordinance in the expected referendum on the issue was announced yesterday.

Launched under the auspices of the Kansas City Council on Religion and Race, the committee also includes delegates of the Co-ordinating Council on Human Relations, representing 45 civic groups concerned with human rights.

The Rev. Judd H. Jones, chairman of the Council on Religion and Race, said the steering committee was organized to stress the moral aspect of the choice that will be put to voters in the referendum.

**Repeal Against Tradition**

"In passing the ordinance, the Kansas City city council simply recognized the right of all our citizens to be treated as human persons," Mr. Jones said. "This law is an expression of our best religious and political traditions. To repeal it now would be a denial of those traditions. It would hurt race relations here, and it would hurt the reputation of Kansas City everywhere."

Mr. Jones said he was confident the ordinance would be approved by the people if submitted to referendum by the city council, "provided only that we do a vigorous and effective job of alerting the voters on the kind of choice they will be making."

Eight persons were nominated to be the nucleus of the steering committee in a meeting of the Religion and Race council's executive committee held Thursday in the student union of the University of Missouri at Kansas City. All accepted their appointments yesterday, Mr. Jones said.

**To Select 7 Others**

The committee itself will recruit seven additional members, three citizens to serve as representatives of the community at large, and four specialists to direct subcommittees on campaign strategy, finance, endorsements and publicity.

Representing the Religion and Race council:

The Rev. Lawrence W. Bash, Country Club Christian church; Msgr. Richard J. Schumacher, vicar general of the Catholic Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph and pastor of St. Elizabeth's church; Rabbi William B. Silverman, Temple B'nai Jehudah, and the Rev. Lemoyne Whitlock, Bethel A. M. E. church, president of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

Committee members representing human-rights agencies:

Mrs. A. Harold Schmidt, 456 East Fifty-fifth, United Church Women; Miss Lena Rivers Smith, 4247 Bellefontaine, Community Council for Social Action; Howard Sachs, 816 West Sixty-eighth terrace, American Jewish committee, and William F. Bartholome, 15 East Fifty-sixth, Catholic Interracial council.

Initial steps toward formation of the steering committee were taken at a meeting of the Co-ordinating Council on Human Relations held October 16 at the First Congregational church, 3619 Admiral boulevard. Among groups represented on the council:

Fellowship House association, American Jewish Congress, Anti-Defamation League of Greater Kansas City, Congress of Racial Equality, human-relations committees of the Council of Churches, League of Women Voters and Missouri Association for Social Welfare; Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity, Greater Kansas City Civil Liberties Union, Jewish Community Relations bureau, Lutheran Human Relations association, Kansas City chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Presbyterian Neighborhood center, Panel of Americans, Urban League, American GI Forum, Diocesan Council of Catholic Women, National Conference of Christians and Jews, and Jackson County Civil Rights Advisory committee.

OCT 26 1963

Kansas City Times

# *Panel Is Set Up For Study of Human Relations*

A panel of consultants requested by the Chamber of Commerce committee on equal employment opportunity has been appointed by Dr. Frederick D. Lewis, chairman of the city's Commission on Human Relations.

The nine persons named will serve as advisers to the committee on matters of concern to Negroes and organizations active in efforts to expand preparation for, and utilization of equal employment opportunities.

The appointees:

Dr. Girard T. Bryant, educator; Fletcher Daniels, labor leader; Isadore H. Gross, sr., businessman; Lee McKaney, labor leader; Dr. Carl M. Peterson, surgeon; Clifford M. Spottsville, lawyer; Lee V. Swinton, lawyer; Mrs. Gwendolyn Wells, lawyer, and the Rev. F. LeMoyne Whitlock, minister.

Serving as special resource persons to the committee:

The Rev. Isaiah Henderson, jr., and Herman Johnson, members of the commission; Lounneer Pemberton, executive director of the Urban League of Kansas City, and Dr. Earl Thomas, former principal of Lincoln high school.

"These people are widely known and respected for their abilities, experiences, and sound judgment," Lewis said. "Their thinking will be extremely valuable to the chamber's committee as it seeks constructive solutions to very complex problems. Although these persons were not selected as representatives of organizations, the panel includes persons active in the N. A. A. C. P., the Urban League, C. O. R. E. and C. C. S. A. By their acceptance of these appointments, they will again be serving the entire Kansas City community in a highly significant way."

KC Times
SEP 21 1963

PLANS FOR A SURVEY of job potential in Kansas City are discussed at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce committee on equal employment opportunity. At the meeting table (clockwise from bottom left) are: H. L. Rogers, manager of industrial relations for the chamber; Lewis W. Clymer, municipal court judge; Floyd Lubert, personnel director; Chester P. Hoevel, industrial relations manager; Dr. Frederick Lewis, human relations commission chairman; V. S. Hanson, chemical company official; Meyer L. Goldman, printer and publisher; L. E. Kinser, Building and Construction Trades council; Robert J. Metzler, insurance executive, and D. Peter Newquist, industrial relations and security officer, chairman.

# A CHAMBER GROUP PLANS JOB SURVEY

### Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity Begins Work

## AS GUIDE TO BUSINESS

### Recommendations Will Be Made After Survey Is Completed

Preparation for a city-wide job potential survey, directed by the new Chamber of Commerce committee on equal employment opportunity, was begun at the group's first meeting today in the chamber's offices.

The survey was described as the first step in evaluating the placement and training needs of manpower resources in the community.

**Basis for Action**

It will also serve as the basis for recommendations to employers, aimed at erasing discrimination against minority wage-earners in the areas of hiring, training, promotion, layoffs and pay scale.

"We have a tremendously interesting voyage and challenge ahead of us," D. Peter Newquist, chairman, told the committee.

"The Kansas City business community wants equal employment opportunity, and it wants guidance," he said. "I think we can supply that direction.

"We will not have any authority—no club, really — over these businessmen," Newquist added. "But I believe we can make some recommendations and provide suggested programs."

At today's meeting, the committee requested that Dr. Frederick Lewis prepare a list of consultants from the Negro community to whom it could turn for information.

Dr. Lewis, dean of the University of Missouri at Kansas City law school, is chairman of the mayor's commission on human relations.

SEP 10 1963

KC Star

# EQUAL WORK IS AIM OF GROUP

**Chamber of Commerce Job Opportunity Committee to Meet Tuesday**

## ON HIRING PRACTICES

**Employment and Training Goals Outlined by Chairman**

The Kansas City Chamber of Commerce committee on equal employment opportunity will hold its first meeting, an organizational session, at 10 o'clock Tuesday, it was announced today.

The committee was formed, by a 19 to 0 vote of the chamber's board of directors, to develop a program for encouraging the city's employers to hire and promote personnel impartially, without regard to race, creed or color.

D. Peter Newquist, 5609 West Seventy-eighth street, Prairie Village, has been named chairman of the 11-member committee. Newquist is assistant director of industrial relations and security, The Bendix corporation. Other members:

Lewis W. Clymer, municipal court judge; Ernest A. Dick, Jack Henry, Inc.; Meyer L. Goldman, Beacon Printing & Publishing Co.; Virgil S. Hanson, Spencer Chemical company; Walter Hiersteiner, Tension Envelope company.

Chester P. Hoevel, Ford Motor company; L. E. Kinser, Building and Construction Trades council; Floyd Lubert, Western Electric company; Robert J. Metzler, Metzler Brothers and company; Dale M. Thompson, City Bond and Mortgage company.

D. Peter Newquist

"We intend to come up with a constructive, objective program to assist Greater Kansas City business men to implement equal employment programs in their own companies," Newquist said.

Part of the effort, he indicated, may include solicitation of major business concerns for employees to serve as instructors in vocational training education.

"After the program is established," he said, "we want to share it with anyone who'll listen to us. We'll be working with members of the Negro community and the mayor's human relations commission."

Newquist said he hopes the committee will be able within a month to present an outline of its program for consideration by the board of the 2,000-plus-member chamber.

Techniques of carrying the equal employment message to Kansas City employers likely will include direct letters, brochures and public speakers.

SEP 6 1963

KC Star

# THE CHAMBER CONSIDERS JOB EQUALITY

THE Kansas City Chamber of Commerce, in moving to establish a committee on equality in employment opportunity, is performing a real service for the community and, in particular, its commercial interests.

This would have been an easy one for the Chamber board to have ducked. The proposal could have been tabled, continued and forgotten. Instead, the board chose to show the kind of leadership that a Chamber concerned with the facts of life is expected to show.

In the face of pressures to hire without regard to race, it ought not to be assumed that most—or even a majority—of businesses in this area are resisting the trend. Unquestionably there are business executives of conscience and good will who are quite ready to drop a tradition against hiring Negroes.

In many cases such a tradition probably isn't so much a formal, deliberate policy, but something that "always has been that way." The report noted that "businessmen, understandably, are hesitant to move alone into this uncertain area, but would not be as reluctant to do so if it were done on a broad community basis." The Chamber committee, through studies of employment policies, vocational and on-the-job training and scholarship needs, can provide the basic information necessary for a smooth transition.

Last fall the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce removed from its by-laws restrictions limiting membership to "white male citizens." Now it is taking positive action to deal with a problem that affects the commercial structure, prosperity and employment picture of the community. Furthermore, it provides a standout example of moderate leaders tackling a situation that otherwise would have left a natural vacuum in which extremists on both sides would be expected to clash. If the Chamber had ignored the problem it would have done both the city and its membership an injustice.

AUG 14 1963

K C Times

# C. OF C. HITS JOB BIAS

## Kansas City Chamber Board Endorses Principle of Equal Employment Opportunity—Forms Committee to Lead the Way

## VOTE IS 19 TO 0

### Advancement Policies, Training Programs, Scholarship Needs to Be Studied

## AHEAD ON CONFERENCE

### Talks With Air Force Procurement Officials Set for Sept. 24

The Kansas City Chamber of Commerce board of directors endorsed the principle of equal employment opportunity yesterday and agreed to set up a committee to study ways of implementing it.

Nineteen board members voted to endorse equal employment opportunity regardless of race, creed, color or national origin and to set up the study committee. One member abstained from voting, but none dissented.

Meeting at the Hotel Phillips, members of the board discussed a report by a preliminary study group that considered the problem of discrimination in employment.

**To Suggest Methods**

The new committee will be authorized to investigate and recommend ways the principle of equal employment opportunity may be implemented in:

- Employment and advancement policies.
- Vocational and on-the-job training programs.
- Scholarship needs.

The study group report stated the group was "strongly of the opinion that local industry very much wants leadership and is expecting it from the Chamber of Commerce."

"Businessmen, understandably, are hesitant to move alone into this uncertain area," the report said, "but would not be as reluctant to do so if it were done on a broad community basis."

**Senator to Speak**

The board also agreed to continue with plans for an Air Force procurement conference September 24 at which the principal speaker will be Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.).

The conference will be from 9 until 4 o'clock at the Hotel Muehlebach. Symington will speak at a luncheon. On the program with him is Lt. Gen. Thomas P. Gerrity, Air Force deputy chief of staff for systems and logistics.

The purpose of the conference, chamber officials said, is to bring Kansas City manufacturers into contact with government officials charged with procurement and representatives of government prime contractors.

**Available for Talks**

About 10 federal officials and six prime contractors will be represented. Each will be set up at a table in the hotel, and Kansas City manufacturers will have a chance to talk to each.

Chamber officials said it was hoped that Kansas City manufacturers might discover opportunities to produce subassemblies for the prime contractors, and that they might pick up ideas for direct bidding on government contracts from the government procurement representatives.

Members of the study group who prepared yesterday's recommendations:

Robert Patterson, C. J. Patterson company; Forrest McCluney, Schlitz brewing company; Ernest Dick, Jack Henry, Inc.; Richard Jeffries, General Motors; Virgil Hansen, Spencer Chemical; Ken Krakauer, Adler's; Chester Hoevel, Ford Motor company; D. P. Newquist, Bendix corporation, and Dean Frederick D. Lewis of the University of Missouri at Kansas City law school, who is also chairman of the Kansas City Commission on Human Relations.

AUG 13 1963

KC Times

Prepared from the 1950 and
KANSAS COMMISS
State Office Bui

Popula
Cities of

| Cities | 1950 Total Population | 1950 White | 1950 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | C R |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arkansas City | 12,903 | 12,312 | 4.6 | 539 | |
| Atchison | 12,792 | 11,521 | 9.9 | 1,263 | |
| Chanute | 10,109 | 9,793 | 3.1 | 306 | |
| Coffeyville | 17,113 | 14,928 | 12.8 | 2,162 | |
| Dodge City | 11,262 | 11,007 | 2.3 | 252 | |
| El Dorado | 11,037 | 10,839 | 1.8 | 190 | |
| Emporia | 15,669 | 15,214 | 2.9 | 439 | |
| Ft. Scott | 10,335 | 9,728 | 5.9 | 600 | |
| Garden City | 10,905 | 10,676 | 2.1 | 224 | |
| Great Bend | 12,665 | 12,260 | 3.2 | 405 | |
| Hays | 8,625 | 8,623 | ... | 1 | |
| Hutchinson | 33,575 | 32,630 | 2.8 | 937 | |
| Independence | 11,335 | 10,179 | 10.2 | 1,154 | |
| Junction City | 13,462 | 12,267 | 8.9 | 1,139 | |
| Kansas City | 129,553 | 102,843 | 20.6 | 26,660 | |
| Lawrence | 23,351 | 21,419 | 8.3 | 1,564 | |
| Leavenworth | 20,579 | 18,526 | 10.0 | 2,034 | |
| Liberal | 7,134 | 7,057 | 1.1 | 76 | |
| Manhattan | 19,056 | 18,455 | 3.2 | 539 | |
| Newton | 11,590 | 11,214 | 3.2 | 356 | |
| Olathe | 5,593 | 5,339 | 4.5 | 251 | |
| Ottawa | 10,081 | 9,757 | 3.2 | 320 | |
| Overland Park | * | | | | |
| Parsons | 14,750 | 13,498 | 8.5 | 1,207 | |
| Pittsburg | 19,341 | 18,982 | 1.9 | 357 | |
| Prairie Village | ** | | | | |
| Salina | 26,176 | 25,547 | 2.4 | 611 | |

* Incorporated May 2, 1960
** Incorporated February 19, 1951

) and 1960 U. S. Census Reports by the
OMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
ce Building, Topeka, Kansas

Population Count
es of 10,000 or More

| 950 gro | 1950 Other Races | 1960 Total Population | 1960 White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1960 Negro | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 539 | 52 | 14,262 | 13,432 | 5.8 | 615 | 215 |
| 263 | 8 | 12,529 | 11,226 | 10.4 | 1,268 | 35 |
| 306 | 10 | 10,849 | 10,550 | 2.8 | 284 | 15 |
| 162 | 23 | 17,382 | 15,471 | 11.0 | 1,852 | 59 |
| 252 | 3 | 13,520 | 13,237 | 2.1 | 262 | 21 |
| 190 | 8 | 12,523 | 12,115 | 1.7 | 190 | 18 |
| 339 | 16 | 18,190 | 17,646 | 3.0 | 452 | 92 |
| 600 | 7 | 9,410 | 8,836 | 6.1 | 559 | 15 |
| 224 | 5 | 11,811 | 11,621 | 1.6 | 183 | 7 |
| 405 | 0 | 16,670 | 16,193 | 2.9 | 470 | 7 |
| 1 | 1 | 11,947 | 11,938 | 0.1 | 1 | 8 |
| 937 | 8 | 37,574 | 36,331 | 3.3 | 1,155 | 88 |
| 254 | 2 | 11,222 | 10,177 | 9.3 | 1,032 | 13 |
| 339 | 56 | 18,700 | 15,695 | 16.1 | 2,422 | 583 |
| 560 | 50 | 121,901 | 93,574 | 23.2 | 28,134 | 193 |
| 964 | 368 | 32,858 | 29,855 | 9.1 | 1,657 | 1,346 |
| 934 | 19 | 22,052 | 19,425 | 11.9 | 2,529 | 98 |
| 776 | 1 | 13,813 | 13,499 | 2.3 | 296 | 18 |
| 739 | 62 | 22,993 | 21,854 | 5.0 | 814 | 325 |
| 556 | 20 | 14,877 | 14,402 | 3.2 | 458 | 17 |
| 551 | 3 | 10,987 | 10,563 | 3.9 | 395 | 29 |
| 320 | 4 | 10,673 | 10,349 | 3.0 | 291 | 33 |
| | | 21,110 | 21,079 | 0.1 | 8 | 23 |
| 007 | 45 | 13,929 | 12,889 | 7.5 | 1,012 | 28 |
| 357 | 2 | 18,678 | 18,269 | 2.2 | 376 | 33 |
| | | 25,356 | 25,313 | 0.2 | 25 | 18 |
| 711 | 18 | 43,202 | 41,593 | 3.7 | 1,407 | 202 |

| Cities | 1950 Total Population | 1950 White | 1950 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | 1950 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Topeka | 78,791 | 72,248 | 8.3 | 6,228 | 315 |
| Wichita | 168,279 | 159,910 | 5.0 | 8,082 | 287 |
| Winfield | 10,264 | 9,984 | 2.7 | 255 | 25 |

Summary of Characteris

| 1950 Total Population | 1960 Total Population | 1950 White | 1960 White | 195 Non |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1,905,299 | 2,178,611 | 1,828,961 | 2,078,666 | |

Bureau of Census includes Mexican-Americans in white

Other races include Indians, Japanese, Chinese, etc.

| 1950 Other Races | 1960 Total Population | 1960 White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1960 Negro | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 315 | 119,484 | 109,687 | 8.2 | 9,145 | 652 |
| 287 | 254,698 | 233,539 | 8.3 | 19,861 | 1,298 |
| 25 | 11,117 | 10,828 | 2.6 | 253 | 36 |

teristics for State

| 1950 % of Non-White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | 1960 Negro | 1950 Other Races | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4.0 | 4.6 | 73,158 | 91,445 | 3,180 | 8,500 |

hite race.

etc.

Population Count by Co

| Counties | 1950 Total Population | 1950 White | 1950 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | Ot Ra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allen | 18,187 | 17,788 | 2.2 | 331 | |
| Anderson | 10,267 | 10,238 | 0.3 | 28 | |
| Atchison | 21,496 | 20,051 | 6.7 | 1,428 | |
| Barber | 8,521 | 8,481 | 0.5 | 36 | |
| Barton | 29,909 | 29,371 | 1.8 | 529 | |
| Bourbon | 19,153 | 18,478 | 3.5 | 661 | |
| Brown | 14,651 | 14,132 | 3.5 | 173 | |
| Butler | 31,001 | 30,769 | 0.7 | 201 | |
| Chase | 4,831 | 4,790 | 0.8 | 40 | |
| Chautaqua | 7,376 | 7,309 | 0.9 | 52 | |
| Cherokee | 25,144 | 24,795 | 1.4 | 330 | |
| Cheyenne | 5,668 | 5,664 | 0.1 | 4 | |
| Clark | 3,946 | 3,932 | 0.4 | 13 | |
| Clay | 11,697 | 11,683 | 0.1 | 11 | |
| Cloud | 16,104 | 16,087 | 0.1 | 10 | |
| Coffey | 10,408 | 10,399 | 0.1 | 7 | |
| Comanche | 3,888 | 3,885 | 0.1 | 0 | |
| Cowley | 36,905 | 35,930 | 2.6 | 886 | |
| Crawford | 40,231 | 39,662 | 1.4 | 565 | |
| Decatur | 6,185 | 6,184 | ... | 1 | |
| Dickinson | 21,190 | 20,990 | 0.9 | 196 | |
| Doniphan | 10,499 | 10,073 | 4.1 | 403 | |
| Douglas | 34,006 | 31,977 | 6.2 | 1,724 | |
| Edwards | 5,936 | 5,921 | 0.3 | 15 | |
| Elk | 6,679 | 6,663 | 0.2 | 4 | |
| Ellis | 19,043 | 19,008 | 0.2 | 33 | |
| Ellsworth | 8,465 | 8,429 | 0.4 | 34 | |
| Finney | 15,092 | 14,825 | 1.8 | 262 | |
| Ford | 19,670 | 19,393 | 1.4 | 263 | |
| Franklin | 19,928 | 19,566 | 1.8 | 346 | |
| Geary | 21,671 | 20,009 | 7.7 | 1,570 | |
| Gove | 4,447 | 4,431 | 0.4 | 15 | |
| Graham | 5,020 | 4,755 | 5.3 | 265 | |
| Grant | 4,638 | 4,629 | 0.2 | 2 | |
| Gray | 4,894 | 4,875 | 0.4 | 19 | |
| Greeley | 2,010 | 1,975 | 1.7 | 34 | |

by Counties

| | 1950 Other Races | 1960 Total Population | 1960 White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1960 Negro | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 68 | 16,369 | 16,040 | 2.0 | 303 | 26 |
| 3 | 1 | 9,035 | 9,015 | 0.2 | 19 | 1 |
| 3 | 17 | 20,898 | 19,414 | 7.1 | 1,424 | 60 |
| 5 | 4 | 8,713 | 8,670 | 0.5 | 27 | 16 |
| 0 | 9 | 32,368 | 31,756 | 1.9 | 587 | 25 |
| 1 | 14 | 16,090 | 15,493 | 3.7 | 582 | 15 |
| 3 | 346 | 13,229 | 12,722 | 3.8 | 138 | 369 |
| 1 | 31 | 38,395 | 38,135 | 0.7 | 203 | 57 |
| 0 | 1 | 3,921 | 3,866 | 1.4 | 51 | 4 |
| 2 | 15 | 5,956 | 5,877 | 1.3 | 55 | 24 |
| 0 | 19 | 22,279 | 21,936 | 1.5 | 274 | 69 |
| 4 | 0 | 4,708 | 4,705 | 0.1 | 1 | 2 |
| 3 | 1 | 3,396 | 3,393 | 0.1 | 0 | 3 |
| 1 | 3 | 10,675 | 10,655 | 0.2 | 13 | 7 |
| 0 | 7 | 14,407 | 14,398 | 0.1 | 9 | 0 |
| 7 | 2 | 8,403 | 8,395 | 0.1 | 4 | 4 |
| 0 | 3 | 3,271 | 3,269 | 0.1 | 0 | 2 |
| 5 | 89 | 37,861 | 36,615 | 3.3 | 952 | 294 |
| 5 | 4 | 37,032 | 36,516 | 1.4 | 472 | 44 |
| 1 | 0 | 5,778 | 5,776 | ... | 0 | 2 |
| 5 | 4 | 21,572 | 21,349 | 1.0 | 161 | 62 |
| 3 | 23 | 9,574 | 9,186 | 4.1 | 372 | 16 |
| 4 | 385 | 43,720 | 40,573 | 7.2 | 1,764 | 1,383 |
| 5 | 0 | 5,118 | 5,103 | 0.3 | 13 | 2 |
| 4 | 12 | 5,048 | 5,041 | 0.1 | 7 | 0 |
| 3 | 2 | 21,270 | 21,228 | 0.2 | 29 | 13 |
| 4 | 2 | 7,677 | 7,640 | 0.5 | 36 | 1 |
| 2 | 5 | 16,093 | 15,876 | 1.3 | 208 | 9 |
| 0 | 14 | 20,938 | 20,641 | 1.4 | 274 | 23 |
| 5 | 16 | 19,548 | 19,187 | 1.8 | 309 | 52 |
| 0 | 92 | 28,779 | 24,634 | 14.4 | 3,370 | 775 |
| 5 | 1 | 4,107 | 4,098 | 0.2 | 8 | 1 |
| 5 | 0 | 5,586 | 5,390 | 3.5 | 195 | 1 |
| 2 | 7 | 5,269 | 5,257 | 0.2 | 1 | 11 |
| 0 | 0 | 4,380 | 4,364 | 0.4 | 14 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 2,087 | 2,070 | 0.7 | 14 | 1 |

| Counties | 1950 Total Population | 1950 White | 1950 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | 1950 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Greenwood | 13,574 | 13,560 | 0.1 | 6 | |
| Hamilton | 3,696 | 3,676 | 0.5 | 9 | |
| Harper | 10,263 | 10,203 | 0.6 | 20 | |
| Harvey | 21,698 | 21,291 | 1.9 | 385 | |
| Haskell | 2,606 | 2,595 | 0.4 | 0 | |
| Hodgeman | 3,310 | 3,304 | 0.2 | 5 | |
| Jackson | 11,098 | 10,622 | 4.3 | 35 | |
| Jefferson | 11,084 | 10,970 | 1.0 | 90 | |
| Jewell | 9,698 | 9,690 | 0.1 | 5 | |
| Johnson | 62,783 | 62,054 | 1.2 | 706 | |
| Kearny | 3,492 | 3,491 | ... | 0 | |
| Kingman | 10,324 | 10,293 | 0.3 | 31 | |
| Kiowa | 4,743 | 4,741 | ... | 2 | |
| Labette | 29,285 | 27,700 | 5.4 | 1,534 | |
| Lane | 2,808 | 2,802 | 0.2 | 5 | |
| Leavenworth | 42,361 | 38,549 | 9.0 | 3,803 | |
| Lincoln | 6,643 | 6,637 | 0.1 | 4 | |
| Linn | 10,053 | 9,965 | 0.9 | 86 | |
| Logan | 4,206 | 4,110 | 2.3 | 95 | |
| Lyon | 26,576 | 26,031 | 2.1 | 520 | |
| McPherson | 23,670 | 23,624 | 0.2 | 41 | |
| Marion | 16,307 | 16,272 | 0.2 | 32 | |
| Marshall | 17,926 | 17,896 | 0.2 | 29 | |
| Meade | 5,710 | 5,700 | 0.2 | 10 | |
| Miami | 19,698 | 18,902 | 4.0 | 794 | |
| Mitchell | 10,320 | 10,288 | 0.3 | 32 | |
| Montgomery | 46,487 | 42,878 | 7.8 | 3,581 | |
| Morris | 8,485 | 8,402 | 1.0 | 81 | |
| Morton | 2,610 | 2,605 | 0.2 | 5 | |
| Nemaha | 14,341 | 14,269 | 0.5 | 70 | |
| Neosho | 20,348 | 19,981 | 1.8 | 355 | |
| Ness | 6,322 | 6,319 | ... | 3 | |
| Norton | 8,808 | 8,784 | 0.3 | 19 | |
| Osage | 12,811 | 12,767 | 0.3 | 40 | |
| Osborne | 8,558 | 8,533 | 0.3 | 25 | |
| Ottawa | 7,265 | 7,243 | 0.3 | 22 | |

| 1950 Other Races | 1960 Total Population | 1960 White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1960 Negro | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 11,253 | 11,243 | 0.1 | 0 | 10 |
| 11 | 3,144 | 3,129 | 0.5 | 15 | 0 |
| 40 | 9,541 | 9,507 | 0.4 | 32 | 2 |
| 22 | 25,865 | 25,355 | 2.0 | 476 | 34 |
| 11 | 2,990 | 2,973 | 0.6 | 1 | 16 |
| 1 | 3,115 | 3,092 | 0.7 | 20 | 3 |
| 441 | 10,309 | 9,932 | 3.7 | 23 | 354 |
| 16 | 11,252 | 11,113 | 1.2 | 100 | 39 |
| 3 | 7,217 | 7,213 | 0.1 | 2 | 2 |
| 23 | 143,792 | 142,673 | 0.8 | 943 | 176 |
| 1 | 3,108 | 3,098 | 0.3 | 1 | 9 |
| 0 | 9,958 | 9,945 | 0.1 | 11 | 2 |
| 0 | 4,626 | 4,622 | 0.1 | 0 | 4 |
| 51 | 26,805 | 25,486 | 4.9 | 1,269 | 50 |
| 1 | 3,060 | 3,059 | ... | 1 | 0 |
| 149 | 48,524 | 43,835 | 9.7 | 4,412 | 277 |
| 2 | 5,556 | 5,539 | 0.3 | 1 | 16 |
| 2 | 8,274 | 8,205 | 0.8 | 66 | 3 |
| 1 | 4,036 | 3,974 | 1.5 | 52 | 10 |
| 17 | 26,928 | 26,334 | 2.2 | 497 | 97 |
| 5 | 24,285 | 24,189 | 0.4 | 67 | 29 |
| 3 | 15,143 | 15,095 | 0.3 | 22 | 26 |
| 1 | 15,598 | 15,582 | 0.1 | 14 | 2 |
| 0 | 5,505 | 5,493 | 0.2 | 3 | 9 |
| 2 | 19,884 | 19,154 | 3.7 | 717 | 13 |
| 0 | 8,866 | 8,850 | 0.2 | 12 | 4 |
| 28 | 45,007 | 41,873 | 7.0 | 2,997 | 137 |
| 2 | 7,392 | 7,329 | 0.9 | 62 | 1 |
| 0 | 3,354 | 3,344 | 0.3 | 3 | 7 |
| 2 | 12,897 | 12,845 | 0.4 | 48 | 4 |
| 12 | 19,455 | 19,129 | 1.7 | 310 | 16 |
| 0 | 5,470 | 5,468 | ... | 2 | 0 |
| 5 | 8,035 | 8,004 | 0.4 | 15 | 16 |
| 4 | 12,886 | 12,852 | 0.3 | 20 | 14 |
| 0 | 7,506 | 7,483 | 0.3 | 23 | 0 |
| 0 | 6,779 | 6,763 | 0.2 | 14 | 2 |

| Counties | 1950 Total Population | 1950 White | 1950 % of Non-White | 1950 Negro | 1 Ot Ra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pawnee | 11,041 | 10,832 | 1.9 | 207 | |
| Phillips | 9,273 | 9,250 | 0.2 | 21 | |
| Pottawatomie | 12,344 | 12,319 | 0.2 | 16 | |
| Pratt | 12,156 | 11,872 | 2.3 | 284 | |
| Rawlins | 5,728 | 5,727 | ... | 1 | |
| Reno | 54,058 | 53,073 | 1.8 | 968 | |
| Republic | 11,478 | 11,473 | ... | 4 | |
| Rice | 15,635 | 15,543 | 0.6 | 89 | |
| Riley | 33,405 | 32,586 | 2.5 | 706 | |
| Rooks | 9,043 | 8,995 | 0.5 | 48 | |
| Rush | 7,231 | 7,223 | 0.1 | 6 | |
| Russell | 13,406 | 13,347 | 0.4 | 53 | |
| Saline | 33,409 | 32,779 | 1.9 | 612 | |
| Scott | 4,921 | 4,904 | 0.3 | 2 | |
| Sedgwick | 222,290 | 212,144 | 4.6 | 9,746 | |
| Seward | 9,972 | 9,883 | 0.9 | 80 | |
| Shawnee | 105,418 | 97,656 | 7.4 | 7,386 | |
| Sheridan | 4,607 | 4,606 | ... | 0 | |
| Sherman | 7,373 | 7,371 | ... | 2 | |
| Smith | 8,846 | 8,844 | ... | 2 | |
| Stafford | 8,816 | 8,789 | 0.3 | 23 | |
| Stanton | 2,263 | 2,253 | 0.4 | 5 | |
| Stevens | 4,516 | 4,434 | 1.8 | 79 | |
| Sumner | 23,646 | 23,378 | 1.1 | 259 | |
| Thomas | 7,572 | 7,565 | 0.1 | 6 | |
| Trego | 5,868 | 5,846 | 0.4 | 17 | |
| Wabunsee | 7,212 | 7,008 | 2.8 | 204 | |
| Wallace | 2,508 | 2,485 | 0.9 | 23 | |
| Washington | 12,977 | 12,976 | ... | 0 | |
| Wichita | 2,640 | 2,628 | 0.5 | 10 | |
| Wilson | 14,815 | 14,731 | 0.6 | 83 | |
| Woodson | 6,711 | 6,704 | 0.1 | 2 | |
| Wyandotte | 165,310 | 135,843 | 17.8 | 29,367 | |

| 1950 Other Races | 1960 Total Population | 1960 White | 1960 % of Non-White | 1960 Negro | 1960 Other Races |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 10,254 | 6,997 | 2.5 | 225 | 32 |
| 2 | 8,709 | 8,689 | 0.2 | 20 | 0 |
| 9 | 11,957 | 11,904 | 0.4 | 19 | 34 |
| 0 | 12,122 | 11,857 | 2.2 | 255 | 10 |
| 0 | 5,279 | 5,279 | ... | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | 59,055 | 57,755 | 2.2 | 1,200 | 100 |
| 1 | 9,768 | 9,764 | ... | 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 13,909 | 13,806 | 0.7 | 92 | 11 |
| 113 | 41,914 | 39,472 | 5.8 | 1,896 | 546 |
| 0 | 9,734 | 9,697 | 0.4 | 33 | 4 |
| 2 | 6,160 | 6,148 | 0.2 | 3 | 9 |
| 6 | 11,348 | 11,302 | 0.4 | 39 | 7 |
| 18 | 54,715 | 52,732 | 3.6 | 1,742 | 241 |
| 15 | 5,228 | 5,222 | 0.1 | 6 | 0 |
| 400 | 343,231 | 321,215 | 6.4 | 20,469 | 1,547 |
| 9 | 15,930 | 15,596 | 2.1 | 298 | 36 |
| 376 | 141,286 | 130,956 | 7.3 | 9,513 | 817 |
| 1 | 4,267 | 4,266 | ... | 1 | 0 |
| 0 | 6,682 | 6,654 | 0.4 | 18 | 10 |
| 0 | 7,776 | 7,774 | ... | 0 | 2 |
| 4 | 7,451 | 7,425 | 0.3 | 17 | 9 |
| 5 | 2,108 | 2,081 | 1.3 | 3 | 24 |
| 3 | 4,400 | 4,326 | 1.7 | 66 | 8 |
| 9 | 25,316 | 25,063 | 1.0 | 241 | 12 |
| 1 | 7,358 | 7,356 | ... | 0 | 2 |
| 5 | 5,473 | 5,469 | 0.1 | 4 | 0 |
| 0 | 6,648 | 6,510 | 2.1 | 128 | 10 |
| 0 | 2,069 | 2,036 | 1.6 | 32 | 1 |
| 1 | 10,739 | 10,731 | 0.1 | 5 | 3 |
| 2 | 2,765 | 2,764 | ... | 1 | 0 |
| 1 | 13,077 | 13,013 | 0.5 | 55 | 9 |
| 5 | 5,423 | 5,423 | ... | 0 | 0 |
| 108 | 185,495 | 154,319 | 16.8 | 30,922 | 254 |

# EQUAL ACCOMMODATIONS

## PURPOSE:

Equal opportunity and access to public facilities is a right of every citizen. To guarantee these rights Kansas needs a Public Accommodations law with broad coverage and administrative enforcement.

## NEED

Present Kansas Public Accommodations law is relatively ineffective because of:

— limited coverage

— inconsistent enforcement

— difficulty in obtaining conviction for violation of this criminal statute



Places of public accommodations, amusement, resort, or recreation means any establishment which caters or offers its services or facilities or goods to the general public.



*UNDER PROPOSED BILL* it would be unlawful for the owner, manager or employee of any place of public accommodation to:

Refuse, withhold or deny to any person, because of his race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, either directly or indirectly, any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges of such place of public accommodation, resort or amusement.

This Act shall not repeal any other Kansas statute on civil rights.



## ENFORCEMENT

Administration by the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

## PROCEDURE

*Verified complaint* in writing by:

— any person claiming to be aggrieved by an alleged unlawful discriminatory practice
— the Attorney General
— a proprietor

*Investigation* by the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

*Conciliation* — Commissioners and staff seek to eliminate unlawful practice by conference and conciliation.

## PUBLIC HEARING

— when conciliatory efforts fail to eliminate unlawful practices.

## COURT ENFORCEMENT

— to secure enforcement of the Commission's order.

## PENALTIES

— for willful resistance or violation of the Commission's order shall be imprisonment for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than $500 or both.

Additional information may be obtained by contacting:

Kansas Advisory Council on Civil Rights
Mrs. Nathan Shechter, *Chairman*
5723 Windsor Drive
Mission, Kansas

Atty. Samuel Jackson, *Vice-Chairman*
514 Kansas Avenue
Topeka, Kansas

## PUBLIC PLACES INCLUDE:

Restaurants, eating places

Ice cream parlors, soda fountains

Bars, taverns, saloons

Hotels, motels, rooming houses

Hospitals, clinics, drug stores

Kindergartens, schools, colleges, libraries

Retail stores

Barber shops

Beauty parlors

Theaters, motion picture theaters

Skating rinks

Bowling alleys, billard parlors

Amusement, recreation parks

Swimming pools, gymnasiums

Airport facilities

Fairs

Garages

Public transportation facilities

Other establishments open to the public

# QUESTIONING APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT

A Guide for Application Forms
and Interviews under the

KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

Administered by

STATE OF KANSAS

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
State Office Building
Topeka, Kansas
CEntral 5-0011, Ext. 8011

# PRE-EMPLOYMENT INQUIRY GUIDE

| SUBJECT | LAWFUL PRE-EMPLOYMENT INQUIRIES | UNLAWFUL PRE-EMPLOYMENT INQUIRIES |
|---|---|---|
| **1. NAME** | Maiden name.<br>Name used if previously employed under different name. | Inquiry into previous name where it has been changed by court order, or otherwise. |
| **2. ADDRESS** | Inquiry into place and length of current and previous addresses. | Specific inquiry into foreign addresses which would indicate national origin. |
| **3. BIRTHPLACE** | To ask that applicant AFTER being hired be able to submit a birth certificate or other proof of United States citizenship. | Birthplace of applicant.<br>Birthplace of applicant's parents, spouse or other close relatives.<br>Requirement that applicant submit birth certificate, naturalization or baptismal record. |
| **4. RACE OR COLOR** | Color of applicant's eyes or hair. | Any inquiry which would indicate race or color. |
| **5. PHOTOGRAPHS** | May be required AFTER hiring for identification purposes. | Requirement that applicant affix a photograph to his application form.<br>Request applicant, at his option, to submit photograph.<br>Requirement of photograph after interview but before hiring. |
| **6. RELIGION - CREED** | | Inquiry into an applicant's religious denomination, religious affiliations, church, parish, pastor, or religious holidays observed.<br>An applicant may not be told "This is a Protestant (Catholic or Jewish, etc.) organization." |
| **7. CITIZENSHIP** | Are you a citizen of the United States?<br>If not a citizen of the United States, does applicant intend to become a citizen of the United States?<br>If you are not a United States citizen, have you the legal right to remain permanently in the United States?<br>Requirement that applicant state whether he has ever been interned or arrested as an enemy alien.<br>Whether applicant's parents or spouse are citizens of the United States. | Whether an applicant is naturalized or a native-born citizen; the date when the applicant acquired citizenship.<br>Requirement that an applicant produce his naturalization papers or first papers. |
| **8. NATIONAL ORIGIN** | Inquiry into languages applicant speaks and writes fluently.<br>What foreign languages do you read fluently? Write fluently? Speak fluently? | Inquiry into an applicant's lineage, ancestry, national origin, descent, parentage, and nationality.<br>Nationality of applicant's parents or spouse.<br>What is your mother tongue?<br>Inquiry into how applicant acquired ability to read, write or speak a foreign language. |
| **9. EDUCATION** | Inquiry into what academic, professional, or vocational schools attended. | Any inquiry asking specifically the nationality, racial, or religious affiliation of a school. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **10. CHARACTER** | Have you ever been arrested or convicted of any crime? If so, when, where and disposition of case? | |
| **11. RELATIVES** | Names of applicant's parents, spouse and minor dependent children.<br>Names of applicant's relatives already employed by this company.<br>Do you live with your parents? If not, with whom do you live? What family have you? | Name and address of any relative of adult applicant other than applicant's spouse or children. |
| **12. NOTICE IN CASE OF EMERGENCY** | Name and address of person to be notified in case of accident or emergency. | |
| **13. ORGANIZATIONS** | Inquiry into organization memberships, excluding any organization, the name or character of which indicates the race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry of its members. | List all organizations, clubs, societies, and lodges to which you belong. |
| **14. MILITARY SERVICE** | Inquiry into an applicant's military experience in the Armed Forces of the United States. | Inquiry into military service in armed service of any other country. |

ANY INQUIRY IS FORBIDDEN WHICH, ALTHOUGH NOT SPECIFICALLY LISTED AMONG THE ABOVE, IS DESIGNED TO ELICIT INFORMATION AS TO RACE, RELIGION, COLOR, NATIONAL ORIGIN OR ANCESTRY IN VIOLATION OF THE LAW.

## PURPOSE OF THE GUIDE

On July 1, 1961, the Kansas Act Against Discrimination as amended by the 1961 Kansas Legislature became effective. Under this law it is illegal for employers, labor unions, or employment agencies to discriminate against persons because of their race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

The law contains a number of specific provisions designed to assist in preventing such discrimination in employment or union membership. One of these forbids eliciting information from applicants, prior to employment, which would indicate the applicant's race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.*

Because this prohibition makes necessary some changes in the content of application forms as well as questions sometimes asked of applicants, this guide is provided to assist all concerned in understanding and applying the law.

It should be understood clearly that this pamphlet is not a complete definition of what can be asked of applicants. It attempts to answer the questions most frequently asked concerning the law. This Act is not intended to prohibit employers or unions from obtaining all the information about applicants they deem pertinent, so long as the questions do not elicit information which could be used for discriminatory purposes.

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* The provisions of the Act relating to inquiries of applicants before their employment or admittance to union membership are as follows:

> "SEC. 5. It shall be an unlawful employment practice: (*c*) For any employer, employment agency or labor organization to print or circulate or cause to be printed or circulated any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment or membership or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment or membership, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, unless based on a bona fide occupational qualification."

Applicants should not be encouraged to volunteer information forbidden by law.

This Act does not restrict the rights of employers or unions to define qualifications necessary for satisfactory job performance, but does require that these same standards of qualifications for hiring or membership be applied equally to all persons.

The provisions of the law make necessary the regulation of employment practices. The Commission recognizes that mere routine adherence will not accomplish the results intended by the Legislature. Employment discrimination can be eliminated only if regulations are followed in the spirit as well as the letter in which the law was conceived.

Any employer or labor union desiring an exemption under Sec. 5 (*c*) on the basis of applicable security regulations established by the United States or the state of Kansas or on the basis of bona fide occupational qualifications which are considered essential to a particular position or occupation may make written inquiry to the Commission on Civil Rights for a ruling that such inquiry be permitted.

Further information concerning the Kansas Act Against Discrimination, or additional interpretation thereof, may be obtained by contacting the office of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

**KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

**State Office Building**

**Topeka, Kansas**

**CEntral 5-0011, Ext. 8011**

—339A

# The Kansas Act Against Discrimination

**(Chapter 44, Art. 10, 1953 Supp., General Statutes of Kansas)**

**AMENDED**

**In 1961: To prohibit discriminatory employment practices.**

**AMENDED**

**In 1963: To prohibit discriminatory practices in hotels, motels, cabin camps, and restaurants.**

**STATE OF KANSAS**

**Administered by**

## KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**State Office Building**
Topeka 12, Kansas
**CEntral 5-0011—Ext. 8011**

### Note One

The Kansas Act Against Discrimination, as amended in 1961, prohibits discriminatory *employment* practices based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry. Effective July 1, 1961, the Act is administered by the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

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### Note Two

The Kansas Act Against Discrimination, as amended in 1963, prohibits discrimination in hotels, motels, cabin camps and restaurants because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry. Effective July 1, 1963, the Act is administered by the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights.

An aggrieved person has the option of filing a complaint under this Act with the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights or with a county attorney under Chapter 21, Art. 2424, 1959 Supp., General Statutes of Kansas (see p. 12, this pamphlet).

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### For Information or Assistance

In filing complaints . . .

In obtaining speakers, human relations materials, and films that are part of the Commission's educational program. . . .

On consultant services to employers, employer organizations, labor unions, proprietors of covered places of public accommodations and other civic organizations on specific problems . . . [There is no charge for these services.]

***Write, telephone, or come in person, to the***

**KANSAS COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

State Office Building
Topeka 12, Kansas
CE 5-0011—Ext. 8011

# The Kansas Act Against Discrimination

**(Chapter 44, Art. 10, 1953 Supp., General Statutes of Kansas; amended, L. 1961, ch. 248; amended, L. 1963, ch. 279.)**

**44-1001. Title of act; declaration of state policy and purpose of act.** This article shall be known as the Kansas act against discrimination. It shall be deemed an exercise of the police power of the state for the protection of the public welfare, safety, health and peace of the people of this state. The practice or policy of discrimination against individuals in relation to employment or in relation to full and equal accommodations in hotels, motels, cabin camps and restaurants by reason of their race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a matter of concern to the state, that such discrimination threatens not only the rights and privileges of the inhabitants of the state of Kansas but menaces the institutions and foundations of a free democratic state. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the state of Kansas to eliminate discrimination in all employment relations and to eliminate and prevent discrimination, segregation, or separation in hotels, motels, cabin camps and restaurants. It is also declared to be the policy of this state to assure equal opportunities and encouragement to every citizen regardless of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, in securing and holding, without discrimination, employment in any field of work or labor for which he is properly qualified, and to assure equal opportunities to all persons within this state to full and equal accommodations regardless of such distinctions in every hotel, motel, cabin camp or restaurant. It is further declared that the opportunity to secure and to hold employment, and the opportunity for full and equal accommodations in hotels, motels, cabin camps or restaurants are civil rights of every citizen. To protect those rights, it is hereby declared to be the purpose of this act to establish and to provide a state commission having power to eliminate discrimination in employment or in hotels, motels, cabin camps or restaurants because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, either by employers, labor organizations, employment agencies or other persons as hereinafter provided. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 1; L. 1961, ch. 248, § 1; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 1; July 1.]

**44-1002. Definitions.** When used in this act: (*a*) The term "person" includes one or more individuals, partnerships, associations, organizations, corporations, legal representatives, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers. (*b*) The term "employer" includes any person in this state employing eight (8) or more persons, and any person acting directly or indirectly for an employer as herein defined, and labor organizations, nonsectarian corporations, and organizations engaged in social service work, and the state of Kansas and all political and municipal subdivisions thereof, but shall not include a nonprofit religious, charitable, fraternal,

social, educational, or sectarian association or corporation. (*c*) The term "employee" does not include any individual employed by his parents, spouse, or child, or in the domestic service of any person. (*d*) The term "labor organization" includes any organization which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of collective bargaining or of dealing with employers concerning grievances, terms or conditions of employment, or of other mutual aid or protection in relation to employment. (*e*) The term "employment agency" includes any person or governmental agency undertaking with or without compensation to procure opportunities to work, or to procure, recruit, refer, or place employees. (*f*) The term "commission" means the commission on civil rights created and amended by this act. (*g*) The term "unlawful employment practices" includes only those unlawful practices and acts specified in section 44-1009 of the General Statutes Supplement of 1961, and includes segregate or separate. (*h*) The words "hotel," "motel" and "restaurant" shall each have the meanings ascribed to them respectively by sections 36-101 and 36-301 of the General Statutes Supplement of 1961, but shall not include a nonprofit religious, fraternal, or sectarian association or corporation. (*i*) The term "unlawful discriminatory practice" means any discrimination against persons or segregation or separation of persons in a hotel, motel, cabin camp or restaurant by reason of their race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 2; L. 1961, ch. 248, § 2; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 2; July 1.]

**44-1003. Commission on civil rights; membership; appointment; qualifications; chairman; terms; vacancies; quorum; compensation; director, salary; staff.** There is hereby created a commission to be known as the antidiscrimination commission: *Provided,* After the effective date of this act, said commission shall be known as the commission on civil rights: *Provided further,* Persons appointed as members of the antidiscrimination commission shall continue to serve for the remainder of their terms as members of the commission on civil rights and until their successors are appointed and qualified. Said commission shall consist of five (5) members, two (2) of whom shall be representative of industry, two (2) of whom shall be representative of labor, and one (1) of whom shall be from the public at large, to be known as commissioners, who shall be appointed by the governor, and one (1) of whom shall be designated by the governor as chairman, who shall preside at all meetings of the commission and perform all the duties and functions of the chairman thereof. The commission may designate one (1) of its members to act as chairman during the absence or incapacity of the chairman, and, when so acting, the member so designated shall have and perform all the duties and functions of the chairman of the commission. The term of office of each member of the commission shall be for four (4) years and until his successor is qualified: *Provided,* That of the commissioners first appointed, one (1) shall be appointed for a term of one (1) year, one (1) for a term of two (2) years, one (1) for a term of three (3) years, and two (2) for a term of four (4) years. Any member chosen to fill a vacancy oc-

curring otherwise than by expiration of term, shall be appointed for the unexpired term of the member whom he is to succeed. A majority of the then members of the commission shall constitute a quorum for the purpose of conducting the business thereof. Vacancies in the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the commission. Each member of the commission shall receive as compensation for his services, the sum of fifteen dollars ($15) per day for each day actually spent in the discharge of his official duties: *Provided,* This limitation shall not apply to any expenses actually incurred by any member in traveling to and from the sessions of the commission or during the actual attendance of the same; nor to the necessary and actual expense incurred by any such member in the performance of his official duties as provided and set forth in this act. The commission shall employ a full-time executive director who shall receive a salary not less than seven thousand eight hundred dollars ($7,800) and not to exceed nine thousand five hundred dollars ($9,500) per year, as fixed by the commission. The commission shall employ such professional staff and full or part-time legal, stenographic and clerical assistance as shall be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act and fix the amount of their compensation: *Provided, however,* That the appointment and compensation of legal counsel shall be approved by the attorney general. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 3; L. 1961, ch. 248, § 3; June 30.]

**44-1004. Powers and duties of commission.** The commission shall have the following functions, powers and duties:

(1) To establish and maintain its principal office in the city of Topeka, and such other offices elsewhere within the state as it may deem necessary.

(2) To meet and function at any place within the state.

(3) To adopt, promulgate, amend and rescind suitable rules and regulations to carry out the provisions of this act, and the policies and practices of the commission in connection therewith.

(4) To receive and investigate complaints alleging discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, or alleging unlawful discriminatory practices because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

(5) To hold hearings, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath, and, in connection therewith, to examine any books or papers relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the commission. No person shall be prosecuted or subjected to any penalty or forfeiture for or on account of any transaction, matter or thing concerning which he testifies or produces evidence, except that such person so testifying shall not be exempt from prosecution and punishment for perjury committed in so testifying. The immunity herein provided shall extend only to natural persons.

(6) To endeavor to eliminate prejudice among the various ethnic groups in this state and to further good will among such groups. The commission in co-operation with the state department of edu-

cation shall prepare a comprehensive educational program designed for the students of the public schools of this state and for all other residents thereof, calculated, to emphasize the origin of prejudice against such groups, its harmful effects, and its incompatibility with American principles of equality and fair play.

(7) To create such advisory agencies and conciliation councils, local, regional, or state-wide, as in its judgment will aid in effectuating the purposes of this act, to study the problem of discrimination in all or specific fields or instances of discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry; to foster, through community effort or otherwise, good will, co-operation and conciliation among the groups and elements of the population of this state, and to make recommendations to the commission for the development of policies and procedures, and for programs of formal and informal education, which the commission may recommend to the appropriate state agency. Such advisory agencies and conciliation councils shall be composed of representative cititzens serving without pay. The commission may itself make the studies and perform the acts authorized by this paragraph. It may, by voluntary conferences with parties in interest, endeavor by conciliation and persuasion to eliminate discrimination in all the stated fields and to foster good will and co-operation among all elements of the population of the state.

(8) To accept contributions from any person to assist in the effectuation of this section and to seek and enlist the co-operation of private, charitable, religious, labor, civic and benevolent organizations for the purposes of this section.

(9) To issue such publications and such results of investigation and research as in its judgment will tend to promote good will and minimize or eliminate discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

(10) To render each year to the governor and to the state legislature a full written report of all its activities and of its recommendations.

(11) To adopt an official seal. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 4; L. 1961, ch. 248, § 4; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 3; July 1.]

**44-1005. Verified complaints by or for aggrieved persons; filing; investigation; determination; conference and conciliation; notice and answer, when; hearing; procedure; orders; rules of practice; limitation on time for filing complaints.** Any person claiming to be aggrieved by an alleged unlawful employment practice or by an alleged unlawful discriminatory practice may, by himself or by his attorney-at-law, make, sign, and file with the commission a verified complaint in writing which shall state the name and address of the person, employer, labor organization or employment agency alleged to have committed the unlawful employment practice complained of or the name and address of the person alleged to have committed the unlawful discriminatory practice complained of, and which shall set forth the particulars thereof and contain such other information as may be required by the commission. The attorney general may,

in like manner, make, sign and file such complaint. Any employer whose employees, or some of whom, refuse or threaten to refuse to co-operate with the provisions of this act, may file with the commission a verified complaint asking for assistance by conciliation or other remedial action.

After the filing of any complaint by an aggrieved individual, or by the attorney general, the commission shall designate one of the commissioners to make, with the assistance of the commissioner's staff, prompt investigation of the alleged act of discrimination. If such commissioner shall determine after such investigation that no probable cause exists for crediting the allegations of the complaint, he shall, within ten (10) days from such determination, cause to be issued and served upon the complainant written notice of such determination.

If such commissioner after such investigation, shall determine that probable cause exists for crediting the allegations for the complaint, the said commissioner or such other commissioner as the commission may designate, shall immediately endeavor to eliminate the unlawful employment practice or the unlawful discriminatory practice complained of by conference and conciliation. The members of the commission and its staff shall not disclose what has transpired in the course of such endeavors.

In case of failure so to eliminate such practice, or in advance thereof, if in the judgment of the commissioner or the commission circumstances so warrant, the said commissioner or the commission shall cause to be issued and served in the name of the commission, a written notice, together with a copy of such complaint, as the same may have been amended, requiring the person, employer, labor organization or employment agency named in such complaint, hereinafter referred to as respondent, to answer the charges of such complaint at a hearing before the commission at a time not less than ten (10) days after the service of said notice. The place of such hearing shall be in the county where respondent is doing business and the acts complained of occurred.

The case in support of the complaint shall be presented before the commission by one of its attorneys or agents, or by private counsel, if any, of the complainant, and the commissioner who shall have previously made the investigation shall not participate in the hearing except as a witness, nor shall he participate in deliberations of the commission in such case; and the aforesaid endeavors at conciliation shall not be received in evidence.

The respondent may file a written verified answer to the complaint and appear at such hearing in person or otherwise, with or without counsel, and submit testimony. The complainant shall appear at such hearing in person, with or without counsel, and submit testimony. Any individual or individuals filing such a complaint must appear in person at such hearing. The commission or the complainant shall have the power reasonably and fairly to amend any complaint, and the respondent shall have like power to amend his answer. The commission shall be bound by the rules of evidence prevailing in courts of law or equity, and only relevant

evidence of reasonable probative value shall be received. Reasonable examination and cross-examination shall be permitted. All parties shall be afforded opportunity to submit briefs prior to adjudication. The testimony taken at the hearing shall be under oath and be transcribed.

If, upon all the evidence in the hearing, the commission shall find a respondent has engaged in or is engaging in any unlawful employment practice or unlawful discriminatory practice as defined in this act, the commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on such respondent an order requiring such respondent to cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice or such unlawful discriminatory practice and to take such affirmative or other action, including the hiring, reinstatement with or without back pay, or upgrading of employees admission or restoration to membership in any respondent labor organizations, as, in the judgment of the commission, will effectuate the purposes of this act, and including a requirement for report of the manner of compliance.

If, upon all the evidence, the commission shall find that a respondent has not engaged in any such unlawful employment practice, or any such unlawful discriminatory practice, the commission shall state its findings of fact and shall issue and cause to be served on the complainant an order dismissing the said complaint as to such respondent.

A copy of its order shall be delivered in all cases by the commission to the complainant, to the respondent, to the attorney general, and to such other public officers as the commission may deem proper.

The commission shall, except as otherwise herein provided, establish rules of practice to govern, expedite and effectuate the foregoing procedure and its own actions thereunder. Said rules shall be available, upon written request, within thirty (30) days after the date of adoption.

Any complaint filed pursuant to this act must be so filed within six (6) months after the alleged act of discrimination. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 5; L. 1961, ch. 248, § 6; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 4; July 1.]

**44-1006. Construction of act.** The provisions of this act shall be construed liberally for the accomplishment of the purposes thereof. Nothing contained in this act shall be deemed to repeal any of the provisions of any other law of this state relating to discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, unless the same is specifically repealed by this act. Nothing in this act shall be construed to mean that an employer shall be forced to hire unqualified or incompetent personnel, or discharge qualified or competent personnel. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 6; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 5; July 1.]

**44-1007. Invalidity of part.** If any clause, sentence, paragraph or part of this act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances shall for any reason be adjudged by a court of competent jurisdiction to be invalid such judgment shall not affect, im-

pair or invalidate the remainder of this act and the application thereof to other persons or circumstances but shall be confined in its operation to the clause, sentence, paragraph or part thereof directly involved in the controversy in which such judgment shall have been rendered and the persons or circumstances involved. It is hereby declared to be the legislative intent that this act would have been adopted had such provisions not been included. [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 7; June 30.]

**44-1008.** [L. 1953, ch. 249, § 8; Repealed, L. 1961, ch. 248, § 12; June 30.]

**44-1009. Unlawful employment practices.** It shall be an unlawful employment practice: (*a*) For an employer, because of the race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry of any individual to refuse to hire or employ, or to bar or to discharge from employment such individual or to otherwise discriminate against such individual in compensation or in terms, conditions, or privileges of employment.

(*b*) For a labor organization, because of the race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry of any individual, to exclude or to expel from its membership such individual or to discriminate in any way against any of its members or against any employer or any individual employed by an employer.

(*c*) For any employer, employment agency or labor organization to print or circulate or cause to be printed or circulated any statement, advertisement or publication, or to use any form of application for employment or membership or to make any inquiry in connection with prospective employment or membership, which expresses, directly or indirectly, any limitation, specification or discrimination as to race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry, or any intent to make any such limitation, specification or discrimination, unless based on a bona fide occupational qualification.

(*d*) For any employer, employment agency or labor organization to discharge, expel or otherwise discriminate against any person because he has opposed any practices or acts forbidden under this act or because he has filed a complaint, testified or assisted in any proceeding under this act.

(*e*) For any person, whether an employer or an employee or not, to aid, abet, incite, compel or coerce the doing of any of the acts forbidden under this act, or to attempt to do so. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 5; June 30.]

**44-1010. Rehearing, when; effect of order changing original decision.** Any party being dissatisfied with any order or decision of the commission may, within ten (10) days from the date of the service of such order or decision, apply for a rehearing in respect to any matter determined therein; the application shall be granted or denied by the commission within ten (10) days from the date same shall be filed, and if the rehearing be not granted within ten (10) days it shall be taken as denied. If a rehearing be granted the matter shall be determined by the commission within thirty (30) days

after the same shall be submitted. No cause of action arising out of any order or decision of the commission shall accrue in any court to any party unless such party shall make application for a rehearing as herein provided. Such application shall set forth specifically the ground or grounds on which the applicant considers such order or decision to be unlawful or unreasonable. No party shall, in any court, urge or rely upon any ground not set forth in said application. An order made after a rehearing abrogating, changing or modifying the original order or decision shall have the same force and effect as an original order or decision. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 7; June 30.]

**44-1011. Enforcement of orders of commission; petition; transcript; appeals; procedure.** The attorney general or county attorney, at the request of the commission, may secure enforcement of the order of the commission by the district court of the county where the unlawful employment practice or unlawful discriminatory practice shall have occurred or where any person required in the order to cease and desist from an unlawful employment practice or unlawful discriminatory practice or to take any affirmative action resides or transacts business, through mandamus or injunction in appropriate cases, or by action to compel the specific performance of the order. Such proceeding shall be initiated by the filing of a petition in such court, together with a transcript of the record upon the hearing before the commission, and issuance and service of a copy of said petition as in civil actions. The court shall have power to grant such temporary relief or restraining order as it deems just and proper, and to make and enter upon the pleadings, testimony and proceedings an order or decree, enforcing, modifying, and enforcing, as so modified, or setting aside in whole or in part, the order of the commission.

The attorney general, county attorney or any person aggrieved by an order made by the commission may obtain judicial review thereof in the said court by filing with the clerk of said court within thirty (30) days from the date of service of the order, a written appeal praying that such order be modified or set aside. The appeal shall certify that notice in writing of the appeal, with a copy of the appeal, has been given to all parties who appeared before the commission at their last known address, and to the commission by service at the office of the commission at Topeka. The evidence presented to the commission, together with its findings and the order issued thereon, shall be certified by the commission to said district court as its return. No order of the commission shall be superseded or stayed during the proceeding on the appeal unless the district court shall so direct.

No objection that has not been urged before the commission shall be considered by the court unless failure or neglect to urge such objection shall be excused because of extraordinary circumstances.

The court shall hear the appeal with or without a jury and the court may, in its discretion, permit any party or the commission to submit additional evidence on any issue. Said appeal shall be

heard and determined by the court as expeditiously as possible. After hearing, the court may affirm the adjudication. If the adjudication by the commission is not affirmed, the court may set aside or modify it, in whole or in part, or may remand the proceedings to the commission for further disposition in accordance with the order of the court.

The commission's copy of the testimony shall be available at all reasonable times to all parties for examination without cost, and for the purpose of judicial review of the order. The review shall be heard on the record without requirement of printing.

The commission shall be deemed a party to the review of any order by the court.

The jurisdiction of the district court of the proper county as aforesaid shall be exclusive and its final order or decree shall be subject to review by the supreme court as in other cases upon appeal within thirty (30) days of the filing of such decision. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 8; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 6; July 1.]

**44-1012. Posting of law and information.** Every person, employer, employment agency and labor union subject to this act, shall keep posted in a conspicuous place or places on his premises a notice or notices to be prepared or approved by the commission, which shall set forth excerpts of this act and such other relevant information which the commission shall deem necessary to explain the act. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 9; L. 1963, ch. 279, § 7; July 1.]

**44-1013. Unlawful acts; penalties.** Any person, employer, labor organization or employment agency, who or which shall willfully resist, prevent, impede or interfere with the commission or any of its members or representatives in the performance of duty under this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than one (1) year, or by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars ($500), or by both such fine and imprisonment; but procedure for the review of the order shall not be deemed to be such willful conduct. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 10; June 30.]

**44-1014. Act inapplicable to adherents of certain religious creeds.** This act shall not apply to any member of or adherent to a religious creed whose tenets or practices include a refusal to recognize the flag of the United States of America or a refusal to serve in the armed forces of the United States of America. [L. 1961, ch. 248, § 11; June 30.]

*Following are the other Kansas statutes pertaining to civil rights:*

**Chapter 12, Art. 7**

**CITIES—Planning and Zoning**

(General Statutes of Kansas—1949)

**12-713.** Nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing the governing body to discriminate against any person by reason of race or color.

**Chapter 21, Art. 24**

**CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS—Miscellaneous Offenses**

(1959 Supplement to General Statutes of Kansas—1949)

**21-2424.** If any of the regents or trustees of any state university, college, or other school of public instruction, or the state superintendent, or the owner or owners, agents, trustees or managers in charge of any hotel, as defined in section 36-101 of the General Statutes Supplement of 1957, or acts amendatory thereof, or any restaurant as defined in section 36-301 of the General Statutes Supplement of 1957, or acts amendatory thereof, or any place of public entertainment or public amusement, for which a license is required by any of the municipal authorities of this state, or the owner or owners or person or persons in charge of any railroad, bus, streetcar, or any other means of public carriage of persons within the state, shall make any distinction on account of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, the person so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof in any court of competent jurisdiction shall be fined in any sum not more than one thousand dollars ($1,000).

**21-2461.** No person a citizen of the United States shall be refused or denied employment in any capacity on the ground of race or color, nor be discriminated against in any manner by reason thereof, in connection with any public work, or with the contracting for or the performance of any work, labor, or service of any kind on any public work by or on behalf of the state of Kansas, or any department, bureau, commission, board or official thereof, or by or on behalf of any county, city, township, school district or other municipality of said state.

**21-2462.** The provisions of this act shall apply to and become a part of any contract hereafter made by or on behalf of the state, or any department, bureau, commission, board or official thereof, or by or on behalf of any county, city, township, school district, or other municipality of said state, with any corporation, association or person or persons, which may involve the employment of laborers, workmen, or mechanics on any public work; and shall apply to contractors, subcontractors, or other persons doing or contracting to do the whole or a part of any public work contemplated by said contract.

**21-2463.** Any officer of the state of Kansas or of any county, city, township, school district, or other municipality, or any person acting under or for such officer, or any contractor, subcontractor, or other person violating the provisions of this act shall for each offense be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars or more than one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment of not more than six months or by both fine and imprisonment.

## LABOR AND INDUSTRIES—Labor Organizations

(General Statutes of Kansas—1949)

ACT OF 1941

**44-801.** No labor organization of any kind, agency or representative committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or any other conditions of work, shall be the representative unit for the purpose of collective bargaining in the state of Kansas in any of the trades, crafts, skilled and unskilled, work, labor or employment of any kind or capacity, which in any manner discriminates against, or bars, or excludes from its membership any person because of his race or color: *Provided*, That the provisions of this act shall not apply to labor organizations within the provisions of 48 U. S. Statutes 1186 and 49 U. S. Statutes 1189, title 45, sections 151 to 188, both inclusive.

PRINTED BY
JEAN M. NEIBARGER, STATE PRINTER
TOPEKA, KANSAS
1963

29-8327

## STATE OF KANSAS: COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

| | |
|---|---|
| On the complaint of<br><br>Complainant,<br><br>vs.<br><br>Respondent, | DOCKET No.<br><br>COMPLAINT |

I, _____

residing at _____

charge _____

whose address is _____

with an unlawful practice within the meaning of the Act Against Discrimination (Chapter 44, Art. 10, as amended, General Statutes of Kansas), and specifically within the meaning of subsection _____ of Section _____ of said Act; because of my RACE ( ), RELIGION ( ), COLOR ( ), NATIONAL ORIGIN ( ), ANCESTRY ( ).

Date of incident, on or about _____ 19___

The facts on which the aforesaid charge is based are as follows:

I have not commenced any action, civil or criminal, based upon the grievance set forth above, except

_____

(Signature of Complainant)

STATE OF KANSAS,

COUNTY OF_____ } ss:

_____, being duly sworn, deposes and says that: that ____he is the Complainant herein; that ____he has read the foregoing complaint and knows the contents thereof; that the same is true of h____ own knowledge except as to the matters therein stated on information and belief; that as to those matters ____he believes the same to be true.

Subscribed and sworn to before me

this____day of_____, 19____

_____

(Signature of Complainant)

_____

(Signature of Notary Public or Attorney)

1954

# DISCRIMINATION Is Bad FOR BUSINESS

by

HAROLD W. GUEST

PUBLISHED BY

KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

DISCRIMINATION

Is Bad

FOR BUSINESS

# DISCRIMINATION IS BAD FOR BUSINESS

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BY
HAROLD W. GUEST

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KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION
STATE CAPITOL • TOPEKA, KANSAS

# PURPOSE

The Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission has two major responsibilities:

(1) To administer the Kansas Act Against Discrimination, and

(2) To establish a long-range educational program designed to eliminate discrimination in employment based upon race, color, religion or national origin.

This pamphlet is a part of the Commission's educational program. It is written by a prominent Kansan who has kindly agreed to lend his talents to our field of concern.

# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Harold W. Guest is Head of the Department of Economics and Business Administration at Baker University, Baldwin, Kansas.

He was born near Otsego, Mich., in 1895 and received a B. A. degree from Albion College in 1921, an M. A. degree from the University of Illinois in 1922, and a Ph. D. degree from Stanford University in 1926.

Doctor Guest is a distinguished Kansas educator. Before coming to Baker University he taught at the University of Illinois, Lafayette College, and Stanford University. In 1943 he was granted a leave of absence from his present position at Baker to serve as an Economist with the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Again in 1945 he was called by the Government to lecture at the Army University in Biarritz, France.

Besides being active in community life at Baldwin, Professor Guest is a member of the American Economic Association and also of the American Association of University Professors. He is the author of *Public Expenditure* and has written book reviews, articles on economics and education, and reports for the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission is grateful to the author for contributing his thoughts on why discrimination is bad for business.

# DISCRIMINATION IS BAD FOR BUSINESS

"The practice or policy of discrimination against individuals in relation to employment by reason of their race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a matter of concern of the state." This quotation is not taken from an address or a written statement of a demagogue or a reformer. Instead it is the opening sentence of the Kansas act prohibiting discriminatory employment practices, passed by the 1953 legislature. The expressed purpose of the act is to "eliminate discrimination in all employment relations." Further along in the text of the act, the legislature has asserted that "the opportunity to secure and hold employment without discrimination is a civil right of every citizen." Thus discrimination in employment relationships takes its place with violations of the traditional rights of free speech, free press, freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, and freedom to petition as something against which the state obligates itself to cast its weight.

But the case against discrimination in employment is not based entirely upon the duty of the state to do justice and to defend the rights which belong to all the citizens of a free society. There are compelling economic reasons also—reasons which bear on the profit and loss statement of the business firm, the pay check of the worker, the prices paid by the consumer, and even the tax bill paid by everybody. Discrimination is not only bad because it is unjust but also because it is bad business. It is bad business when practiced in employment relations because it is an obstacle to securing the best qualified employees to fill the jobs.

Some will object that no competent man of business who is about to hire a new employee will ever base his selection upon anything but the ability of applicants to do the job. Common sense confirms this view on the assumption that he wants to get the most possible output for what he spends for wages. Traditional economic theory confirms it also. In the well-known words of Adam Smith, he will be "led by an invisible hand" to promote the public interest as well as his own gain. His desire for profit will cause him to be concerned only with the comparative merits of those who apply for jobs, and prejudices will not be allowed to get in the way of rational pursuit of self-interest. But in spite of these conclusions of common sense and traditional economic theory, the fact remains that it takes

no more than a little knowledge of the ways of the world to know that the reverse is commonly true—that all too often reason is overwhelmed by emotion and judgment is stultified by prejudice.

A simple example will help to make this more clear. An office manager requires the services of a copy typist and interviews a number of applicants for the position. If he automatically screens out all applicants who have certain obvious racial characteristics, names beginning with O' or ending in ski, or religious beliefs different than his own, his action is clearly in disregard of the merit principle. He has acted on these individuals without taking the time to determine what abilities for the job they may have. Even if he uses a battery of psychological, aptitude, and other tests to help him decide who is best among those who survived the screening, there is more than a slight possibility that typists with equal or greater speed or accuracy may have been eliminated without any chance to take the tests. In effect, he has said that the color of the skin, the national origin, the religious affiliations of the person employed are more important than performance on the job. Can this possibly be justified on a business basis?

A common reply to this is that if the employer is so foolish and so shortsighted as to let his prejudices cloud his business judgment, he receives ample punishment in the reduction of efficiency and higher costs of operation. Either he will see the folly of what he is doing and abandon his prejudiced behavior, or he will suffer the losses which follow as consequences. This is probably true, but it does not take into account two very vital facts. First, prejudice is of such an irrational nature that it blinds those afflicted with it to its consequences and thus they continue in the same behavior patterns placing the blame for their misfortunes elsewhere. Second, since placement and promotion in employment situations is not based solely on merit when prejudice results in discrimination, society suffers as well as the victim of discrimination and the firm which practices it. The decrease in efficiency of operation and the increase in costs of production is almost certain to result sooner or later in higher prices and lower wage levels. It is no mere historical coincidence that the prosperity and welfare of many of our states has improved as the practice of discrimination in employment has receded. Rather, these signs of general improvement are the normal consequence of opening doors of opportunity to qualified people who in the past had been barred by discrimination from making their maximum contribution to the national output and income. Neither is it any mere accident that the commanding needs of wartime production made discrimination based on prejudice

retreat and gave a great impetus to the merit system of employee selection, placement, and promotion. In peacetime, it may be felt that it is unwise to disturb the deep-seated folk patterns upon which discriminations of all sorts are based. But in time of war, when the nation's very safety is at stake, it is unthinkable that such irrational elements should be regarded as immovable obstacles to maximum effectiveness in the use of our human resources. If the fireman carrying the hose is a black man, no sane person would be so foolish as to insist that nothing be done about saving his house until a white substitute had been found and put on the job.

It would be grossly unfair to leave the impression that when discrimination in employment relations is practiced, it is invariably the fault of employers. On the contrary, some of the most flagrant offenders against the principles of employment on a merit basis have been labor organizations. Local policies and even constitutional rules of eligibility constitute effectual means of barring undesired races and nationalities from union affiliation. Thus the employer who operates a union shop under agreement with such a union finds it impossible to avoid discrimination when the union itself practices discrimination. Any attempt he makes to handle employment relations on merit only and without discrimination against any will be frustrated by the unyieldingness of the membership rules of the labor organization which is certified by public authority to represent the workers of his establishment in collective bargaining.

Just as the employer who practices discrimination in employment is injured by it, so also there is strong reason to believe that unions often suffer detriment from discriminatory membership policies and rules. Historically, the excluded groups have constituted a menace to wage and working standards, and since they have no reasons to be loyal to the union they have sometimes been the source from which strikebreakers could be drawn and the mainstay of other anti-union activities. Besides this, such discrimination has seemed to justify legislation which tends to weaken the union shop. For example, the Taft-Hartley Act concedes the right of unions to make their own rules with respect to membership eligibility, but "no employer shall justify any discrimination against an employee for nonmembership in a labor organization . . . if he has reasonable grounds for believing that such membership was not available to the employee on the same terms and conditions generally applicable to other members . . ." It is significant that this appears in the section which deals with unfair labor practices for employers.

Both employers and organized labor encounter difficulty in carrying out a policy of nondiscrimination in a situation in which the socially approved pattern of attitude and conduct is one of discrimination. For that reason, any program that aims to deal effectively with the discrimination problem must be aimed at the general public as well as at employers and labor organizations. Such a program can succeed only to the extent that sound information and straight thinking are substituted for superstition and outbursts of prejudiced passion. One of the first steps towards this end is to secure recognition of the fact that employment practices which discriminate against people because of their race, color, religion, or nationality are bad business policy as well as incompatible with the ideals of democracy.

## KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

THOMAS MCNALLY, *Chairman* ..... Pittsburg
CHESTER L. MIZE, JR. ..... Atchison
REV. J. RUSSELL BROWN ..... Kansas City
BEN SCHAFER ..... Topeka
HOWARD W. BREWER ..... Wichita

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE
State Capitol • Topeka, Kansas

MALCOLM B. HIGGINS
*Executive Secretary*

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TOPEKA, KANSAS
1954

25-6378

# PREFACE TO CHANUTE SURVEY

The following statistics are the result of a survey on employment practices in Chanute in 1956 carried out by the Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission.

The survey covered seventy-five different employers in the area and covered a broad range of employment opportunities.

Unfortunately a complete report on the survey is unavailable at this time. The figures suggest, however, that employment practices in Chanute seem to follow those of the state in general. That is, minority group members, Negroes and Mexican Americans are held fairly rigidly to janitorial and laboring job categories and that very few employers are willing to assume a leadership role in breaking down the barriers of discrimination.

## CHANUTE SURVEY

1.

### PROPORTION OF NON-WHITE EMPLOYEES BY FIRM

Summary Table

| Type of Firm | Total Employees | Non-White Employees | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Manufactoring Construction | 882 | 61 | 7% |
| Transportation Communication Public Utilities | 428 | 13 | 3% |
| Wholesale or Retail Selling | 384 | 9 | 2% |
| Finance Real Estate Insurance | 74 | 2 | 3% |
| Service Industry | 277 | 19 | 7% |
| TOTAL | 2,045 | 104 | 5% |
| Total Number of Firms | 75 | | |

PROPORTION OF NON-WHITE EMPLOYEES BY JOB

| Type of Job | Total Employees | Non-White Employees | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Professional and Semi-Professional | 58 | 0 | 0% |
| Managerial and Supervisory | 151 | 0 | 0 |
| Clerical and Office | 198 | 1 | ½ of 1% |
| Sales | 141 | 0 | 0 |
| Skilled Labor | 512 | 1 | 1/10 of 1% |
| Semi-Skilled Labor | 478 | 28 | 6% |
| Unskilled Labor | 350 | 49 | 14% |
| Service Jobs | 53 | 25 | 47% |
| TOTAL | 1,941 | 104 | 5% |

## FIRMS THAT HAVE NON-WHITE EMPLOYEES

Types of Jobs Closed to Non-White Workers in these Firms

| | None Closed | Managerial and Supervisory | No Answer | Office | Public Contact | Miscellaneous |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 12 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 3 | 2 |

4.

## HOW DO NON-WHITE WORKERS COMPARE WITH WHITE WORKERS

| | Just as Satisfactory | More Satisfactory | Less Satisfactory | No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 19 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Percent of Total | 73% | 15% | 8% | 4% |

5.

## NUMBER OF FIRMS HAVING PERSONNEL POLICIES IN WRITING AND HAVING NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY, AND HAVING NON-DISCRIMINATION POLICY IN WRITING

| | Have Personnel Policies in Writing | Have Non-Discrimination Policy | Have Non-Discrimination in Writing |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 13 | 14 | 10 |

6.

## HEARD OF THE KANSAS ANTI-DISCRIMINATION COMMISSION

| | Before the Interview | | | Acquainted with its Purpose | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Don't Know | Yes | No | Don't Know |
| TOTAL | 38 | 37 | 0 | 31 | 41 | 3 |

# SPEAKERS BUREAU

**Speakers**

**Discussion Leaders**

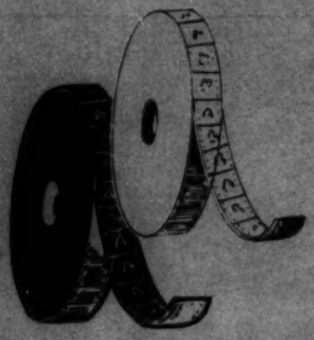
**Panel Participants**

**Leaders in Socio-Drama, Rumor Clinic and Other Group Activities**

**Consultant Service in Program Planning to Employers, Employer Organizations, Labor Unions, and Other Civic and Social Organizations.**

# FILMS

(16 mm., sound)



**"All the Way Home"** . . . 28 minutes. Documentary of an outbreak of interpersonal and interfamily tension among white families after property for sale is shown to a Negro family. Strength and weaknesses of an organized, homogenous, and stable community are implied as the community faces the possibility of change to an interracial neighborhood. High School and Adults.

**"Brotherhood of Man"** . . . 11 minutes. Animated color cartoon. The central character wakes to find strangers from all over the world in his backyard and soon learns that people are all pretty much alike. All Ages.

**"Burden of Truth"** . . . 67 minutes. A hard-hitting, soul-searching study of racial discrimination that draws no conclusions. This film "exposes dark areas still needing the light of understanding and truth." High School and Adults.

**"Chuck Hansen—One Guy"** . . . 30 minutes. Through the eyes of a factory worker, we attend a plant conference about the roots of prejudice, its costs, and the need for its elimination. High School and Adults.

**"Commencement"** . . . 20 minutes. Story concerns industrial management in its approach to an Equal Job Opportunity Policy for production workers together with important roles the community and its minority group members must assume. High School and Adults.

**"Crisis in Levittown"** . . . 31 minutes. Violence occurred after a Negro family moved into an all white community of 60,000. This film raises many questions concerning "integrated" housing which should be of importance to every citizen of the United States. High School and Adults.

**"For Fair Play"** . . . 33 minutes. Experience of a Negro machinist to secure and hold employment for which he is qualified. The story told in narrative, illustrates thrillingly and accurately the benefits, practical and spiritual, which comes to persons and businesses cooperating in fair employment practices. High School and Adults.

**"Ideas in Action"** . . . 28 minutes. Kinescope film showing the role of the Kansas Commission on Civil Rights in administering the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination. A young Negro man who has encountered racial discrimination secures a job, for which he is qualified, through the Commission's compliance program. High School and Adults.

**"Morning for Jimmy"** . . . 28 minutes. Action centers on Jimmy, a young Negro boy who encounters racial discrimination while seeking a part-time job, but learns a lesson of hope for the future. Through his teacher's wise counsel and visits with Negroes who are successfully employed in their chosen fields (not actors, but people in their real-life jobs), Jimmy begins to understand that with education and training, he, too, can find his proper place. Youth, High School, and Adults.

**"Picture in Your Mind"** . . . 15 minutes. Urges everyone to examine his mind to see whether his mental picture of other fellows is based on true facts or false beliefs. High School and Adults.

**"Property Values and Race"** . . . 24 minutes. Based on Dr. Luigi Laurenti's study in San Francisco, Oakland and Philadelphia coupled with studies by other independent research studies in other cities across the U. S. including Kansas City. Film verifies that "the entry of nonwhites into previously all-white neighborhoods is much more often associated with price improvement or stability than with price lowering." Seniors and Adults.

**"Skipper Learns a Lesson"** . . . 12 minutes. A dog, Skipper, discovers the errors of his ways when an accident shows him that color and appearance are unimportant in judging others. Elementary.

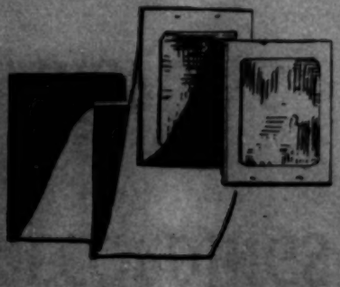
**"The New Girl"** . . . 28 minutes. Mary, a Negro, is the "first" in the office at the company. The human elements of the break with tradition are vivid. Management, the other girls in the office, the community, and Mary, all play their parts. Film has realism and builds faith in America. Youth, High School and Adults.

**"The Toymaker"** . . . 15 minutes. Color. Two puppets who think they are alike discover a superficial difference—one has stripes, the other spots. This difference builds tension and finally violence. They are saved by the Toymaker. All age levels.

**"To Live Together"** . . . 33 minutes. A summer camp shows that prejudices of children are shown to be reflections of their parents' attitudes. Designed to evoke discussion. High School and Adults.

# FILMSTRIPS

(35 mm.)



**"About People"** . . . 63 frames. Color cartoon. This strip is based on Eva Knox Evans' book, *All About Us*. It tells the story of people; why they are different and in which ways they are alike. Cultural anthropology is explained in a manner understandable to secondary and primary grade children.

**"How to Be Happy and Free"** . . . 50 frames, black and white. Illustrates the importance of ignoring group labels and getting to know people as individuals. Adult and secondary school age.

**"None So Blind"** . . . 55 frames. Color, with words on each frame. A light satire on problems of prejudice and a thoughtful analysis of the need for good human relations. Adult and secondary school age.

**"Rumor Clinic"** . . . 3 frames. A study of the way a rumor is changed as it circulates from one person to another. An interesting "game" that can be used to form the basis of a dramatic discussion. High School and Adults.

**"Spiral of Social Change"** . . . 40 frames. Black and white. How discrimination and prejudice depress the status of minority groups and how they respond to fairness.

**"Story of George Washington Carver"** . . . 70 frames. Color, words on each frame. The story of a great American scientist and the contributions he made to agricultural and synthetic research.

(OVER)

## RECORDINGS
(33⅓ rpm.)

**"These Great Americans"** . . . 13 transcribed 15-minute programs dealing with problems of human relations in America today.

**"The New Frontier"** . . . 13 thrilling transcribed 15-minute programs probing problems of human relations in America today.

## DISPLAYS

Three-Panel Table Displays (2). Light weight and portable for conferences, workshops, libraries, theater lobbies, store windows, small meetings, offices, clubs, etc.

## LITERATURE
(available in limited quantity on request)

**"Annual Report"**—printed each June

**"The Reflector"**—bi-monthly newsletter of the Commission

**"1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination"**

**Brochure:** "A Brief of the 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination"

**Poster:** "Abstract of 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination"

"Guide for Pre-Employment Inquiries"

Kansas Population Breakdown by Race and National Origin

Reprints of articles and speeches by well-known authorities in the field of human relations. Each item deals with some important aspect of the general problem.

Discussion Guides and Manuals to be used in connection with a number of the above films, filmstrips and recordings.

Commission will publish and purchase new materials to keep its library and supply of human relations materials for distribution up-to-date.

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**Topeka, Kansas**

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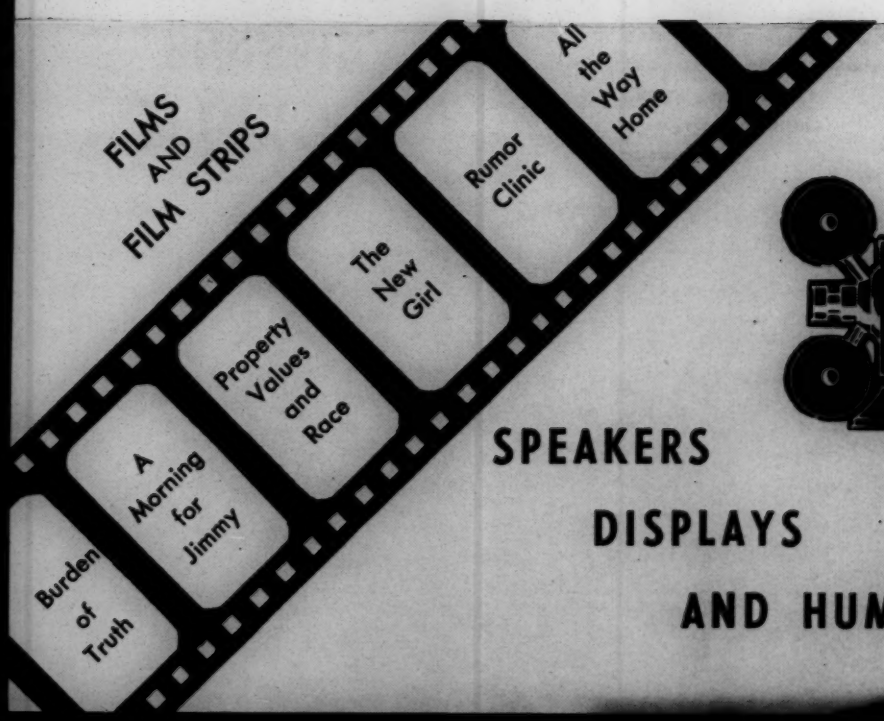


**Attention . . .**
**Program Chairman**

**SPEAKERS**
**DISPLAYS**
**AND HUMAN RELATIONS MATERIALS**

STATE

# NOTICE TO

Hotels, motels, cabin camps and restaurants ar
KANSAS ACT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION,
of Kansas; amended 1961 Supp., General Statu
to serve all orderly persons regardless of race, r

IT IS THE DECLARED POLICY OF THIS ES
SONS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION BECAU
ORIGIN OR ANCESTRY. OUR EMPLOYE
WITH THIS LAW.

The law provides penalties for discriminatory p
or ancestry.

## THE KANSAS ACT AG

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## KANSAS COMMISSIO

State Of
Topeka
CEntral 5-0

29-8326 5-63-10M

OF KANSAS

# O THE PUBLIC

re places of public accommodations required by the
, Chapter 44, Art. 10, 1953 Supp., General Statutes
tutes of Kansas; amended Laws 1963, Chapter 279,
religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

ESTABLISHMENT TO SERVE ALL ORDERLY PER-
AUSE OF RACE, RELIGION, COLOR, NATIONAL
EES HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO COMPLY

practices based on race, religion, color, national origin

GAINST DISCRIMINATION

inistered by the

ON ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Office Building
ka 12, Kansas
5-0011—Ext. 8011

# THIS NOTICE IS TO BE POSTE

by Autho

## STATE OF

# COMMISSION O

# ABSTRACT

Relati

## Discrimination in Employm

(Chapter 44, Art. 10, 1953 Supp
as amended by the

"The practice or policy of discrimination against indi
race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry is a ma
threatens not only the rights and privileges of the inha
tutions and foundations of a free democratic state. I
Kansas to eliminate discrimination in all employmen
this state to assure equal opportunities and encourage
color, national origin or ancestry, in securing and hol
field of work or labor for which he is properly qualifie
cure and to hold employment is a civil right of every
Sec. 1

### OBJECT OF

To eliminate discrimination, because of race, religion, color, national origi
in employment by enforceable remedy as outlined below; and in other ins

# TED IN A CONSPICUOUS PLACE

**ority of the**

# F KANSAS

# ON CIVIL RIGHTS

# T OF LAWS

**ating to**

## ment Policies and Practices

**pp. General Statutes of Kansas,**
**he 1961 Legislature)**

dividuals in relation to employment by reason of their matter of concern to the state, that such discrimination habitants of the state of Kansas but menaces the insti- It is hereby declared to be the policy of the state of ent relations. It is also declared to be the policy of gement to every citizen regardless of race, religion, olding, without discrimination, employment in any fied. It is further declared that the opportunity to se- ry citizen."

1. Kansas Act Against Discrimination (44-1001)

## F THE LAW

gin or ancestry, in employment and in other fields of human relationships; nstances by the fostering of good will through community effort.

## EMPLOYMENT PRAC

**It is unlawful FOR AN EMPLOYER: ***

1. To discriminate in hiring, upgrading or discharging employ
2. To discriminate in compensation, terms, conditions or priv
3. To ask questions before employment which, directly or ind
4. To print or circulate any statement or advertisement which national origin or ancestry.
5. To discriminate against any person because he has filed a discrimination.

* EMPLOYERS ARE DEFINED as "any person in this sta nonsectarian corporations, and organizations engaged in s pal subdivisions thereof." This includes school districts an

**It is unlawful FOR A LABOR UNION:**

1. To discriminate in any way against members or applicants f
2. To discriminate against employers or employees because of

**It is unlawful FOR AN EMPLOYMENT AGENCY:**

1. To discriminate because of race, religion, color, national ori
2. To ask questions before employment which, directly or ind
3. To make disclosure to employers of the race, religion, color,
4. To print or circulate any statement or advertisement which national origin or ancestry.
5. To discriminate against any person because he has filed a c discrimination.

**It is unlawful FOR EMPLOYEES:**

1. To offer resistance to the employment of any individual be

**It is unlawful FOR ANYONE:**

1. To aid, abet, incite, compel, coerce, or attempt to aid, abet, against discrimination.

## ENFORCEM

Complaints charging unlawful employment practices must be verified Civil Rights, such complaints are screened and investigated. Every law directs. If this procedure fails, a hearing is held and, if the eviden

## P

Willful interference with the Commission in the performance of its du for not more than one year or by a fine of not more than $500, or by

Adm

# KANSAS COMMISS

STATE OFFICE BUILD

CEntral 5

29-4730-S—14-90

## ACTICES FORBIDDEN BY LAW

oyees because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.
rivileges of employment because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.
ndirectly, disclose race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.
ch, directly or indirectly expresses discrimination because of race, religion, color,

a complaint, testified or otherwise opposed any act forbidden by the law against

state employing eight (8) or more persons," "and labor organizations,
social service work, and the state of Kansas and all political and munici-
and educational institutions.

s for membership because of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.
of race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

rigin or ancestry, in registering or referring applicants for employment.
ndirectly, disclose race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.
or, national origin or ancestry, of applicants for employment.
ich, directly or indirectly, expresses discrimination because of race, religion, color,

complaint, testified or otherwise opposed any act forbidden by the law against

because of his race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry.

et, incite, compel or coerce the doing of any of the acts forbidden by the law

## MENT PROVISIONS

d by affidavit, by the aggrieved person. When received by the Commission on
y effort is made to settle all complaints by conference and conciliation, as the
ence warrants, an order is made to carry out the law.

## PENALTY

duty under the law, constitutes a misdemeanor, and is punishable by imprisonment
y both.

**dministered by**

# SION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**LDING TOPEKA, KANSAS**

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8-62-1M

# ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSED KANSAS CITY PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS ORDINANCE 29153

Prepared by:
The Kansas City Commission on Human Relations

The proposed Kansas City Public Accommodations Ordinance would provide a specific basis in law for assuring all citizens and visitors to our city the right of access to facilities, goods, and services offered to the general public. Personal services are not included in the coverage of the ordinance.

Although some persons may consider this to be a new right, in a real sense this right of access is not new. It can be forcefully argued that this right has always existed for all citizens of this nation.

However, practice, custom, and habit have combined to produce a situation in which the reaffirmation of this right by governmental action is necessary. This reaffirmation of a long-existing right may be seen by some as the creation of a new, special right. That is not so.

The preamble to the proposed ordinance recognizes the harmful effects to the entire city of the continuation of such practices, customs, and habits. It says: "...The Council of Kansas City hereby declares that racial prejudice and bigotry and the discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby threaten not only the rights and privileges of its inhabitants, but are injurious to public morals, safety, and the general welfare...." By a vote of eleven to two the ordinance was adopted by the Council, "...to the end that such prejudice and bigotry shall be reduced or eliminated...."

The proposed ordinance would extend the protection against unfair discriminatory practices already provided by Kansas City's present, successful public accommodations ordinance, which has been in effect since early 1962. The present ordinance prohibits the refusal, withholding, or denial to any person, for any reason directly or indirectly relating to the race or color of such person, any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or services of any hotel, motel, or restaurant which offers food or lodging to the public.

Experience in the administration of this ordinance has shown it to be workable and successful. Since November, 1962, the Commission on Human Relations has received complaints against eleven places of public accommodation. The complaints against nine of these were successfully resolved by conciliation. This means that in the cases of those nine facilities the changes in practice called for by the ordinance were accomplished quietly, without the calling of public attention to the situation. Efforts are continuing in the other two cases.

Local experience is thus consistent with the experiences of other cities and states where even more extensive protection from discrimination in places of public accommoda-

tion is provided to all persons (See table). Compliance with the letter and spirit of a just law fairly administered has produced a healthier, more democratic climate and no calamities.

The substantial, specific benefits to the entire community offered by this step toward the establishment of a single class of citizenship far outweigh the fears and narrow arguments which have been raised against it. The Commission on Human Relations is deeply concerned that the public discussion on this matter has centered around what <u>might</u> happen in taverns.

The ordinance would apply to taverns where alcoholic beverages are sold. This means that any resident of Kansas City or visitor to our city who meets the usual requirements of sobriety, behavior, and appropriate dress may enjoy a drink alone or in the company of his friends in the most convenient or attractive bar without embarrassment of refusal of service or the inconvenience of traveling to a "safe" place.

THE SIGNIFIGANCE OF THIS ORDINANCE GOES FAR BEYOND THIS SINGLE PROVISION. OF EVEN GREATER VALUE AND BENEFIT TO THE ENTIRE CITY ARE THE ADDITIONAL PROTECTIONS OFFERED BY THE ORDINANCE.

THE ORDINANCE WOULD APPLY TO:

* ANY PUBLIC CARRIER, CONVEYANCE OR ELEVATOR AND THEIR FACILITIES. This means that any person traveling in or through Kansas City by public transportation may enjoy all of the conveniences and comforts offered by or in connection with such public transportation.

* ANY BUSINESS, STORE, SHOP OR PLACE PUBLICLY DEALING IN GOODS, WARES AND MERCHANDISE. This would assure the right of any prospective buyer to shop, test, compare and buy. It would also protect the right of the prospective seller to show, persuade, convince, and sell. Experience in Kansas City has demonstrated that both buyers and sellers benefit from non-discriminatory merchandising.

* ANY PUBLIC BOARDWALK OR OTHER PUBLIC HIGHWAY OR THOROUGHFARE. This simply means that public streets and highways are there for the use of all of the public.

* ANY PUBLIC AUDITORIUM, MEETING PLACE, OR HALL, EXCEPT WHEN THEY ARE LEASED OR RESERVED FOR PRIVATE MEETINGS. This means that lectures, programs, plays, concerts, motion pictures, and conventions in Kansas City may be attended and enjoyed by all persons who are interested. The educational and cultural values of such events held in public halls are, therefore, available to all persons.

* ANY PLACE OF AMUSEMENT, RECREATION, OR SPORTS, OR FOR EXERCISE OR RELAXATION HELD OPEN TO THE PUBLIC. The need for wholesome recreational activities is universally recognized. This provision of the ordinance would assure the availability of recreational facilities and opportunities to all orderly persons.

* ANY PUBLIC LIBRARY OR PUBLIC MUSEUM. The educational, cultural, and recreational values offered by such facilities enhance the lives of all persons who use them.

* ANY HOSPITAL, DISPENSARY, OR CLINIC OPEN TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC. The ready availability of medical care and hospital facilities to the sick or injured can be literally a matter of life or death. The acutely ill or injured person may not have time to travel to a facility where he is "welcome."

* ANY TRADE, COMMERCIAL OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL AND ALL OTHER SCHOOLS OPERATING FOR PROFIT WHICH ARE OPEN TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC. In this day of increasing occupational specialization and demand for education and training the availability of such opportunities is essential to qualifying for meaningful employment and preparing for productive citizenship. Talented, trained people are urgently needed in Kansas City. Opportunities for training and self-improvement must be available to all persons who can use them if the needs of local business and industry are to be met. The opportunity to acquire skills with which to earn a decent living is vitally important to Kansas City's economic and social health.

These are the rights, privileges and facilities which the majority citizens of Kansas City would be expected to share with persons who have often been denied them for reasons unrelated to personal merit. If Kansas City is to become an even greater city, it must extend and protect the rights and liberties of all persons within its borders. The proposed Public Accommodations Ordinance is a significant step in that direction.

THE REAL ISSUE IS SIMPLY THIS: KANSAS CITY CANNOT AFFORD DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION. THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS, BOTH NOW AND IN THE FUTURE, ARE TOO HIGH.

## *States Having Equal Public Accommodations Legislation

Public accommodations in most non-Southern cities comparable to Kansas City are prohibited by State Statute from discriminatory practices or terms in the offering of accommodations, facilities, goods, or services.

| State | Effective Date | Coverage (1) Broad | (2) Enumerative | State | Effective Date | Coverage (1) Broad | (2) Enumerative |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alaska | 1949 | X | | Nebraska | 1893 | X | |
| Calif. | 1905, '59 | X | | New Hampshire | 1919, '61 | | X |
| Colorado | 1895, 1917, '57 | X | | New Jersey | 1884, 1949 | X | |
| Connecticut | 1905, '33, '49 '51 | X | | New Mexico | | X | |
| Idaho | 1961 | | X | New York | 1873, 1952 | X | |
| Illinois | 1885, 1957 | X | | N. Dak. | 1961 | | X |
| Indiana | 1885, 1961 | X | | Ohio | 1884, 1961 | X | |
| Iowa | 1884, '92, 1923 | | X | Oregon | 1957 | X | |
| Kansas | 1874, 1963 | | X | Pennsylvania | 1867, 1939, '61 | X | |
| Maine | 1917, '59 | X | | Rhode Island | 1885, 1952 | X | |
| Massachusetts | 1865, '66, '85, '93, '95, 1934, '50 | X | | Vermont | | X | |
| Michigan | 1885, 1931, '56 | X | | Washington | 1909, '57 | X | |
| Minnesota | 1885, 1961 | X | | Wisconsin | 1895, 1931, '39 | | |
| Montana | | X | | | 1951 | X | |
| | | | | Wyoming | 1961 | X | |

*Source: Information compiled by the Human Relations Information Center of The Baltimore Fellowship, Inc., January, 1963

NOTES:

(1) "Broad Coverage" - example: "All persons entitled to full and equal advantages of places of public accommodation, amusement, recreation and conveyance...." (Interpretation usually broad).

(2) "Enumerative Coverage" - example: "...To eliminate and prevent discrimination, segregation, or separation in hotels, motels, cabin camps and restaurants." (Interpretation usually specific).

(3) On July 1, 1961, the St. Louis, Missouri, Public Accommodations Ordinance went into effect. The Ordinance applies to "all places or businesses offering...to the general public services for the peace, comfort, health, welfare and safety of such general public including, but not limited to, public places providing food, shelter, recreation and amusement."
As of September, 1963, approximately 100 complaints had been filed against places of public accommodation in St. Louis. All but one of these were resolved by conciliation, without resort to the legal procedures provided in the ordinance.

(4) On May 14,1963, the city of Louisville, Kentucky, adopted an ordinance prohibiting discrimination in all places of public accommodation. These are defined as "any place of business offering...to the general public services or facilities...including public places providing food, shelter, entertainment or amusement."

(5) On September 3, 1963, the city of St. Joseph, Missouri, adopted an ordinance prohibiting racial discrimination at hotels, motels, restaurants, and places offering entertainment.

(6) On December 24, 1963, the city of Kansas City, Kansas, adopted an ordinance prohibiting discrimination which applies to those businesses "licensed by the city which offer or hold out to the general public, service or facilities for the peace, comfort, health, welfare or safety," and such "public places providing food, shelter, recreation, entertainment or amusement."

office copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
CO 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATT: Jim Peck
Marvin Rich

FREED AFTER 47 DAYS IN JAIL--JOIN PICKET LINE

St. Louis, Mo., March 5--Without even taking time out to shave after leaving jail, five of the 15 local CORE leaders imprisoned since January 15 joined the picket line on March 2 at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co., where St. Louis CORE is pursuing its campaign for fair employment.

The five are Lucian Richards, Chairman of St. Louis CORE; Robert Curtis, former Chairman of the group; Roberta Tournour, wife of CORE Field Secretary Eugene Tournour; James Peake, Jr. and Taylor Jones.

These five, along with 10 other leaders of the bank campaign were released earlier in the day by a three-judge panel of the U. S. Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals pending appeal of their writs for habeas corpus.

Sentenced to terms ranging from 60 days to a year on contempt charges arising from the bank campaign, they had been imprisoned for 47 days. The three with 60-day sentences were released on their own recognizance since most of their time has been served. Bail for the other 12 ranged from $500 to $1,000 depending on the length of their sentences.

####

Employment

file copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich or Jim Peck

WIN BANK DRIVE MARKED BY MASS ARRESTS AND LONG JAIL TERMS

St. Louis, Mr., April 2--The Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. hired five Negroes March 30, thus ending a St. Louis CORE campaign marked by hundreds of arrests of nonviolent demonstrators inside and outside the bank and the sentencing of 15 of the group's leaders from 60 days to a year in jail.

The unusually long prison terms were for contempt of an injuction issued last August by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott. The 15 CORE leaders were in jail from January 15 until March 2 when a three-judge panel of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals freed them pending appeal of their habeas corpus writs. Within hours, five of them were back on the picket line in front of the bank.

Immediately following the sentencing, over 1,000 persons marched in protest on City Hall and 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a rally which John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, characterized as "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

When President Johnson came here on February 14 for the city's 200th anniversary celebration, 84 St. Louis CORE pickets protested. As they neared his hotel, they were arrested and held without charges until his speech was over. Several thousand persons had petitioned the President to shun the St. Louis anniversary because of the failure of city officials to help resolve the fair employment issue at the bank.

In the course of the campaign, more than 75 Negroes had secured jobs at other St. Louis banks but the Jefferson Bank remained adamant.

#####

Public Law 87-415
87th Congress, S. 1991
March 15, 1962

# An Act

Relating to manpower requirements, resources, development, and utilization, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That this Act may be cited as the "Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962". Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962.

## TITLE I—MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS, DEVELOPMENT, AND UTILIZATION

### STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 101. The Congress finds that there is critical need for more and better trained personnel in many vital occupational categories, including professional, scientific, technical, and apprenticeable categories; that even in periods of high unemployment, many employment opportunities remain unfilled because of the shortages of qualified personnel; and that it is in the national interest that current and prospective manpower shortages be identified and that persons who can be qualified for these positions through education and training be sought out and trained, in order that the Nation may meet the staffing requirements of the struggle for freedom. The Congress further finds that the skills of many persons have been rendered obsolete by dislocations in the economy arising from automation or other technological developments, foreign competition, relocation of industry, shifts in market demands, and other changes in the structure of the economy; that Government leadership is necessary to insure that the benefits of automation do not become burdens of widespread unemployment; that the problem of assuring sufficient employment opportunities will be compounded by the extraordinarily rapid growth of the labor force in the next decade, particularly by the entrance of young people into the labor force, that improved planning and expanded efforts will be required to assure that men, women, and young people will be trained and available to meet shifting employment needs; that many persons now unemployed or underemployed, in order to become qualified for reemployment or full employment must be assisted in providing themselves with skills which are or will be in demand in the labor market; that the skills of many persons now employed are inadequate to enable them to make their maximum contribution to the Nation's economy; and that it is in the national interest that the opportunity to acquire new skills be afforded to these people in order to alleviate the hardships of unemployment, reduce the costs of unemployment compensation and public assistance, and to increase the Nation's productivity and its capacity to meet the requirements of the space age. It is therefore the purpose of this Act to require the Federal Government to appraise the manpower requirements and resources of the Nation, and to develop and apply the information and methods needed to deal with the problems of unemployment resulting from automation and technological changes and other types of persistent unemployment. 76 STAT. 23. 76 STAT. 24.

### EVALUATION, INFORMATION, AND RESEARCH

SEC. 102. To assist the Nation in accomplishing the objectives of technological progress while avoiding or minimizing individual hardship and widespread unemployment, the Secretary of Labor shall—

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(1) evaluate the impact of, and benefits and problems created by automation, technological progress, and other changes in the structure of production and demand on the use of the Nation's human resources; establish techniques and methods for detecting in advance the potential impact of such developments; develop solutions to these problems, and publish findings pertaining thereto;

(2) establish a program of factual studies of practices of employers and unions which tend to impede the mobility of workers or which facilitate mobility, including but not limited to early retirement and vesting provisions and practices under private compensation plans; the extension of health, welfare, and insurance benefits to laid-off workers; the operation of severance pay plans; and the use of extended leave plans for education and training purposes. A report on these studies shall be included as a part of the Secretary's report required under section 104.

(3) appraise the adequacy of the Nation's manpower development efforts to meet foreseeable manpower needs and recommend needed adjustments, including methods for promoting the most effective occupational utilization of and providing useful work experience and training opportunities for untrained and inexperienced youth;

(4) promote, encourage, or directly engage in programs of information and communication concerning manpower requirements, development, and utilization, including prevention and amelioration of undesirable manpower effects from automation and other technological developments and improvement of the mobility of workers; and

76 STAT. 24.
76 STAT. 25.

(5) arrange for the conduct of such research and investigations as give promise of furthering the objectives of this Act.

SKILL AND TRAINING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 103. The Secretary of Labor shall develop, compile, and make available, in such manner as he deems appropriate, information regarding skill requirements, occupational outlook, job opportunities, labor supply in various skills, and employment trends on a National, State, area, or other appropriate basis which shall be used in the educational, training, counseling, and placement activities performed under this Act.

MANPOWER REPORT

Reports to President and Congress.

SEC. 104. The Secretary of Labor shall make such reports and recommendations to the President as he deems appropriate pertaining to manpower requirements, resources, use, and training; and the President shall transmit to the Congress within sixty days after the beginning of each regular session (commencing with the year 1963) a report pertaining to manpower requirements, resources, utilization, and training.

# TITLE II—TRAINING AND SKILL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

## PART A—DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF LABOR

### GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY

SEC. 201. In carrying out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary of Labor shall determine the skill requirements of the economy, develop policies for the adequate occupational development and maximum utilization of the skills of the Nation's workers, promote and encourage the development of broad and diversified training programs, including on-the-job training, designed to qualify for employment the many persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure full-time employment without such training, and to equip the Nation's workers with the new and improved skills that are or will be required.

### SELECTION OF TRAINEES

SEC. 202. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall provide a program for testing, counseling, and selecting for occupational training under this Act those unemployed or underemployed persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure appropriate full-time employment without training. Whenever appropriate the Secretary shall provide a special program for the testing, counseling, and selection of youths, sixteen years of age or older, for occupational training and further schooling. Workers in farm families with less than $1,200 annual net family income shall be considered unemployed for the purpose of this Act. Workers in farm families.

(b) Although priority in referral for training shall be extended to unemployed persons, the Secretary of Labor shall, to the maximum extent possible, also refer other persons qualified for training programs which will enable them to acquire needed skills. Priority in referral for training shall also be extended to persons to be trained for skills needed within, first, the labor market area in which they reside and, second, within the State of their residence. Priority standards.

76 STAT. 25.

(c) The Secretary of Labor shall determine the occupational training needs of referred persons, provide for their orderly selection and referral for training under this Act, and provide counseling and placement services to persons who have completed their training, as well as follow-up studies to determine whether the programs provided meet the occupational training needs of the persons referred. 76 STAT. 26.

(d) Before selecting a person for training, the Secretary shall determine that there is a reasonable expectation of employment in the occupation for which the person is to be trained. If such employment is not available in the area in which the person resides, the Secretary shall obtain reasonable assurance of such person's willingness to accept employment outside his area of residence.

(e) The Secretary shall not refer persons for training in an occupation which requires less than two weeks training, unless there are immediate employment opportunities in such occupation. Duration of training program.

(f) The duration of any training program to which a person is referred shall be reasonable and consistent with the occupation for which the person is being trained.

(g) Upon certification by the responsible training agency that a person who has been referred for training does not have a satisfactory attendance record or is not making satisfactory progress in such training absent good cause, the Secretary shall forthwith terminate his training and subsistence allowances, and his transportation allowances Termination of training.

except such as may be necessary to enable him to return to his regular place of residence after termination of training, and withdraw his referral. Such person shall not be eligible for such allowances for one year thereafter.

TRAINING ALLOWANCES

Agreements with States.

SEC. 203. (a) The Secretary of Labor may, on behalf of the United States, enter into agreements with States under which the Secretary of Labor shall make payments to such States either in advance or by way of reimbursement for the purpose of enabling such States, as agents for the United States, to make payment of weekly training allowances to unemployed persons selected for training pursuant to the provisions of section 202 and undergoing such training in a program operated pursuant to the provisions of this Act. Such payments shall be made for a period not exceeding fifty-two weeks, and the amount of any such payment in any week for persons undergoing training, including uncompensated employer-provided training, shall not exceed the amount of the average weekly unemployment compensation payment (including allowances for dependents) for a week of total unemployment in the State making such payments during the most recent quarter for which such data are available: *Provided however*, That in any week an individual who, but for his training, would be entitled to unemployment compensation in excess of such allowance, shall receive an allowance increased by the amount of such excess. With respect to Guam and the Virgin Islands the Secretary shall by regulation determine the amount of the training allowance to be paid any eligible person taking training under this Act.

Guam and Virgin Islands.

With respect to any week for which a person receives unemployment compensation under title XV of the Social Security Act or any other Federal or State unemployment compensation law which is less than the average weekly unemployment compensation payment (including allowances for dependents) for a week of total unemployment in the State making such payment during the most recent quarter for which such data are available, a supplemental training allowance may be paid to a person eligible for a training allowance under this Act. This supplemental training allowance shall not exceed the difference between his unemployment compensation and the average weekly unemployment compensation payment referred to above.

68 Stat. 1130. 42 USC 1361-1371.

76 STAT. 26.
76 STAT. 27.

On-the-job trainees.

For persons undergoing on-the-job training, the amount of any payment which would otherwise be made by the Secretary of Labor under this section shall be reduced by an amount which bears the same ratio to that payment as the number of compensated hours per week bears to forty hours.

(b) The Secretary of Labor is authorized to pay to any person engaged in training under this title, including compensated full-time on-the-job training, such sums as he may determine to be necessary to defray transportation and subsistence expenses for separate maintenance of such persons when such training is provided in facilities which are not within commuting distance of their regular place of residence: *Provided*, That the Secretary in defraying such subsistence expenses shall not afford any individual an allowance exceeding $35 per week, at the rate of $5 per day; nor shall the Secretary authorize any transportation expenditure exceeding the rate of 10 cents per mile.

Limitations.

(c) The Secretary of Labor shall pay training allowances only to unemployed persons who have had not less than three years of experience in gainful employment and are either heads of families, or heads of households as defined in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, except that he may pay training allowances at a rate not exceeding $20 a week

68A Stat. 3. 26 USC 1.

to youths over nineteen but under twenty-two years of age where such allowances are necessary to provide them occupational training, but not more than 5 per centum of the estimated total training allowances paid annually under this section may be paid to such youths.

(d) After June 30, 1964, any amount paid to a State for training allowances under this section, or as reimbursement for unemployment compensation under subsection (h), shall be paid on condition that such State shall bear 50 per centum of the amount of such payments. Payments to States.

(e) No training allowance shall be made to any person otherwise eligible who, with respect to the week for which such payment would be made, has received or is seeking unemployment compensation under title XV of the Social Security Act or any other Federal or State unemployment compensation law, but if the appropriate State or Federal agency finally determines that a person denied training allowances for any week because of this subsection was not entitled to unemployment compensation under title XV of the Social Security Act or such Federal or State law with respect to such week, this subsection shall not apply with respect to such week. 68 Stat. 1130. 42 USC 1361-1371.

(f) A person who refuses, without good cause, to accept training under this Act shall not, for one year thereafter, be entitled to training allowances.

(g) Any agreement under this section may contain such provisions (including, as far as may be appropriate, provisions authorized or made applicable with respect to agreements concluded by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to title XV of the Social Security Act) as will promote effective administration, protect the United States against loss and insure the proper application of payments made to the State under such agreement. Except as may be provided in such agreements, or in regulations hereinafter authorized, determinations by any duly designated officer or agency as to the eligibility of persons for weekly training allowances under this section shall be final and conclusive for any purposes and not subject to review by any court or any other officer. Finality of determinations.

(h) If State unemployment compensation payments are paid to a person taking training under this Act and eligible for a training allowance, the State making such payments shall be reimbursed from funds herein appropriated. The amount of such reimbursement shall be determined by the Secretary of Labor on the basis of reports furnished to him by the States and such amount shall then be placed in the State's unemployment trust fund account. State unemployment compensation payments. 76 STAT. 27. 76 STAT. 28.

(i) A person who, in connection with an occupational training program, has received a training allowance or whose unemployment compensation payments were reimbursed under the provisions of this Act or any other Federal Act shall not be entitled to training allowances under this Act for one year after the completion or other termination (for other than good cause) of the training with respect to which such allowance or payment was made.

(j) No training allowance shall be paid to any person who is receiving training for an occupation which requires a training period of less than six days.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

SEC. 204. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall encourage, develop, and secure the adoption of programs for on-the-job training needed to equip persons selected for training with the appropriate skills. The Secretary shall, to the maximum extent possible, secure the adoption by the States and by private and public agencies, employers, trade associations, labor organizations and other industrial and community groups which he determines are qualified to conduct effective training

programs under this title of such programs as he approves, and for this purpose he is authorized to enter into appropriate agreements with them.

Training standards.

(b) In adopting or approving any training program under this part, and as a condition to the expenditure of funds for any such program, the Secretary shall make such arrangements as he deems necessary to insure adherence to appropriate training standards, including assurances—

(1) that the training content of the program is adequate, involves reasonable progression, and will result in the qualification of trainees for suitable employment;

(2) that the training period is reasonable and consistent with periods customarily required for comparable training;

(3) that adequate and safe facilities, and adequate personnel and records of attendance and progress are provided; and

(4) that the trainees are compensated by the employer at such rates, including periodic increases, as may be deemed reasonable under regulations hereinafter authorized, considering such factors as industry, geographical region, and trainee proficiency.

(c) Where on-the-job training programs under this part require supplementary classroom instruction, appropriate arrangements for such instruction shall be agreed to by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of Labor.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 205. (a) The Secretary shall appoint a National Advisory Committee which shall consist of ten members and shall be composed of representatives of labor, management, agriculture, education, and training, and the public in general. From the members appointed to such Committee the Secretary shall designate a Chairman. Such Committee, or any duly established subcommittee thereof, shall from time to time make recommendations to the Secretary relative to the carrying out of his duties under this Act. Such Committee shall hold not less than two meetings during each calendar year.

76 STAT. 28.
76 STAT. 29.

(b) The National Advisory Committee shall encourage and assist in the organization on a plant, community, regional, or industry basis of labor-management-public committees and similar groups designed to further the purposes of this Act and may provide assistance to such groups, as well as existing groups organized for similar purposes, in effectuating such purposes.

(c) The National Advisory Committee may accept gifts or bequests, either for carrying out specific programs or for its general activities or for its responsibilities under subsection (b) of this section.

Compensation.

(d) Appointed members of the Committee shall be paid compensation at the rate of $50 per diem when engaged in the work of the Committee, including travel time, and shall be allowed travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently and receiving compensation on a per diem, when actually employed, basis.

60 Stat. 808; 75 Stat. 339, 340.

(e) (1) Any member of the Committee is hereby exempted, with respect to such appointment, from the operation of sections 281, 283, and 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, and section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C. 99), except as otherwise specified in paragraph (2) of this subsection.

62 Stat. 697, 793.

(2) The exemption granted by paragraph (1) of this subsection shall not extend—

(A) to the receipt or payment of salary in connection with the appointee's Government service from any source other than the private employer of the appointee at the time of his appointment, or

(B) during the period of such appointment, to the prosecution or participation in the prosecution, by any person so appointed, of any claim against the Government involving any matter with which such person, during such period, is or was directly connected by reason of such appointment.

STATE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 206. (a) The Secretary of Labor is authorized to enter into an agreement with each State, or with the appropriate agency of each State, pursuant to which the Secretary of Labor may, for the purpose of carrying out his functions and duties under this title, utilize the services of the appropriate State agency and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may make payments to such State or appropriate agency for expenses incurred for such purposes.

(b) Any agreement under this section may contain such provisions as will promote effective administration, protect the United States against loss and insure that the functions and duties to be carried out by the appropriate State agency are performed in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 207. The Secretary of Labor shall prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary and appropriate to carry out the provisions of this part. Regulatory authority.

76 STAT. 29.
76 STAT. 30.

PART B—DUTIES OF THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY

SEC. 231. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall, pursuant to the provisions of this title, enter into agreements with States under which the appropriate State vocational education agencies will undertake to provide training needed to equip persons referred to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to section 202, for the occupations specified in the referrals. Such State agencies shall provide for such training through public education agencies or institutions or, if facilities or services of such agencies or institutions are not adequate for the purpose, through arrangements with private educational or training institutions. The State agency shall be paid 50 per centum of the cost to the State of carrying out the agreement, except that for the period ending June 30, 1964 the State agency shall be paid 100 per centum of the cost to the State of carrying out the agreement with respect to unemployed persons. Such agreements shall contain such other provisions as will promote effective administration (including provision (1) for reports on the attendance and performance of trainees, (2) for immediate certification to the Secretary of Labor by the responsible training agency with respect to each person referred for training who does not have a satisfactory attendance record or is not making satisfactory progress in such training absent good cause, and (3) for continuous supervision of the training programs conducted under the agreement to insure the quality and adequacy of the training provided), protect the Agreements with States.

United States against loss, and assure that the functions and duties to be carried out by such State agency are performed in such fashion as will carry out the purposes of this title. In the case of any State which does not enter into an agreement under this section, and in the case of any training which the State agency does not provide under such an agreement, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may provide the needed training by agreement or contract with public or private educational or training institutions.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

Regulatory authority.

SEC. 232. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary and appropriate to carry out the provisions of this part.

## TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS

APPORTIONMENT OF BENEFITS

SEC. 301. For the purpose of effecting an equitable apportionment of Federal expenditures among the States in carrying out the programs authorized under title II of this Act, the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall make such apportionment in accordance with uniform standards and in arriving at such standards shall consider only the following factors: (1) the proportion which the labor force of a State bears to the total labor force of the United States, (2) the proportion which the unemployed in a State during the preceding calendar year bears to the total number of unemployed in the United States in the preceding calendar year, (3) the lack of appropriate full-time employment in the State, (4) the proportion which the insured unemployed within a State bears to the total number of insured employed within such State, and (5) the average weekly unemployment compensation benefits paid by the State. The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare are authorized to make reapportionments from time to time where the total amounts apportioned under this section have not been fully obligated in a particular State, or where the State or appropriate agencies in the State have not entered into the necessary agreements, and the Secretaries find that any other State is in need of additional funds to carry out the programs authorized by this Act.

76 STAT. 30.
76 STAT. 31.

MAINTENANCE OF STATE EFFORT

SEC. 302. No training program which is financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government under this Act shall be approved unless the Secretary of Labor, if the program is authorized under part A of title II, or the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, if the program is authorized under part B of title II, satisfies himself that neither the State nor the locality in which the training is carried out has reduced or is reducing its own level of expenditures for vocational education and training, including program operation under provisions of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act and titles I, II, and III of the Vocational Education Act of 1946, except for reductions unrelated to the provisions or purposes of this Act.

39 Stat. 929.
20 USC 11-15, 16-28.
60 Stat. 775; 72 Stat. 1598.
20 USC 151-15ggg.

OTHER AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS

SEC. 303. (a) In the performance of their functions under this Act, the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in order to avoid unnecessary expense and duplication of functions among Government agencies, shall use the available services

or facilities of other agencies and instrumentalities of the Federal Government, under conditions specified in section 306(a). Each department, agency, or establishment of the United States is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and, to the extent permitted by law, to provide such services and facilities as either may request for his assistance in the performance of his functions under this Act.

(b) The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall carry out their responsibilities under this Act through the maximum utilization of all possible resources for skill development available in industry, labor, public and private educational and training institutions, State, Federal, and local agencies, and other appropriate public and private organizations and facilities.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 304. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $2,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, $3,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and a like amount for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for the purpose of carrying out title I.

(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $97,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, $161,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and a like amount for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for the purpose of carrying out title II.

(c) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, $1,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1964, and a like amount for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for the purpose of carrying out title III. 76 STAT. 31. 76 STAT. 32.

(d) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962, for planning and starting programs under this Act.

LIMITATIONS ON USE OF APPROPRIATED FUNDS

SEC. 305. (a) Funds appropriated under the authorization of this Act may be transferred, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, between departments and agencies of the Government, if such funds are used for the purposes for which they are specifically authorized and appropriated.

(b) Any equipment and teaching aids purchased by a State or local vocational education agency with funds appropriated to carry out the provisions of part B shall become the property of the State.

(c) No portion of the funds to be used under part B of this Act shall be appropriated directly or indirectly to the purchase, erection, or repair of any building except for minor remodeling of a public building necessary to make it suitable for use in training under part B.

(d) Funds appropriated under this Act shall remain available for one fiscal year beyond that in which appropriated.

AUTHORITY TO CONTRACT

SEC. 306. (a) The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may make such contracts or agreements, establish such procedures, and make such payments, either in advance or by way of reimbursement, or otherwise allocate or expend funds made available under this Act, as they deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(b) The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall not use any authority conferred by this Act to assist in relocating establishments from one area to another. Such limitation shall not prohibit assistance to a business entity in the establish- Limitation.

ment of a new branch, affiliate, or subsidiary of such entity if the Secretary of Labor finds that assistance will not result in an increase in unemployment in the area of original location or in any other area where such entity conducts business operations, unless he has reason to believe that such branch, affiliate, or subsidiary is being established with the intention of closing down the operations of the existing business entity in the area of its original location or in any other area where it conducts such operations.

SELECTION AND REFERRAL

Membership in labor organizations.

SEC. 307. The selection of persons for training under this Act and for placement of such persons shall not be contingent upon such person's membership or nonmembership in a labor organization.

DEFINITION

"State."

SEC. 308. For the purposes of this Act, the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam.

SECRETARIES' REPORTS

Reports to Congress.

76 STAT. 32.

76 STAT. 33.

SEC. 309. (a) Prior to March 1, 1963, and again prior to March 1, 1964, the Secretary of Labor shall make a report to Congress. Such report shall contain an evaluation of the programs under title I and part A of title II, including the number of persons trained and the number and types of training activities under this Act, the number of unemployed or underemployed persons who have secured full-time employment as a result of such training, and the nature of such employment, the need for continuing such programs, and recommendations for improvement.

(b) Prior to March 1, 1963, and again prior to March 1, 1964, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall also make a report to Congress. Such report shall contain an evaluation of the programs under part B of title II, the need for continuing such programs, and recommendations for improvement. The first such report shall also contain the results of the vocational training survey which is presently being conducted under the supervision of the Secretary.

TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY

SEC. 310. (a) All authority conferred under title II of this Act shall terminate at the close of June 30, 1965.

(b) Notwithstanding the foregoing, the termination of title II shall not affect the disbursement of funds under, or the carrying out of, any contract, commitment or other obligation entered into prior to the date of such termination: *Provided*, That no disbursement of funds shall be made pursuant to the authority conferred under title II of this Act after December 30, 1965.

Approved March 15, 1962, 10:40 a.m.

○

# BRIEF EXPLANATION OF AMENDMENTS TO THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

The following is a brief summary of the MDTA amendments approved by the President on December 19th.

The general effect of the amendments is to broaden the scope of the law, and to make changes found to be necessary after a year's experience. They accomplish this by creating some new provisions in the MDTA and amending others.

## Basic Education Skills

The amendments

* provide for basic education training (in language and numbers skills, for example), for unemployed persons who need this education to qualify for regular occupational training programs.

## Youth Training

The amendments

* grant authority to expand occupational training and further schooling for youths ages 16 through 21 who can't obtain employment because of inadequate educational background and work preparation.

## Training Allowances

The amendments

* ease the eligibility requirements for training allowance by providing that an unemployed person must have two years' gainful work experience (instead of three, as previously) and be either a family or household head or (a new provision) be a member of a family in which the head of the household is unemployed. (Only one member of a family can receive a regular training allowance, but this does not include youths who are receiving the special youth allowance);

* provide for an increase of up to $10 a week in the regular training allowance that can be paid a trainee when it is necessary to enable him to complete training;

* provide that persons who need basic education training may be paid 20 weeks of training allowances in addition to the 52 weeks

of allowances that can be provided for regular occupational training;

* lower the age when youths may be eligible for youth training allowances to 17 (from 19);

* provide that a youth must have been out of school for at least a year or must have completed high school to be eligible for an allowance;

* increase the total amount of money that can be used for allowances for young people.

Part-time Work

The amendments

* allow persons engaged in full-time school-type training to work part-time for up to 20 hours a week without having their allowance reduced.

Financing the Program

The amendments

* delay for a year the time when States must contribute to the funds paid out for training allowances and training costs and also lower from one-half to one-third the amount States must contribute that first year;

* increase to $407,000,000 (from $161,000,000) the amount of Federal funds that may be spent on training activities in fiscal year 1965, and provide $281,000,000 for fiscal year 1966.

Educational Facilities

The amendments

* permit States to provide training through private education and training facilities when those facilities can provide training substantially equivalent to, but cheaper than, public institutions;

* authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to arrange for appropriate education agencies to provide basic education training.

Advisory Committees

The Secretary of Labor, where appropriate, will require that labor-management-public advisory committees be organized on a community, State, and/or regional basis.

Labor Mobility Studies

The Secretary of Labor is given authority to set up a limited number of labor mobility demonstration projects that provide loans and/or grants to assist unemployed workers to move when they have a bona fide job offer in another part of the country.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was created to train unemployed workers to fill occupational shortages resulting from the "Automation Revolution." It is a known fact that automation eliminates approximately 300,000 jobs yearly. Yet, it is scarcely emphasized that automation has equally increased employment opportunities for skilled personnel. Here lies one of the greatest weapons to foster equal employment opportunities for Negroes.

Training for jobs

By Section 202(a) of the Act, broad and diversified training programs, which range from drafting and stenography to training mechanics and cooks are provided. The Secretary of Labor refers interested people to training programs which are arranged by the Sec'y of Health, Education, and Welfare and officials of the state where the program is to be located. Programs are to use public educational agencies, or if such places are not adequate, private educational or training institutions may be used. On-the-job training programs are created by the Sec'y of Labor with the state and/or with private and public agencies, labor organizations, trade associations, and other industrial and community groups. The sponsoring organization must meet the standars established by the Sec'y of Labor for facilities, curricula, etc. Projects (except on-the-job ones) must be approved by the state and national governments.

Priority for selection of trainees is given to those who are currently unemployed. (Workers in farm families with a total yearly income of less than $1,200 are considered unemployed.) Priority is also given to persons who will be trained for skills needed 1) in their areas and 2) in their states.

Training allowances

Those trainees who are unemployed, have at least 3 years of work experience and are heads of families or households are paid an allowance which cannot be greater than the un-

employment compensation paid in the state, including consideration for dependents. When training facilities are not nearby, money for transportation and maintaining separate households is available. Trainees who are between the ages of 19 and 22 are provided subsistence payments up to $20 a week. A handicap related to allowances is that they are paid by the states as agencies of the federal government.

Advisory Committee

A National Advisory Committee of 10 members, representing labor, management, agriculture, education, training, and the public in general, is appointed by the Sec'y of Labor to help set up and assist labor-management-public committees and similar groups designed to further the purposes of the act; the committee is also to assist other, already existing, groups of this kind.

To start a program

In order to begin a project a proposal for the project and a budget for it must be submitted to and approved by the state vocational education agency which has been named in an agreement between the state and the Commissioner of Education(who is acting for the Sec'y of H.E.W.) and by the Commissioner of Labor.

To participate in a training program

The potential trainee applies or is called to his local public employment office where he is interviewed, counseled, and tested to determine hes suitability for a particular occupation. The training periods vary according to the skill being taught. In order for one to be accepted for training there must be reasonable expectation of employment in the occupation being trained for.

If he is accepted, he completes a training course which has been developed by state vocational education authorities. He then returns to the employment office for placement service.

Problems

MDTA programs in the South in the first eight months of operation have trained only 234 Negroes, according to the report of the Civil Rights Commission. That figure represents only 11% of the total MDTA trainees while Negro unemployment in the South is 30%. Further, training has been offered to Negroes in only a few of the occupations provided by the commission. In the professional and managerial class, more than one half the Negroes were trained as low-salaried medical aides. In the clerical and sales categories, 90% of the Negroes were trained as stenographer-typists. In the service category, such jobs as tailoring, typewriter- repairing were available to most of the Negroes. Others were trained as waiters and waitresses.

Some of our problems in getting training positions are the result of poor education. But the stumbling blocks are much bigger than poor education.

Anti-Negro state officials in training plans are to our disadvantage. This is of importance because the states or their representatives are responsible for approving training programs, payment of training allowances, selecting, counseling, testing and placement of trainees.A further problem is that the Act states that people cannot be accepted for training without "reasonable expectation of employment"; in the South this provision can be interpreted by state authorities to mean that since a white man will not want to hire a Negro for any job but a "Negro job" (cleaning, digging), there is not reasonable expectation of em - ployment.

The handicap of state power can be corrected by several things. We can arrange for "on-the-job" programs since the Sec'y of Labor is directed by Section 204(a) of the act to arrange programs with <u>private and public agencies, labor organizations, and other industrial and community groups</u> as well as with the states.

Thus a group of citizens can go directly to the Sec'y of Labor if the desired program can be described as "on-the-job' training. We can contact directly representatives of MDTA whose jobs are to set up programs in communities where they are wanted and who can direct to other possible sources of aid. The representative can possibly influence state and local authorities to approve programs or admit Negroes to them by showing them that the community as a whole would benefit from the program or by the use of other arguments. We also can push to get Negroes working in public employment agencies and to influence the Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare to limit the interpretation of "reasonable expectation" so that the provision will not protect segregation policies.

We cannot protect our efforts to get jobs from the state power provided by the act unless we have a power ourselves in the community. Behind a "citizens' committee" seeking a training program must be a political power, an economic one, the power of demonstrations, a power.

There are amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act before the Congress now (S. 1691, S.1831 and H.R. ). Several of the provisions refer to problems abou t which we are especially concerned. The proposed amendments increase the amount of money to be spent, put off the time when states will have to begin matching federal funds, and extend the training program to 1967. They provide that the age at which unemployed youth can receive allowances for training be lowered from 19 to 16 years and that more young people will be trained. They provide <u>basic education</u> (fo periods up to 52 weeks) for people who are not qualified to enter training programs with the understanding that those people learning basic skills (such as reading and working math problems) will then enter training programs for a particular occupation. SNCC workers must make special efforts to encourage people to apply for participation

the programs and for the introduction of programs into their communities.

Possibilities for the future

We must look at the job possibilities which are actually created by MDTA (which is the most significant and far reaching retraining law that we have). 1794 projects, providing approximately 63,000 jobs were approved last year. Yet, 63,000 jobs is not anywhere near the 2,000,000 jobs which the Manpower Research Office estimates (in its report #2) will be needed each year to offset advances in technology. Even if Congress passes the appropriation amendments in the form proposed by the House ($422 million for next year and $281 million for the following) and even if all the states matched the funds for 5 years (When state directors of vocational education were asked by the American Vocational Educational Association if their states could participate in MDTA when matching funds were requested 34 said no.) even then a maximum of 334,000 jobs per year can be generated. This is 16.7% of the need. Jobs needed by Negroes are included in that 2,000,000 per year. We must, in the future, make as great a use as possible of training and education provisions of this and other similar acts and, somehow, help in getting more legislation of this kind.

MDTA Programs

in areas in which the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has projects as of July, 1963.

| | Projects Approved | |
|---|---|---|
| | no. of projects | no. of trainees |
| Alabama | 30 | 1,569 |
| Arkansas | 22 | 561 |
| District of Columbia | 10 | 785 |
| Georgia | 15 | 385 |
| Maryland | 9 | 433 |
| Mississippi | 5 | 125 |
| Virginia | 24 | 1,010 |
| ON-THE-JOB TRAINING | | |
| Georgia | 4 | 68 |
| Tennessee | 33 | 919 |
| | | 5,855 |

SNCC can obtain more information on MDTA programs in your area for you.

ALABAMA

| Area | Occupation | Number Trainees | Duration in Weeks |
|---|---|---|---|
| Birmingham | Welder, Combination(entry) | 20 | 50 |
| Birmingham | Electronics Mechanic (entry) | 16 | 51 |
| Huntsville | Turret-Lathe Operator | 90 | 26 |
| Montgomery | Programmer, Computer | 18 | 52 |
| Opelika | Secretary | 25 | 52 |
| Decatur | Sewing Machine Operator (entry) | 150 | 3 |
| Talladega | Sewing Machine Operator (entry) | 60 | 3 |
| Mobile | Automobile Mechanic (entry) | 44 | 52 |
| Mobile | Auto Body Repairman (entry) | 10 | 52 |
| Huntsville | Stenographer | 60 | 52 |
| Decatur | Stenographer | 75 | 52 |
| Birmingham | Presser, Machine | 45 | 12 |
| Birmingham | Presser, Shirt | 30 | 4 |
| Anniston | Nurse Aide | 150 | 5 |
| Huntsville | Electronic Data Programmer(entry) | 40 | 52 |
| Dothan | Sheet Metal Worker | 35 | 45 |
| Dothan | Aircraft Engine Mechanic (entry) | 30 | 31 |
| Dothan | Welder, Combination | 15 | 26 |
| Huntsville | Auto Body Repairman (entry) | 15 | 52 |
| Huntsville | Automobile Mechanic (entry) | 15 20 | 20 |
| Huntsville | Stenographer | 60 | 52 |
| Huntsville | Chassis Assembler | 120 | 16 |
| Huntsville | Solderer, Electronic (entry) | 200 | 2 |
| Huntsville | Automobile, Mechanic (entry) | 30 | 27 |
| Huntsville | Salesperson, General | 120 | 2 |
| Huntsville | Stenographer | 30 | 52 |
| Selma | Grocery Checker | 20 | 2 |
| Jasper | Automobile Mechanic | 12 | 17 |
| Jasper | Auto Body Repairman | 14 | 52 |
| Birmingham | Automobile Mechanic (entry) | 20 | 27 |

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

none

## GEORGIA

| Area | Occupation | Number Trainees | Duration in Weeks |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING** | | |
| Atlanta | Draftsman, Electrical | 20 | 52 |
| Macon | Offset-Pressman | 20 | 52 |
| Albany | Furniture Repairman | 20 | 52 |
| Columbus | Automobile Mechanic | 20 | 52 |
| Waycross | Automobile Mechanic | 20 | 52 |
| Winder | Sheet-Metal Worker | 120 | 12 |
| Macon | Automobile Mechanic (entry) | 20 | 52 |
| Savannah | Stenographer | 20 | 27 |
| Athens | Automobile Service Station Atten. | 20 | 8 |
| Atlanta | Auto Body Repairman (entry) | 20 | 52 |
| Atlanta | Automobile Mechanic | 20 | 52 |
| Atlanta | Automobile Mechanic (entry) | 20 | 36 |
| Waycross | Electrical Appliance Serviceman (entry) | 15 | 36 |
| Athens | Tailor, Retail Trade (entry) | 15 | 26 |
| Athens | Welder, Combination (entry) | 15 | |
| | **ON-THE-JOB TRAINING** | | |
| Atlanta | Sewing Machine Operator, approved during July, 1963 | 20 | 5 |
| Calhoun | Butcher Apprentice | 20 | 10 |
| Calhoun | Meat Cutter Apprentice | 23 | 10 |
| Calhoun | Shipping Clerk | 5 | 10 |

## MISSISSIPPI

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jackson | Machine Operator, General | 15 | 9 |
| Jackson | Office Machine Serviceman | 20 | 36 |
| Gulfport | Automobile Mechanic | 18 | 36 |
| Newton | Automobile Mechanic | 18 | 36 |
| Jackson | Woodworking Machine Operator General | 54 | 16 |

**ON-THE-JOB TRAINING**

none

The New York Times.
FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1964.

# South Bend, Grim but Unshaken, Starts Long Road Back to Work

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN
Special to The New York Times

Some three months ago, the 122-year-old Studebaker Corporation, where the average age of production workers was 55, announced it was about to close its big red-brick plant here.

Today, grimly aware that things will get worse before they get better, community leaders have decided they must undertake a "saturation" program that will draw on Federal, state and local governments, unions and management.

A retraining program is already in operation and by the end of March 450 people will be taking courses that range from "chef training" to computer operation.

One section of the retraining program is in the Studebaker plant itself, with the willing cooperation of the company.

There Jerome C. Borlik, a 45 year-old "trim -repairer," who was laid-off Dec. 19 after 24 years with "the corporation" is taking a 48-week refrigeration and air-conditioning course.

### 'Too Young to Retire'

He supports a wife and two children on his savings, surplus food distributions, and $36 a week in unemployment compensation.

He searched South Bend, Detroit and Chicago for work but, he said, found that anyone over age 35 bore "the stigma of age."

"I'm too old, too young to retire," he said with a sad smile.

Like other Studebaker workers he could never force himself to believe that the corporation would really quit here—in the city where he was born and owns his own home.

He feels "degraded" when he collects Government surplus food and bitter about personnel men, older than he was, who turned him away. Nor is he sure he will find work in his new trade, and expects to search far beyond South Bend for a new job when he finishes his course.

Taking the aptitude tests for retraining was an ordeal that made him jittery and nervous, although he felt he did well and relaxed as he got into them.

Mr. Borlik is typical of many others.

This industrialized community of 165,000 population has a diversified heavy industry base and is far from flat on its back. There is a determined optimism and civic pride.

But there is also the nagging knowledge that since

Continued on Page 45, Column 1

# SOUTH BEND SPURS RETRAINING PLANS

Continued From Page 43

Studebaker moved its remaining automobile production to Hamilton, Ont., that salvation lies in hard, coordinated work rather than a sudden miracle.

Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, it is hoped, will soon approve the plan that will be geared to the Labor Department's Office of Manpower Automation and Training.

The program will set up a corps of 40 experienced counselors to "hold the hand" of older workers, guide them through an expanded retraining program and then help them find jobs.

It is also anticipated a determined effort will be made to break down employer resistance to hiring older men. The "hard core" problem will be more than 2,000 men of age 50 and over.

### Studebaker Takes Part

United Community Services of St. Joseph County, the Community Chest organization, will be in charge and it is hoped the program will start this spring. It is a demonstration project, in which Studebaker and the University of Notre Dame will play a part, and has wide implications for every community suffering from unemployment caused by plant closings or automation.

It will also be a test for the first time of a new provision in the Manpower Automation and Training Act that offers Federal subsidies for the moving costs of workers who find jobs elsewhere.

The plan is the product of both local efforts and an interagency committee created on Christmas Eve by President Johnson to coordinate Federal activities that could benefit South Bend in its period of crisis.

Last October the unemployment rate here was 2.1 per cent. It is over 9 per cent now.

Studebaker employment, representing about 10 per cent of the normal St. Joseph County work force, was 8,800 last November. Today 1,700 blue collar and 1,000 white collar people are still on the payroll.

### Future Uncertain

By June 30, all but a few hundred maintenance workers will be gone.

The fate of the office staff depends on whether the company sells the administration building with the other production units, or otherwise decides to pull out entirely.

In other words, it is not at this time known what will happen to the white collar workers.

Unemployment compensation will start to run out for the bulk of Studebaker workers next June.

William Aramony, executive secretary of United Community Services, who drafted the coordinated plan, said there was a feeling among workers at Studebaker akin to the emotional feeling a farmer has for the soil. Sons and fathers worked side by side—it was known as a place of three-generation workers.

Explaining why counseling support is especially needed, he noted that many of these people never had the experience of applying for another job.

### Special Help Urged

"Without special help, it is not likely these workers will accept retraining and place themselves in a better position to secure employment."

Fear of taking and possibly failing a test, especially among older immigrant workers of limited education, will require special attention by the counselors, he said. He suggested tests be given after, rather than before, retraining.

Counselors will be drawn from the United Auto Workers and from the company's industrial relations staff, he said. They will keep track of every Studebaker worker, even helping with home problems.

"Counselors will be available to older workers on a 24-hour-a-day, around-the-clock, basis," he said.

Efforts will be made at the same time to search out job opportunities, especially in service industries. He reported, for example, that jobs were available in the kitchens at the University of Notre Dame.

"Training without job placement would be a cruel hoax," Mr. Aramony said.

### Facts Are Stored

All community agencies, public and private, will be mobilized to search out job opportunities here and in other communities.

An attempt will be made to "isolate fact from fancy," he said when it came to talking to employers about hiring older workers. The University of Notre Dame, a part of a Government-supported research program, is storing facts on all unemployed Studebaker workers at its computer center.

Negro workers, many of limited education, will need special help and will be given training to upgrade their reading and writing and arithmetic ability.

Studebaker will contribute facilities worth more than $70,000 and the Federal Government's share of the 14-month program would come to about $1 million.

Without the program, direct relief costs for the hard core of these unemployed would be an estimated $2,750,000 a year.

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***Members' Support Urged***

# Union Backs Holland Bill To Better Manpower Act

The International union has swung its full support behind House Resolution 8419 which would amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 to liberalize its provisions for providing subsistence, relocation and basic education allowances to aid in the retraining of the nation's unemployed.

**IN A WIRE** to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), chairman of the House committee on Education and Labor, President Arnold S. Zander stated that AFSCME considers "H.R. 8419 a vital investment in the future of our nation."

Zander stressed that "the youth problem continues serious with more than one million unemployed. If corrective measures are not taken, this group and their dependents will become permanent beneficiaries of public assistance."

**HR 8419,** introduced by Rep. Elmer J. Holland (D-Pa.) would extend the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) for two additional years. It would also lower the age for those eligible for subsistence allowances to 16.

The bill also would raise the number of disadvantaged youth who can be trained under the act and provide "basic education" for 52 weeks for those not sufficiently qualified to take skill or occupation training.

**ANOTHER** provision of the bill, which goes much farther than a similar Senate measure, calls for "relocation allowances" for unemployed workers who have to move to new areas.

Congressman Holland said that "if an individual, with a needed skill, is unemployed in one section of the nation, and is willing to move with his family to another where employment is assured him, it is more economical to have the federal government assist in this move than to train other workers in that particular skill."

The congressman added that the youth problem "is very serious. Statistics shows we have over one million unemployed between the ages of 16 and 21—or approximately 25 percent of our total unemployment. If corrective measures are not taken immediately, this group will become permanent beneficiaries of public assistance and, I might add, th families beyond them."

**HE SAID** that the "under-educated adult in the unemployed ranks creates a situation we can no longer afford to ignore. Over 800,000—18 years of age and over — unemployed — have less than eight years of schooling. The cost of supporting them and their families on relief for the rest of their lives will be much greater than a program aimed at educating them and enabling them to again become employable."

AFSCME members are urged to write their Congressmen and Senators in support of the legislation.

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# Action for Boston Community Development, Inc.

**Preparing Boston Youth For The World of Work**

## The Program

The Boston Youth Training and Employment Program is an experiment intended to improve the employability of young people, particularly in disadvantaged areas, and to place them in jobs suited to their abilities.

The program extends to December, 1964, and is financed by a $372,275 grant from the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, U. S. Department of Labor.

It is set up to serve about 1,600 out-of-school, out-of-work youths in the 16 through 21 year-old age group.

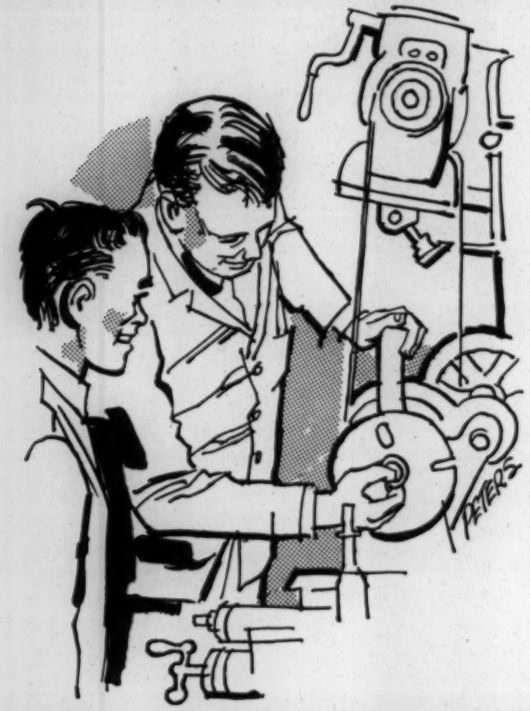
Youth unemployment will be a continuing problem in Boston which, like most large American cities, has many out-of-school, out-of-work and unmotivated youths who lack marketable skills and who need special job preparation if they are to avoid lives of idleness and dependency.

Because of this, it is hoped that those aspects of the program which prove effective will be adopted as a continuing answer to the unemployment problem under local financial auspices after the Federal experiment is completed.

## The Participants

An array of private and public agencies are teamed in conducting the program, which was planned and designed with their advice and cooperation.

Recruiting of youths is carried out by the Youth Activities Bureau of Boston with an expanded staff of detached workers, and by public and private agencies, schools, clergy and others.




Norfolk House Centre is conducting a Roxbury training and employment center and United South End Settlements a similar South End center. Special teachers from the Boston School Department provide remedial instruction at the centers and the State Employment Service staffs them with counselors for employment placement purposes.

Long range, intensive, vocational counseling and training is being provided in separate centers under programs operated by Jewish Vocational Service and Morgan Memorial. Special training in private schools will be made available through the services of the Youth Activities Bureau. The Boston School Department conducts special vocational training programs.

## The Process

Located physically in Roxbury and the South End, the program's facilities are available to youths from throughout the city. Young people may apply to the employment centers directly, but local agencies recruit others who need the program's services.

Youths are given tests to determine interests and aptitudes. Professional counseling helps a youth choose the right path toward continued education and training or employment. Job orientation helps to develop sound attitudes toward work. Vocational training provides skills for gaining and holding jobs. Placement personnel will find the jobs.

Each youth is treated as an individual.

Some youths are encouraged to return to school. Some require on-the-job or vocational counseling or educational assistance related to particular job objectives. However, many are ready for immediate job placement.

Constant evaluation of the program will determine if it achieves its objectives.

## The Role of ABCD

Action for Boston Community Development, Inc., (ABCD) helped plan the program and is the conduit for funds to carry it out. ABCD coordinates the work of the participating agencies and assists in opening employment opportunities.

A private, non-profit corporation, ABCD does not carry out programs, but designs, develops, and helps finance them in cooperation with public and private agencies which carry them out.

ABCD's Board of Directors includes the Mayor of the City of Boston and many of the city and state's civic, educational, governmental, business, management and labor leaders.

ABCD intends to inaugurate a wide range of experimental programs in health, education, employment, recreation and similar fields. It has already sponsored a group of experimental programs in the public schools and a comprehensive attack on juvenile delinquency.

It is financed primarily by the Ford Foundation, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, and the Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund.

## Co-Operating Agencies

Massachusetts Division of Employment Security

Massachusetts Division of Vocational Education

Department of Public Welfare, City of Boston

Boston School Department

United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston

Youth Activities Bureau, City of Boston

United South End Settlements, Inc.

Norfolk House Centre

Morgan Memorial

Jewish Vocational Service

Massachusetts Department of Labor & Industries
Division of Apprentice Training

United States Department of Labor
Bureau of Apprentice Training
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Bureau of Employment Security
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training

Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce

Boston Committee on Youth Employment



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## and
## Employment

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Henry J. Mascarello
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Roger Johnson
*Job Development Special*

Patricia J. Fritts
*Testing Specialist*

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Roxbury Youth Training &
John R. Koestner, *Super*
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Roxbury
Telephone: 442-0275

Jewish Vocational Service
Harry Fine, *Supervisor*
37 Leon Street
Roxbury

Youth Occupation Center
Theodore Parrish, *Super*
927 Washington Street
Boston
Telephone: 426-6030

Training
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Street, Boston 02108
one: 523-5841

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*Specialist*

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# ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.

Charles I. Schottland
*President*

Joseph S. Slavet
*Executive Director*

18 TREMONT STREET
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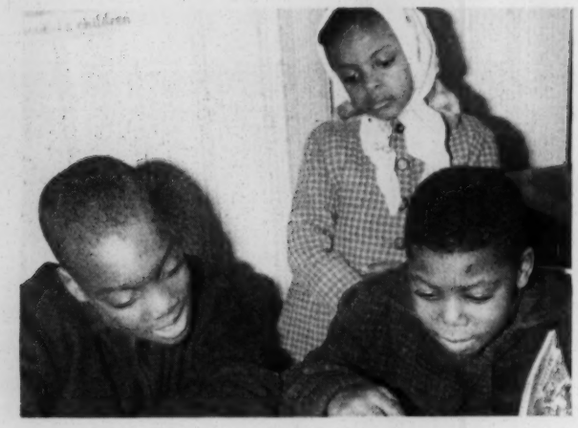


The building up of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in congested areas of the city is a social phenomenon that can be compared to the piling of inflammable material in an empty building in a city block. Potentialities for trouble — indeed, possibilities of disaster — are surely there.

James Conant/Slums & Suburbs

**NSM** is a response to the despair, desperation, and disadvantage in the crowded Negro ghettos of the North.

A national organization with full-time projects in seven major Northern cities and sixty-five campus affiliates, the NSM staffs are paid subsistence salaries.

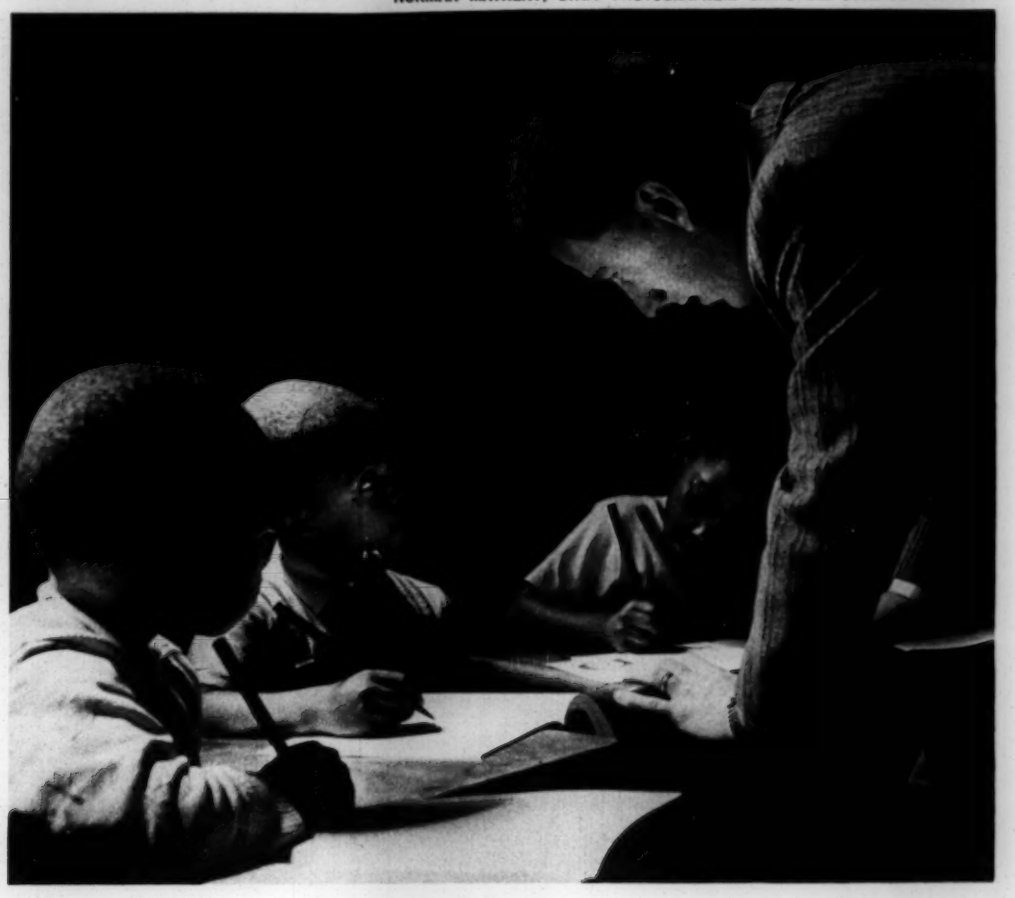
**NSM IN BOSTON PROVI**
for 600 Negro children
local colleges and the co

**DISCUSSION GROUPS** fo
adults on problems in E
ment and other topics o

**A SUMMER PROGRAM** r
in 5 areas, vacation perio
paper, music and dram
educational trips, voter
housing relocation

**A GUIDANCE PROGRAM** a
in the planning stages.

NORMAN MATHENY, STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER: CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR



**PROVIDES A TUTORIAL PROGRAM**
hildren including 550 tutors from
d the community.

**OUPS** for children, teenagers, and
ms in Education, Housing, Employ-
opics of community concern

**GRAM** recreation for 650 children
on period tutorials, a student news-
d drama workshops, cultural and
voter education and registration,
n

**GRAM** and Higher Horizons program
ages.

**NSM** programs all seek to help the alienated citizen to acquire the skills needed for effective participation in the democratic process.

Planning with the community, NSM is helping people prepare to grasp new opportunities as the barriers of ignorance and intolerance are removed and the ghetto is unlocked

**NSM** is an attempt on the part of students — some in, some out, others graduated from college — to integrate their training into the life of the ghetto.

But more important have been the new personal relationships between black and white which have contributed to a degree of mutual understanding that is our larger goal — and the hope of America.

**NSM** tries to demonstrate that "failure" results just as often from the inadequacies of the American economic and political system as from personal deficiencies. **NSM** is concerned with bringing something new — something called hope and pride — into the life of every man.

**IN BOSTON, NSM SERVES A COMMUNITY WHERE:**

- 81% of the lower-income families do not finish high school
- 40% of the lower-income residents do not finish grammar school
- Schools have more substitute teachers and less guidance counselors
- 49% of the housing is dilapidated or deteriorating
- The percentage of overcrowded housing is twice as high as in the rest of the city
- Average rents are $20 a month higher than in the rest of the city
- 19% of the workers are unemployed
- 30% more mothers have to work and are away from the home
- The rate of delinquency is the highest in the state
- The tuberculosis rate and infant mortality rate is the highest in the state.

**NSM's** work is going on now. **NSM** depends on contributions from all who are concerned with the realization of an equitable society, and welcomes help, personal and financial, from all.

Contributions made to the Boston Northern Student Movement are tax-deductible

**NSM** is administered by a
office in New York City.
the City-Congress, compris
each city project. The Mo
an advisory board of leade
and religious worlds, to ins
in its work.

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**STAFF** Sarah Ann Shaw D
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**NATIONAL CONSULTANT**

**BOSTON NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT**
1252 Tremont St., Roxbury 19, Mass.

NSM

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comprising representatives from
The Movement relies also upon
of leaders in the academic, civic,
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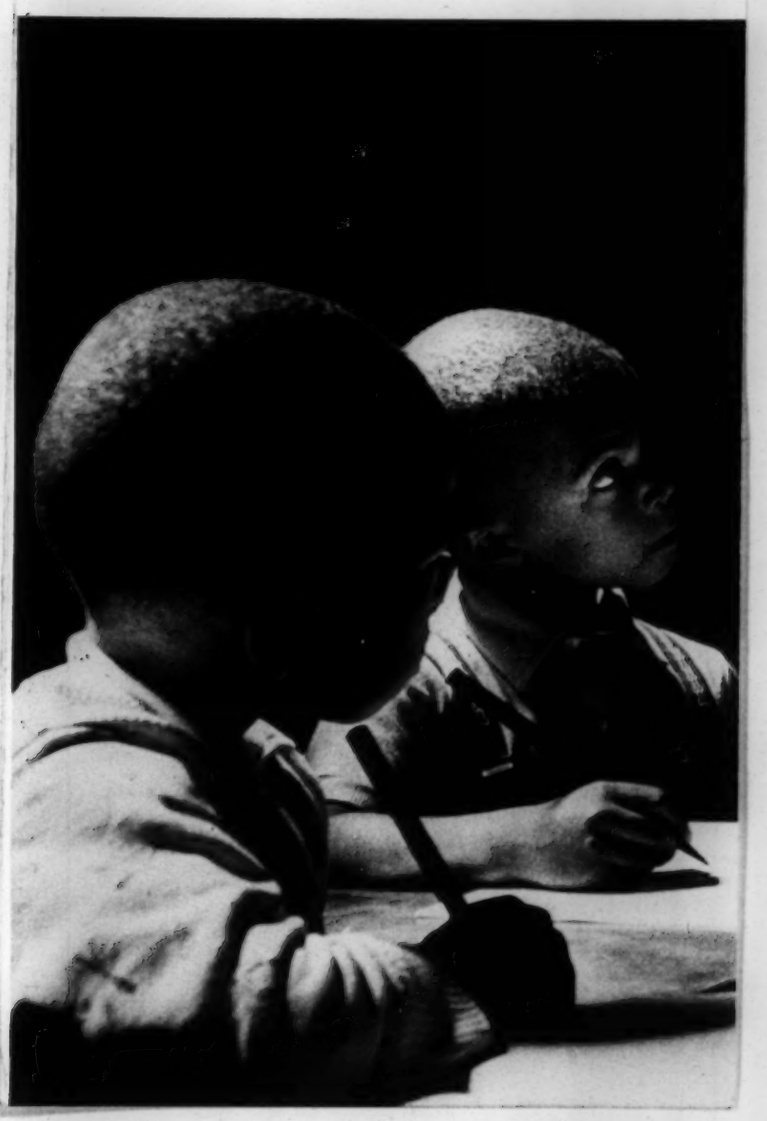

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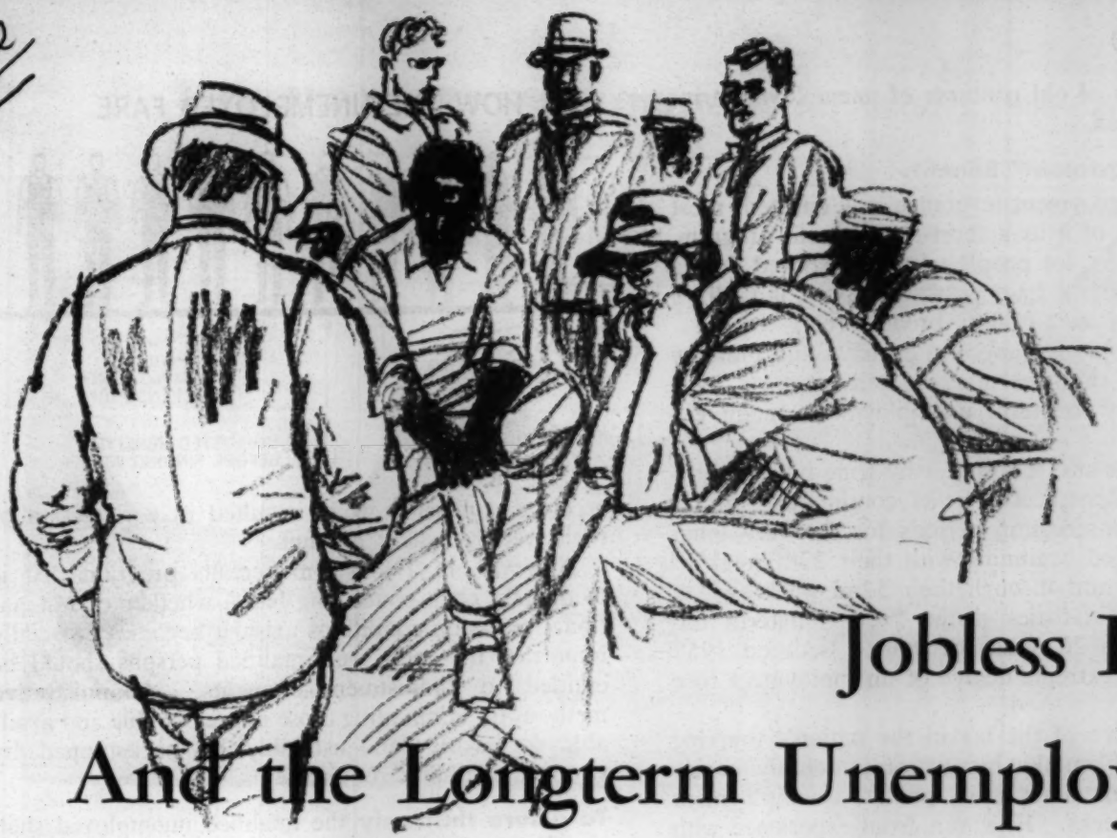


# Jobless Pay And the Longterm Unemployed

**When unemployment strikes,** a wage earner loses his source of income through no fault of his own. Unemployment insurance was devised to restore part of this income loss until the worker found new employment. This served the subsistence needs of the jobless worker and his family and it served the larger community by maintaining a flow of purchasing power.

But the currents of change over the past quarter century have left the federal-state system of unemployment compensation obsolete. Millions of workers remain outside the system; benefits have lagged while the income loss gap has grown; underfinancing of some state systems has left them in perilous condition.

A new and even more acute problem has been created as a result of rapid technological change and the impact of automation: workers are discovering that skills and experience acquired over a lifetime suddenly are made obsolete; some are not only thrown out of work—they become jobless indefinitely and perhaps permanently.

The Kennedy Administration, after considerable study, has recommended to Congress several permanent improvements in the nation's federal-state jobless pay system. The Kennedy proposals were introduced by Senator Eugene J. McCarthy (D-Minn.) and Representative Cecil R. King (D-Calif.).

The McCarthy-King bill is a response to several persistent problems in unemployment insurance. But it also embodies important new ideas.

Currently there are over 4 million unemployed persons, but only half of these are drawing benefits. Between 30 and 40 percent of the unemployed are denied any benefits because of where they work and because of restrictions in state eligibility requirements. Ten to twenty percent have been out of work so long that they have exhausted their benefit rights.

The McCarthy-King bill will have the effect of covering 3 million more workers in different kinds of employment and it will reduce the number who use up their benefit rights before finding a job.

As in previous proposals, employes of nonprofit organizations would be covered and also employes in small establishments. The method of financing coverage for "nonprofit employes" would, however, be left to each state to decide. This will permit special consideration for the problems of nonprofit organizations where immediate cost increases might cut desired services.

But the most significant example of new thinking in this bill is the benefits for the very longterm unemployed, up to 52 weeks; these are called "federal unemployment adjustment benefits." They are designed to help that large group of the unemployed who have used up all their state benefit entitlement but still have not been able to find work.

The bill recognizes that the increased incidence of unemployment lasting longer than 26 weeks calls for

*Labor's* **ECONOMIC REVIEW**

Prepared by Raymond Munts,
Department of Social Security
Reprinted from July 1963
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

a re-evaluation of old concepts of unemployment insurance duration.

### Federal "Adjustment" Benefits

When unemployment insurance was enacted, most people thought of it as a short-term benefit program, usually 16 weeks, for people who had worked during the recent period or base year. Today, it is realized that jobless pay must fulfill a broader role.

The technological changes in business and industry and the rapid shifts in markets and products have introduced very longterm unemployment on an extensive scale.

For these reasons, the McCarthy-King bill will provide federal adjustment benefits continuously in recession and nonrecession periods for the very longterm unemployed beginning with their 27th week of unemployment and through their 52nd week.

Government statistics define "very longterm unemployment" as 26 weeks or more. Between 1957 and 1962, this extreme degree of unemployment rose 150 percent.

It is indicative of the lag in the nation's thinking about this problem that government monthly unemployment reports don't even tabulate unemployment for 39 or 52 weeks. However, from experience with the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Acts of 1958 and 1961, more is now known about those out of work 39 weeks or more. It is known that 64 percent of those who drew temporary unemployment compensation benefits in 1961 and 1962 exhausted their entitlement and used up all 39 weeks without, at the end of that period, having found a job.

It also is known from studies of unemployment insurance beneficiaries who exhausted their state benefits that the number of longterm unemployed remains high even in nonrecession years.

The following table shows the increase in long duration unemployment since 1956:

Increasing Length of Unemployment, as Percentage of Those Drawing Jobless Pay

| | 1956 | 1961 | 1962 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Drew first jobless payment | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Out of job more than: | | | |
| 26 Weeks ..... | 15 | 29 | 21 |
| 39 Weeks ..... | 6 | 16 | 10 |
| 52 Weeks ..... | 2 | 9 | 5 |

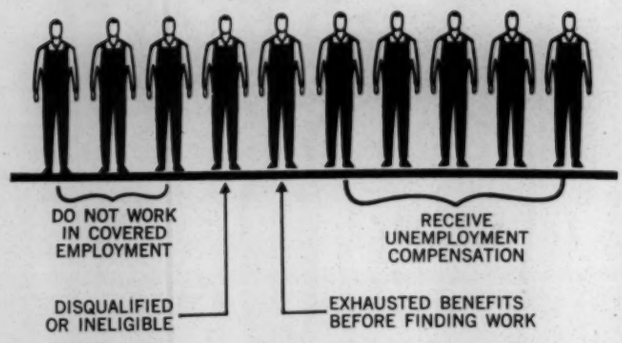
Clearly a benefit program that may have been appropriate several years ago would be inadequate now.

Objections have been raised that some people draw jobless pay who should not—people who work only short periods and don't really want to work more.

Actually, the persons covered by the temporary federal extensions in 1961-62 were clearly deserving. Sixty out of every hundred were men. The same proportion were the primary or sole wage-earners in the household. Most had been in the labor force for the previous three years.

The great concern over part-time workers, pensioners, etc., also proved to be unfounded. Only four percent were part-time workers and only four percent

### HOW THE UNEMPLOYED FARE




received a pension which resulted in a reduction of their weekly benefit amount.

However, in a longterm benefits program that is to operate on a continuing basis, whether or not national recession conditions exist, it becomes especially important that only well-qualified persons should be entitled to "adjustment" benefits. Administrative methods for eliminating those not really able and available for work can justifiably be backstopped by stronger eligibility requirements.

**To assure that only** the qualified unemployed shall be eligible for the longterm "adjustment" benefits, the McCarthy-King bill proposes that they must have worked one year during the previous two and at least half the time during the previous three years.

This requirement is in addition to having exhausted their state benefit amount and having been unemployed for 27 weeks.

The specifics of the qualifying requirement are as follows: To be eligible, a worker must have at least 26 weeks of employment in the state base period and at least 78 weeks in the 156-week period consisting of his state base period and the two immediately preceding years—the "federal qualifying period."

It is estimated that 60 percent of those who exhaust their state benefits will be entitled to the longer "adjustment" benefits.

Everyone who qualifies for the federal adjustment benefit will be entitled to 13 additional weeks, plus an additional week for every two weeks of employment in the "federal qualifying period" beyond 78 weeks, as follows:

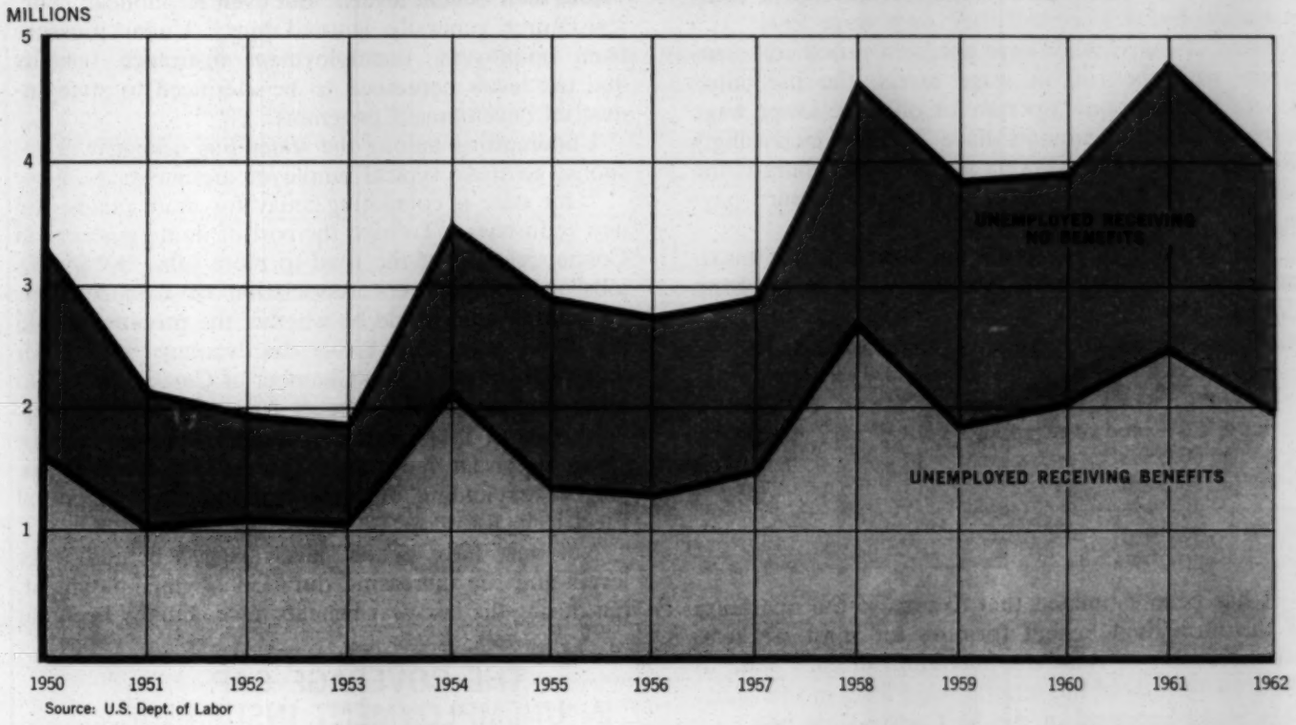
Employment in Qualifying Weeks and Component Benefit Weeks

| | |
|---|---|
| 78—13 | 92—20 |
| 80—14 | 94—21 |
| 82—15 | 96—22 |
| 84—16 | 98—23 |
| 86—17 | 100—24 |
| 88—18 | 102—25 |
| 90—19 | 104—26 |

In short, a worker who has worked half of the previous three years can draw 13 weeks of federal adjustment benefits and one who has worked two-thirds or more of the period can draw 26 weeks.

The weekly benefit amount paid to the worker would be the benefit required by the federal standard,

**TOTAL AND INSURED UNEMPLOYMENT** (Yearly Averages, 1950-62)




Source: U.S. Dept. of Labor

whether or not the state actually conforms to the standard. Where the state does conform, the adjustment benefit will continue at the same amount as paid under state law.

### The Six-Month Watershed

The significance of federal adjustment benefits is that they delineate areas of financial responsibility as between states and the federal government, with the federal government taking full responsibility for long-term unemployment beyond six months.

To pay for the adjustment benefits, a federal payroll tax of three-tenths of 1 percent will be added to the existing federal portion of the jobless pay tax. Most of this additional tax would pay for the adjustment benefits; some would go to an equalization fund.

These longterm benefits, then, are to come from a federal fund with no consideration as to which state pays the money or which state gets it back. The central focus—instead of being the economically meaningless borders of a state—is to be the unemployed worker and the national economic dislocations that cause longterm unemployment.

As with any new proposal, there are some elements of uncertainty. For example, will states decide to tighten up their wage qualifying requirements because of the more strict federal requirement for adjustment benefits? The President's proposal includes a watchdog advisory committee to study such effects and report on further corrective legislation if experience warrants it.

Another unknown exists because many workers will exhaust state benefits before the 26th week when they become eligible for federal adjustment benefits. Will states extend their duration to fill this uncompensated gap? An ideal fit exists where states provide a uniform entitlement of at least 26 weeks for all jobless beneficiaries, but only 9 states now do this.

Despite the problems, however, the federal adjustment benefits are a forceful approach to meeting the cash needs of the longterm unemployed according to the principles of social insurance.

In the words of the President's transmittal: "Long unemployment of this group is largely structural and involves a difficult period of personal adjustment to a changed situation. This adjustment will be facilitated by income maintenance as an earned right, which respects and preserves the dignity of the individual as a member of the labor force, rather than by subjecting him to the means test of public assistance."

### The Weekly Benefit Amount

It is fundamental to the unemployment insurance system that the worker's weekly benefit should have a reasonable relationship to his regular weekly wages. In this way his unemployment period represents a cutback in his own standard of living rather than some arbitrary, fixed level of subsistence.

This objective is accomplished by the individual benefit formula (the so-called "high quarter formulas") which sets the weekly payment according to the worker's earnings in some previous period. These individual benefit formulas in nearly all states provide benefits of about half the worker's weekly wage and sometimes they provide a higher proportion for the lowest wage earners.

Most state laws originally set the ceiling or statewide maximum high enough relative to wages generally that the individual benefit formula could operate over a wide range of wage levels. In this way the

great majority of covered workers could expect compensation for at least half their own wage loss.

Since the maximums have not been raised commensurate with the rise in wage levels, the individual benefit formulas now operate for only the lower wage earners. The maximums have become increasingly restrictive; for most workers now the maximum is the only relevant figure, a form of fixed subsistence payment.

The following table shows the decline in the maximum benefits relative to general wage levels from 1939 to 1962:

| Maximum Benefit as Percent of Each State's Average Weekly Wage | Number of States and Territories | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1939 | 1963 |
| 70% and over | 18 | 0 |
| 60-69% | 17 | 1 |
| 50-59% | 15 | 7 |
| 40-49% | 1 | 29 |
| 30-39% | 0 | 13 |
| 20-29% | 0 | 1 |

It has been estimated that to restore the operation of the individual benefit formula for most workers, it is necessary to raise the maximum in each state to about two-thirds of the general wage level in that state. This is the proposal of the McCarthy-King bill.

This does not mean that workers would get two-thirds of their own wage; it means only that for more people their benefit would be determined by the individual benefit formula—some reasonable relationship to their own weekly wage. In short, more people would get half of their weekly wage loss.

The approach in the McCarthy-King bill has several advantages over the present situation: (1) Raising the maximum will restore unemployment benefits to the basic role of underpinning the standard of living of unemployed workers—*their* standard, not some arbitrary dollar standard; (2) In this way, the great majority—possibly three out of four covered workers—can expect a weekly benefit of at least half their own wage loss should they become unemployed; (3) Setting the maximums as a percentage establishes different dollar ceilings appropriate to the different wage level in each state; (4) Percentage maximums also assure automatic adjustment of the maximum benefit amount with further movement of wage levels and keeps the program always up-to-date.

### The Record of the States

Unemployment insurance proposals were ignored by the states until the federal government in 1935 forced their hand. The federal government simply levied a tax and said the states could have the money if they offered a program.

This is why unemployment insurance is a federal-state system. At first most states adopted benefit levels as recommended by the Social Security Administration. But competition among the states for industry and the adoption of variable tax rates through experience rating quickly broke up the uniformity in benefit levels.

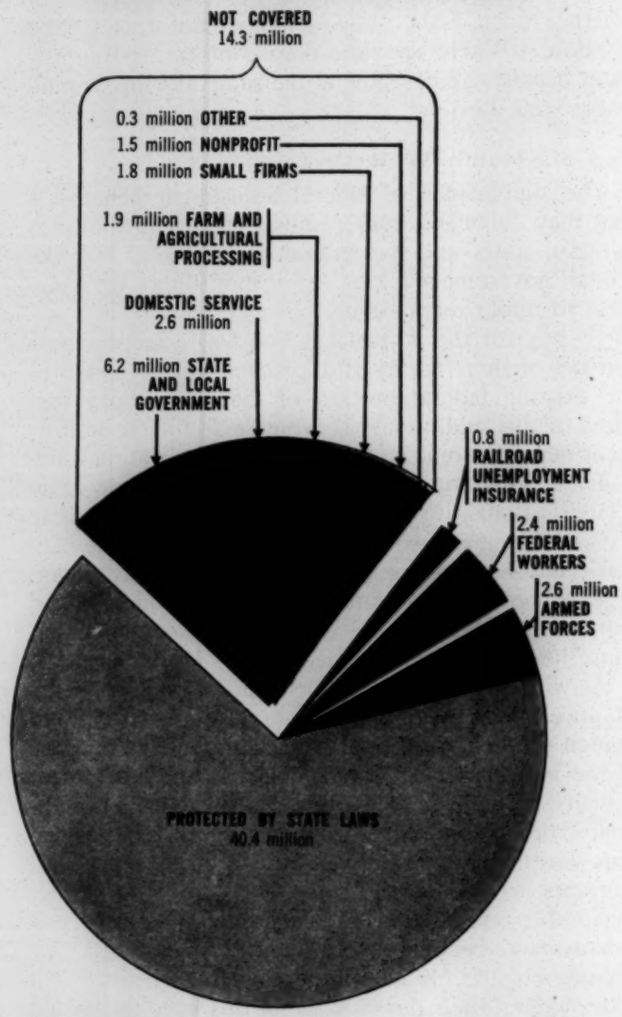
In 1954, President Eisenhower urged the states to restore their benefit levels. But even Republican state legislatures generally ignored him. Under pressure from employers, unemployment insurance benefits and tax levels continued to be sacrificed to state industrial development programs.

Undercutting among the states has occurred in response to these typical employer arguments:

"Our state is competing today for more plants and new industries. To hike the cost of doing business in Connecticut is not the road to more jobs, but to less jobs" (Manufacturers Association of Connecticut). "A central issue would be whether the proposal would put Ohio at a competitive disadvantage with other industrial states" (Ohio Chamber of Commerce). "No other southern states—except Arkansas and Alabama—have seen fit to extend benefits. These southern states represent our major competition for the new jobs of expanding business and industry" (General Electric in Kentucky).

Not only have benefit levels lagged behind wage levels and the increasing duration of unemployment, but during the last year benefits have actually been cut

## THE COVERAGE GAP IN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE




Source: Bureau of Employment Security, U.S. Labor Dept.

# Unemployment Insurance Under State Laws, July 1, 1963

(Including 1963 Amendments Effective After June 1)

| | Average Weekly Benefit Paid for Total Unemployment 1962[1] | Maximum Weekly Benefits[2] | Average Weekly Wages in Covered Employment 1962[3] | Basic Maximum Weekly Benefit as a Percentage of Average Weekly Wages | | Duration of Benefits by Weeks[4] | Percentage of Claimants Who Exhausted Benefits 1962[1] | Estimated Average Employer Tax Rate, 1963 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Now | 1939 | | | Percentage of Taxable Payrolls[5] (1939=2.7%) | Percentage of Total Payrolls (1939=2.7%) |
| United States | $35 | | $98 | | | | 27% | 2.3% | 1.4% |
| Alabama | 25 | $32 | 80 | 40% | 87% | 13-26 | 39 | 2.1 | 1.4 |
| Alaska | 37 | 45-70 | 150 | 30 | 41 | 15-26 | 30 | 2.9 | 2.5 |
| Arizona | 31 | 35 | 100 | 35 | 61 | 10-26 | 23 | 1.5 | .9 |
| Arkansas | 23 | 35[7] | 68 | 51[7] | 95 | 10-26 | 28 | 1.4 | 1.1 |
| California | 42 | 55 | 111 | 49 | 50 | 15-26[6] | 26 | 3.1 | 2.0 |
| Colorado | 42 | 48[7] | 96 | 50[7] | 62 | 15-26 | 24 | 1.3 | .8 |
| Connecticut | 37 | 45-67 | 103 | 44 | 56 | 12-26[6] | 30 | 2.1 | 1.2 |
| Delaware | 38 | 50 | 108 | 46 | 58 | 11-26 | 28 | 2.2 | 1.3 |
| Washington, D. C. | 30 | 49[7] | 98 | 50[7] | 59 | 11-26 | 32 | 1.0 | .6 |
| Florida | 27 | 33 | 84 | 39 | 81 | 10-26 | 37 | 1.3 | .9 |
| Georgia | 27 | 35 | 77 | 45 | 87 | 9-26 | 35 | 1.4 | 1.0 |
| Hawaii | 39 | 55 | 84 | 65 | 85 | 26 | 21 | 1.3 | .9 |
| Idaho | 36 | 45[7] | 86 | 52[7] | 82 | 10-26[6] | 31 | 2.1 | 1.4 |
| Illinois | 38 | 38-59 | 108 | 35 | 56 | 10-26[6] | 32 | 2.1 | 1.2 |
| Indiana | 31 | 36 | 102 | 35 | 58 | 6-26 | 35 | 1.2 | .7 |
| Iowa | 31 | 30-44 | 89 | 34 | 67 | 10-26 | 28 | .8 | .5 |
| Kansas | 35 | 45[7] | 91 | 50[7] | 66 | 10-26 | 25 | 1.2 | .7 |
| Kentucky | 30 | 40 | 86 | 47 | 69 | 15-26 | 31 | 2.0 | 1.3 |
| Louisiana | 30 | 35 | 87 | 40 | 90 | 12-28 | 46 | 2.0 | 1.3 |
| Maine | 23 | 34 | 80 | 43 | 74 | 26 | 16 | 2.3 | 1.6 |
| Maryland | 31 | 38-46 | 90 | 42 | 65 | 26 | 25 | 3.2 | 2.0 |
| Massachusetts | 37 | 40 & up[8] | 92 | 43 | 57 | 8-30 | 25 | 2.6 | 1.6 |
| Michigan | 36 | 30-55 | 113 | 26 | 53 | 9-26 | 28 | 3.0 | 1.6 |
| Minnesota | 29 | 38 | 95 | 40 | 62 | 18-26 | 27 | 1.5 | .9 |
| Mississippi | 24 | 30 | 69 | 44 | 97 | 12-26 | 30 | 2.4 | 1.8 |
| Missouri | 32 | 40 | 95 | 42 | 61 | 10-26 | 23 | 1.5 | .9 |
| Montana | 31 | 34 | 88 | 39 | 60 | 13-26 | 32 | 1.9 | 1.2 |
| Nebraska | 31 | 34 | 87 | 39 | 66 | 8-26 | 26 | 1.3 | .8 |
| Nevada | 37 | 37.50-57.50 | 110 | 34 | 57 | 10-26 | 24 | 2.7 | 1.9 |
| New Hampshire | 29 | 40 | 82 | 49 | 70 | 26 | 13 | 1.6 | 1.1 |
| New Jersey | 38 | 50 | 106 | 47 | 55 | 13-26 | 29 | 2.5 | 1.4 |
| New Mexico | 29 | 36 | 91 | 39 | 73 | 18-30 | 24 | 1.4 | .8 |
| New York | 38 | 50 | 107 | 47 | 51 | 26 | 20 | 3.3 | 1.8 |
| North Carolina | 23 | 35 | 73 | 48 | 89 | 26[6] | 19 | 1.6 | 1.2 |
| North Dakota | 31 | 43[7] | 81 | 52[7] | 69 | 18-26 | 18 | 2.5 | 1.7 |
| Ohio | 41 | 42-53 | 106 | 40 | 54 | 18-26 | 25 | 2.1 | 1.2 |
| Oklahoma | 26 | 32 | 88 | 36 | 61 | 10-39 | 33 | 1.9 | 1.2 |
| Oregon | 35 | 40 | 96 | 42 | 53 | 10-26 | 25 | 2.7 | 2.0 |
| Pennsylvania | 32 | 40 | 95 | 42 | 60 | 30 | 24 | 3.2 | 1.9 |
| Rhode Island | 30 | 36-48 | 84 | 43 | 70 | 12-26 | 24 | 2.7 | 2.0 |
| South Carolina | 25 | 37[7] | 71 | 52[7] | 99 | 10-22 | 36 | 1.3 | 1.0 |
| South Dakota | 30 | 34 | 86 | 38 | 69 | 7-24 | 31 | 1.2 | .8 |
| Tennessee | 24 | 36 | 80 | 40 | 78 | 12-26 | 37 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| Texas | 28 | 37 | 89 | 41 | 65 | 8-26 | 42 | .9 | .5 |
| Utah | 35 | 46[7] | 91 | 51[7] | 70 | 10-36 | 22 | 2.0 | 1.2 |
| Vermont | 29 | 42[7] | 82 | 51[7] | 66 | 26[6] | 23 | 1.8 | 1.2 |
| Virginia | 25 | 34 | 81 | 42 | 74 | 8-20 | 39 | 1.0 | .7 |
| Washington | 32 | 42 | 105 | 40 | 57 | 15-30 | 22 | 2.7 | 1.6 |
| West Virginia | 22 | 35 | 96 | 33 | 59 | 26 | 25 | 2.7 | 1.7 |
| Wisconsin | 40 | 53[7] | 99 | 53[7] | 55 | 12-34 | 36 | 1.6 | .9 |
| Wyoming | 43 | 45[7] | 89 | 50[7] | 78 | 12-26 | 30 | 2.7 | 1.7 |

[1] Calendar 1962

[2] Where two figures are shown, the larger includes maximum dependents' allowances.

[3] Fiscal 1962

[4] Where two figures are shown, the lower represents the shortest possible duration. In most states this is the entitlement of a claimant with minimum weekly benefits and minimum qualifying wages. But in ten states a higher than minimum weekly benefit amount may result in shorter duration where the distribution of earnings are concentrated in the high quarter.

[5] Taxable wages have remained at the first $3,000 of employes' earnings since 1939, except in Tennessee ($3,300); Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, Massachusetts, Nevada, Rhode Island, West Virginia ($3,600); California ($3,800); Utah ($4,200); Alaska ($7,200); and Oregon ($3,600 or $3,800, depending on level of reserve).

[6] Benefits are extended when unemployment in state reaches specified levels in California, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois and Vermont, by 50%, and in North Carolina, by 8 weeks.

[7] Maximum weekly benefit is determined as specified percent of average weekly covered wages: Arkansas (50%), Washington, D. C. (50%), Kansas (50%), North Dakota (50%), South Carolina (50%), Utah (50%), Vermont (50%), Idaho (52.5%) and Wyoming (50%); semi-annually in Wisconsin (52.5%), and Colorado (50% of average weekly wage in selected industries). The base years used for setting the maximum are not necessarily the fiscal 1962 used in this table, which explains why the percentage figure in the fourth column may vary slightly from the statutory percentage.

[8] Augmented amount includes $6 per dependent up to individual's average weekly wage.

in Virginia, Wyoming, Colorado, Ohio, South Dakota, Oregon, Montana and Tennessee. In addition, many states have eliminated large numbers of workers from the program through tighter qualifying requirements or longer penalty disqualifications.

A major contributing factor in the squeeze of unemployment insurance benefits this year is the condition of state reserve funds which have been depleted as a result of continuous underfinancing since World War II.

### Dangers of Continuous Underfinancing

Jobless insurance is paid for by a payroll tax on employers. The record in state legislatures and Congress shows that employer organizations have made every effort in the last 25 years to lower their tax rates at the expense of the basic objectives of the program.

Since the war, tax rates have been consistently lower than are required to maintain reserve levels. In many states this was part of a conscious policy to "develop a favorable industrial climate." Experience rating has operated most effectively for the purpose of planned underfinancing.

The fixed tax base has also worked to this end; as wage levels have risen the taxable portion of payrolls has become a smaller and smaller part of the total. The taxable wage base today represents only 60 percent of payrolls. Until 1939, by contrast, the total payroll was taxable; in that year the $3,000 limit was imposed to bring the tax base in unemployment insurance into line with that in O.A.S.I. (Social Security). The O.A.S.I. base has been raised three times since 1939, but the jobless insurance base has stayed at $3,000.

It is clear that reserves have declined steadily and that tax rates have been held consistently below the stability level. Tax rates have increased slightly since the recession of 1958, but relative to payrolls they are still only half of prewar rates.

The continuous underfinancing since the war is illustrated by the following figures showing reserves and taxes relative to payrolls for all states:

| | Year End Reserves As Percentage of Payrolls | Average Tax as Percentage of Payrolls |
|---|---|---|
| 1939 ..... | 5.3% | 2.7% |
| 1942 ..... | 6.2 | 2.0 |
| 1945 ..... | 10.4 | 1.5 |
| 1948 ..... | 7.9 | 1.0 |
| 1951 ..... | 6.6 | 1.2 |
| 1954 ..... | 6.0 | .8 |
| 1957 ..... | 5.0 | .9 |
| 1960 ..... | 3.4 | 1.2 |
| 1962 ..... | 2.9 | 1.4 |
| 1963 ..... | .. | 1.3 |

Underfinancing has depleted reserves in 23 states to the point where they are below the "solvency level." This means that the reserve is insufficient to pay benefits for 18 months under recession conditions. In seven of these states, the reserve is critical in the sense that there are insufficient funds to pay even 12 months benefits under recession conditions.

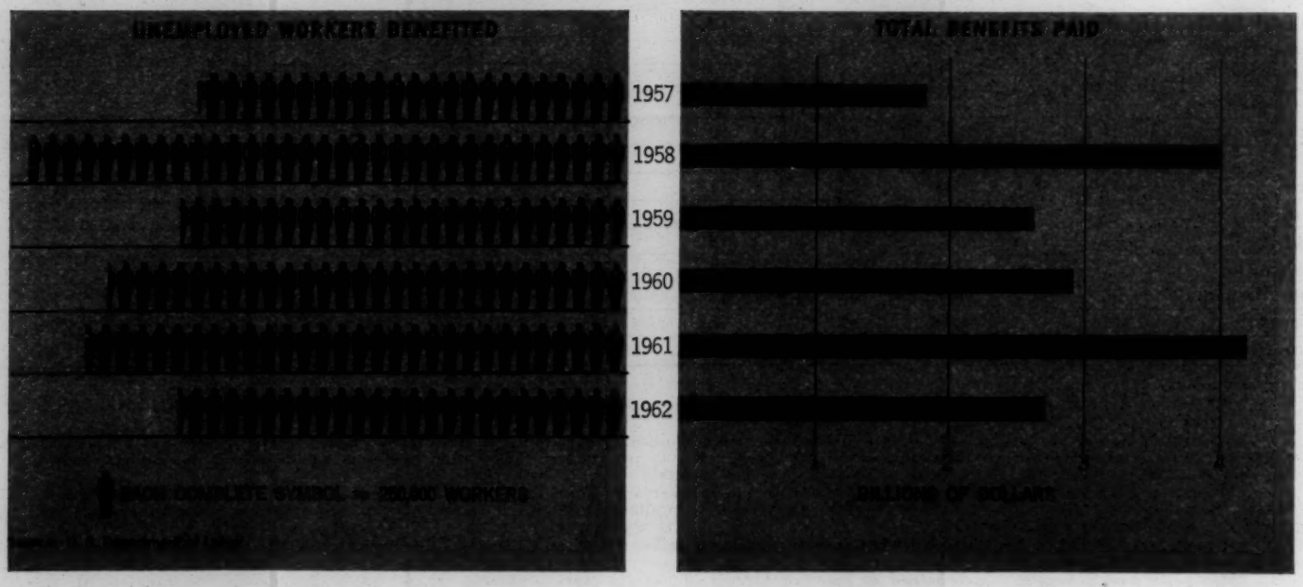
What happens when reserves drop to this point? The legislative experience in Wyoming, Minnesota, Ohio and Michigan this year illustrates how jobless benefits provisions are subject to attack when the reserves are low—even when the depletion of reserves is due to underfinancing rather than liberal benefits.

### Experience Rating

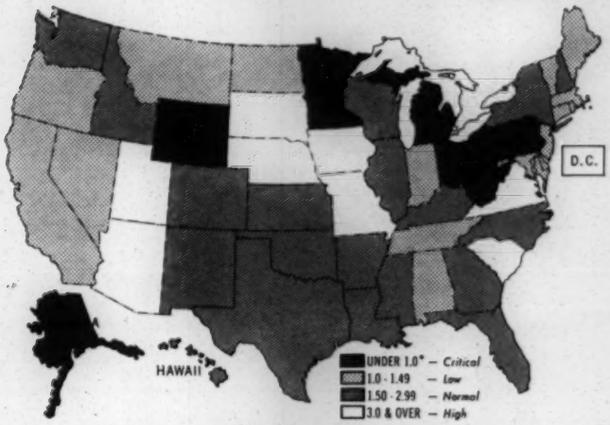
Experience rating is a system of allowing each employer's tax rate to vary with the volume of jobless benefit claims from his employes. It operates in every state. It is supposed to be an incentive to stabilize employment: In practice, it encourages low rates, low benefits and unfair disqualifications.

Even when state funds drop to a dangerous level, employers argue for continuing experience rating. An increasing number of states now continues experience rating at every fund level right down to zero. It is clear that the arguments advanced for experience rat-

## UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION BENEFITS



## CONDITION OF JOBLESS PAY FUND RESERVES




State reserve ratio as a multiple of highest 12 month benefit cost rate as of Dec. 31, 1962. This is approximately the number of years the fund could pay benefits without income under recession conditions.

ing—such as incentive to stabilize, opportunity to pass on costs to consumers, etc.—are not really so significant for the employer community as are low rates in and for themselves.

### How McCarthy-King Shores Up Financing

The McCarthy-King bill would alleviate some of the financial problems of the jobless pay program in several ways:

1. By setting benefit standards, the bill gives each state a definite objective for its financial decisions. Tax rates can be adjusted to the cost of benefits instead of the other way around.

2. Raising the taxable wage base from $3,000 to $5,200 will work towards reestablishment of the payroll base that originally financed jobless payments.

3. Through equalization grants from a federal fund, especially heavy benefit costs would not have to be borne in full by a state.

An equalization fund is a necessary part of a system built on state-by-state financing. Otherwise, as is now the case, when each state must plan for the maximum drain on its reserves, it holds its benefits at a low level in fear of some extreme contingency.

The equalization (or reinsurance) fund would be financed from the federal portion of the employer tax contribution. The fund would pay two-thirds of a state's benefit costs for a year in excess of 2.7 percent of the state's taxable wages for that year.

Another advantage of such grants is that they reduce the amount of revenue which high cost states would have to raise and, therefore, further one of the original purposes of the Social Security Act, namely the minimizing of interstate variations in unemployment tax rates.

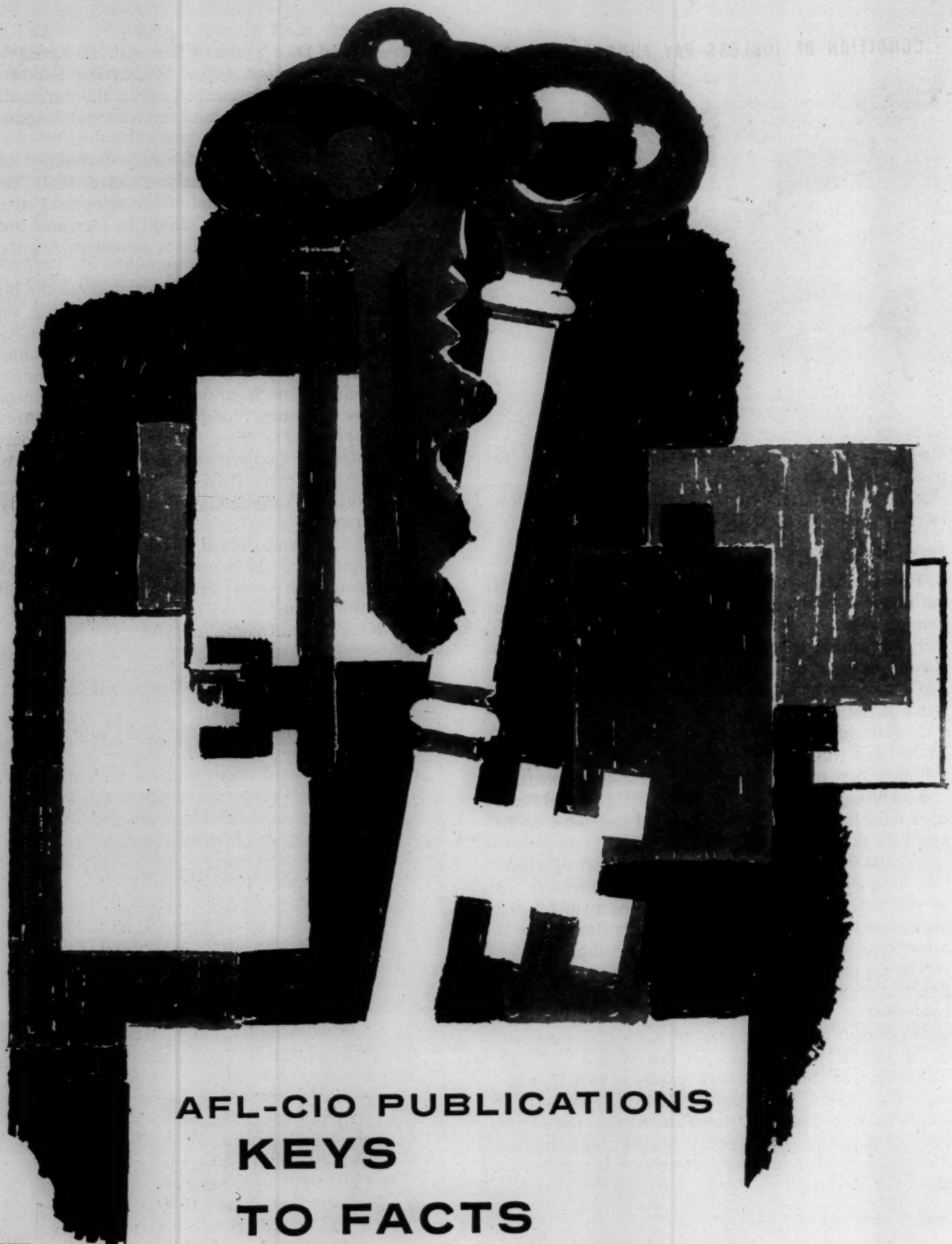
### What Are the Prospects?

In past years many distinguished economists have urged the need for congressional reforms of unemployment insurance, including Eveline Burns of Columbia; Douglas Brown, Richard Lester and Herman Somers of Princeton; William Haber and Fedele Fauri of the University of Michigan; the late Sumner Slichter of Harvard and Dale Yoder of Stanford. So have private organizations such as the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the National Consumers League, the American Public Welfare Association and the National Association of Social Workers.

Last year the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy recommended that "the duration, coverage and amount of unemployment compensation, where inadequate, should be increased and made subject to realistic uniform minimum requirements under the federal-state system."

Judging from past experience, opposition to the bill will come from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Retail Federation, the American Hotel Association and the National Association of Manufacturers. It can be expected that the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies, the organization of unemployment compensation administrators, will also oppose the measure. Efforts of business groups and the Interstate Conference will be coordinated by Unemployment Benefit Advisers, Inc., a Washington lobby devoted to keeping Congress out of unemployment insurance.

The bill has been assigned to the House Ways and Means Committee, which probably has a full schedule this year with taxes and social security health insurance on its agenda. The real test for the McCarthy-King bill will come in 1964.



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ECONOMICS

# What productivity does to jobs

**Columbia University group comes up with new data on changes in output per man. It thinks study can explode 'hysteria' over automation, point need for new jobs**

**The figures** you see in the table to the right are something of a milestone in the long, slow task of measuring the productivity of U. S. industry—one of the toughest jobs that statisticians face.

As compiled by Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research and published for the first time by Business Week, the table contains what may be the most detailed data on productivity growth ever assembled. Included are estimates of productivity growth—as measured by output per worker—for many industries that have so far eluded the best efforts of the growing band of would be measurers.

**Added factors.** For this reason alone, the Columbia study will be welcomed by economists and businessmen. But that isn't all. The man in charge of the study, A. J. Jaffe, Director of Manpower & Population Research at the Bureau, says the implications of the study go far beyond measuring productivity growth.

As Jaffe sees it, the study will help to:

- Explode "the current hysteria over automation." Jaffe's data indicate that there is nothing unusual about the recent pace of productivity growth. Only about half of U. S. workers are now employed in industries where productivity is growing faster than 2½% per year. Only about one worker in 20 is now employed where labor productivity is growing at more than 5% per year. Even in manufacturing, Jaffe says, "Productivity growth was lower during the 1950s than it was in the 1920s."
- Correct the prevalent idea that productivity in manufacturing has been growing faster than in nonmanufacturing industries. Actually, the average is about the same. As the table shows, only the aircraft industry (including missiles) has been able to better 5% in productivity growth. By the same token, no manufacturing industry shows up among the laggards—the industries where productivity growth is less than 1% per year.
- Pinpoint the task that the U. S. faces if it is to provide jobs for the millions of new workers who will be crowding into the labor force in the '60s.

**Unemployment problem.** Jaffe's data indicate, however, that available jobs will have to grow faster during the 1960s than they did in the '50s if the U. S. isn't to continue to suffer from chronic unemployment. By 1970 the labor force will total some 84-million workers. But if the trends that affect employment continue the same as in the 1950s, the jobs available by 1970 will be "on the order of 75-million." The upshot would be unemployment of

**How industries rank in productivity growth and how their employment is changing**

| | Employment [in thousands] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 (projected) |
| **Growth more than 5% per year** | | | |
| Electric utilities* | 465.0 | 510.6 | 535.2 |
| Aircraft & parts | 259.0 | 669.9 | 1,688.1 |
| Telephone & telegraph | 658.0 | 757.9 | 803.4 |
| Coal mining | 517.7 | 207.1 | 103.6 |
| Chemicals | 647.0 | 897.7 | 1,095.2 |
| Airlines | 102.7 | 206.0 | 372.9 |
| Radio & TV | 63.3 | 94.5 | 132.3 |
| Gas & steam utilities | 115.1 | 151.5 | 184.8 |
| **Growth 3% to 4.9% per year** | | | |
| Agriculture, forestry & fisheries | 7,140.3 | 4,527.4 | 3,486.1 |
| Textile mills | 1,049.5 | 785.9 | 573.7 |
| Cars, trucks, & parts | 869.8 | 873.4 | 733.7 |
| Petroleum & coal products mfg. | 283.4 | 292.3 | 280.6 |
| **Growth 1% to 2.9% per year** | | | |
| Food & dairy stores | 1,691.1 | 1,769.8 | 1,787.5 |
| Knitting mills | 196.7 | 208.5 | 183.5 |
| Rubber [and some plastics] | 306.1 | 402.8 | 467.2 |
| Scientific & photographic mfg. | 204.8 | 374.0 | 512.4 |
| Quarrying & nonmetallic mining [except fuel] | 95,6 | 108.0 | 127.4 |
| Lumber & wood products [except furniture] | 879.8 | 717.3 | 583.2 |
| Clothing & general merchandise stores | 1,977.7 | 2,339.6 | 2,402.1 |
| Furniture & fixtures | 334.5 | 391.8 | 423.1 |
| Railroads & railway express | 1,412.4 | 975.0 | 702.0 |
| Gasoline service stations | 465.1 | 661.2 | 886.0 |
| Food mfg. [except dairies] | 945.7 | 1,185.7 | 1,102.7 |

| | Employment [in thousands] | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1950 | 1960 | 1970 [projected] |
| **Growth of 2% to 2.9% per year:** | | | |
| Water transportation | 215.7 | 198.7 | 180.8 |
| Real estate sales | 545.6 | 623.1 | 685.4 |
| Drug stores | 302.0 | 397.0 | 492.3 |
| Clothing mfg. | 1,002.3 | 1,212.9 | 1,225.0 |
| Banking & credit [plus brokerage houses] | 630.2 | 1,063.7 | 1,659.4 |
| Electrical machinery | 874.4 | 1,548.3 | 2,090.2 |
| Trucking & warehousing | 708.7 | 945.5 | 1,191.3 |
| Paper mills | 471.5 | 602.8 | 717.3 |
| Metal mining | 95.1 | 99.6 | 91.6 |
| Stone, clay & glass products | 477.5 | 623.6 | 654.8 |
| Leather products | 393.8 | 361.1 | 332.2 |
| Oil & natural gas extraction | 236.6 | 263.3 | 287.0 |
| Medical services [except doctors] | 689.7 | 934.6 | 1,205.6 |
| Business services [such as auditing, advertising] | 750.3 | 1,302.9 | 2,110.7 |
| Construction | 3,510.4 | 3,958.3 | 4,314.5 |
| **Growth of 1% to 1.9% per year:** | | | |
| Restaurants | 1,717.0 | 1,885.9 | 1,999.1 |
| Meat packing | 279.9 | 330.7 | 360.5 |
| Professional services [such as lawyers, engineering and accounting firms] | 990.2 | 1,508.7 | 2,157.4 |
| Machinery [except electrical] | 1,272.5 | 1,627.9 | 1,986.0 |
| Insurance | 772.9 | 1,077.5 | 1,476.2 |
| Wholesaling | 1,994.8 | 2,300.4 | 2,553.4 |
| Printing & publishing | 876.0 | 1,195.0 | 1,386.2 |
| Auto & truck dealers & repair | 1,217.8 | 1,364.8 | 1,487.6 |
| Water supply | 74.3 | 100.3 | 129.4 |
| Personal services [such as barbers, beauty shops, household servants] | 2,983.3 | 3,434.8 | 3,503.5 |
| Bakeries | 278.2 | 379.6 | 391.0 |
| Fabricated metal products | 860.1 | 1,341.7 | 1,556.4 |
| Primary metals | 1,203.0 | 1,269.9 | 1,269.9 |
| **Growth of less than 1% per year:** | | | |
| Hardgoods retailing | 1,097.0 | 1,163.5 | 1,221.7 |
| Sewage & garbage disposal | 142.9 | 172.0 | 254.6 |
| Education | 2,110.3 | 3,548.7 | 5,713.4 |
| Urban transit & long-distance buses | 329.9 | 299.2 | 227.4 |
| Hospitals | 1,005.0 | 1,759.7 | 2,850.7 |
| Entertainment [such as movie houses, sport arenas] | 500.9 | 526.4 | 568.5 |
| Hotels & lodging houses | 534.3 | 615.5 | 720.1 |

*industries ranked by productivity growth in each percentage category
Data: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

© Business Week

9-million, an unemployment rate of 11%.

**Service trades.** What's more, as Jaffe sees it, the problem of getting enough job growth will be made tougher by the new trend to mechanization in many of the service industries where productivity growth was lowest—and job growth fastest—during the '50s. Education for example, may be able to better its less than 1% per year improvement in productivity through the use of teaching machines.

"Even the U. S. Post Office," says Jaffe, "feels under pressure to improve its labor productivity so as to cut costs."

For these reasons, Jaffe doesn't think that there will be any slowing down in the rate of increase of productivity in the current decade. Instead, he thinks the job of getting full employment will have to fall on some combination of earlier retirement or later departure from school, a shorter work week, and a speedup in the growth of consumption.

**The work week.** In Jaffe's judgment, the surest way to assure full employment in 1970 is to cut the average length of the work week. Historically, the work week has come down by about two hours in each decade. But there was no decrease during the 1950s.

Jaffe calculates that just getting back to the long-term pace of decrease would be enough to get full employment by the end of the decade. "If by 1970, the length of the work week should decrease by four hours," says Jaffe, "employment would come very close to the needed 84-million."

Of course, the alternative to a shorter work week—a move that most economists think would worsen the competitive position of U. S. industry in international trade—is to speed up the rate of growth of consumption. The Columbia group is not prepared to "specify a list of government actions which are guaranteed to increase consumption."

**Limitations.** Though readily granting that Jaffe's figures are adequate for the major use to which the Columbia group has put them—projecting employment trends—connoisseurs of productivity measurement will be quick to caution against their uncritical use for other purposes.

For one thing, Jaffe's data measure output per worker rather than output per man hour. This means that the ranking of industries by rate of productivity growth in the table could be thrown off by industry differences in rate of change in the length of the work week. But most economists would be likely to agree with Jaffe in thinking that the effects of the lack of hours data for some industries doesn't have much effect on the productivity ranking.

Then too, the Columbia group's study—unlike the manufacturing data of John W. Kendrick of the National Bureau of Economic Research [BW Oct.21'63,p181]—doesn't provide separate figures on the contributions of capital, labor, and technology to productivity growth. Thus the new figures will not be of much use in the difficult task of figuring out the reasons for the enormous differences in the pace of productivity growth that show up in the table. **End**

unemploy

Statement by the AFL-CIO Executive Council

on

National Economy

Washington, D. C.
May 19, 1964

Unemployment has remained about 5½ percent of the labor force in the last five months, despite the continuing expansion of economic activities and booming profits. In the face of rapid increases in both productivity and the labor force, the rise of sales and production has not been great enough to create the employment opportunities needed to reduce joblessness. Moreover, the anticipated expansion during the rest of this year, under the impetus of the tax cut, is not expected to reduce unemployment appreciably.

Automation is continuing to spread -- reducing manpower requirements in many white collar occupations, as well as in production and maintenance types of employment. And the labor force is growing rapidly, with the influx of young people seeking their first jobs. The persistent high level of unemployment remains America's number one problem in 1964.

For the third consecutive year, however, after-tax corporate profits are continuing to rise twice as fast as the gross national product. In the first-quarter of 1964, corporate profits, after taxes, were running about 33 percent above 1961. But annual labor income was only 16 percent greater than the 1961 level. Despite the obvious volatility of profits, these trends underscore the existence of a distinct and dangerous lack of balance in the economy.

Industry's productive capacity, which increased 4 percent last year, is expected to expand 5 percent in 1964 and by a similar amount next year. Who will buy the goods and services this growing, automated capacity can produce, if workers' buying power continues to lag?

Consumer markets, which account for about 70 percent of total national production, must expand along with the economy's growing ability to produce more goods and services, more efficiently. Failure to maintain such balance results in unemployment, with roller-coaster ups and downs of business activities, unless weakness in consumer markets is offset

-more-

by increased federal budget deficits. If the buying power of workers' wages -- the base of consumer markets and the entire economic system -- continues to lag behind the nation's rising productivity, it will be increasingly difficult to wipe out the plague of high unemployment.

Lack of balance in the economy has been growing for many years. In the decade, 1953-1963, the corporate cash-flow -- after tax profits plus depreciation allowances -- rose 90 percent. In contrast, total personal income after taxes, increased only 60 percent.

In the last five years, the cash-flow of non-financial corporations, after payment of rising dividends to stockholders, was nearly $9 billion greater than their investments in new plants and machines. The corporations are loaded with cash.

Part of these excess corporate funds have been invested in Western Europe, contributing to the balance of payments deficit and often resulting in the export of American jobs. Another part of this hoarded cash has been used for stock manipulations, corporate mergers and retirement of outstanding stock. Last year, manufacturing and mining corporations retired more than twice as much outstanding stock as they issued in new stock.

In this process, corporate executives and stockholders have gained vast benefits. In the last decade, dividend payments soared 90 percent and stock prices skyrocketed 180 percent.

The funds paid out by General Motors to its stockholders in <u>extra</u> dividends, last year, were equal to 73 cents an hour for every hour worked in 1963 by every GM hourly worker in all the corporation's plants in the United States. Reports indicate that the nation's top business executives received salary increases of 11 percent in 1963 -- more than three times as much as has been proposed for wage and salary earners -- in addition to stock options and expense accounts.

However, workers' buying has lagged behind the nation's rapidly rising productivity since the mid-1950s. Between 1956 and 1963, the real volume of production per manhour rose 24.4 percent in the total private economy -- a yearly rate of 3.2 percent. But the buying power of all employees in the private economy per hour worked, including fringe benefits, increased only 17.1 percent -- 2.3 percent a year.

Obviously some major groups have fared even worse. In the last seven years, the buying power of the hourly earnings of factory workers rose a mere 11.8 percent; bituminous coal miners, only 3 percent; workers in wholesale trade, 12.4 percent and retail trade, 13.9 percent -- none as much as 2 percent a year. Even after adding the real value of improvements in non-payroll fringe benefits, such as pensions, it is evident that a great and growing gap has been developing between the buying power of workers and the rapid rise of national productivity.

The American economy cannot reach healthy expansion and full employment with a top-heavy load of booming profits, soaring dividends and capital gains, while workers' buying power lags. Such unbalanced trends in the 1920s eroded the foundation of the economy and brought about the Great Depression of the 1930s. Balance is required between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to sell the rising output of increasingly automated industries.

What America needs is not a lid on collective bargaining and wage increases -- as some people suggest -- but strong unions, effective bargaining and substantial improvements of wages and fringe benefits.

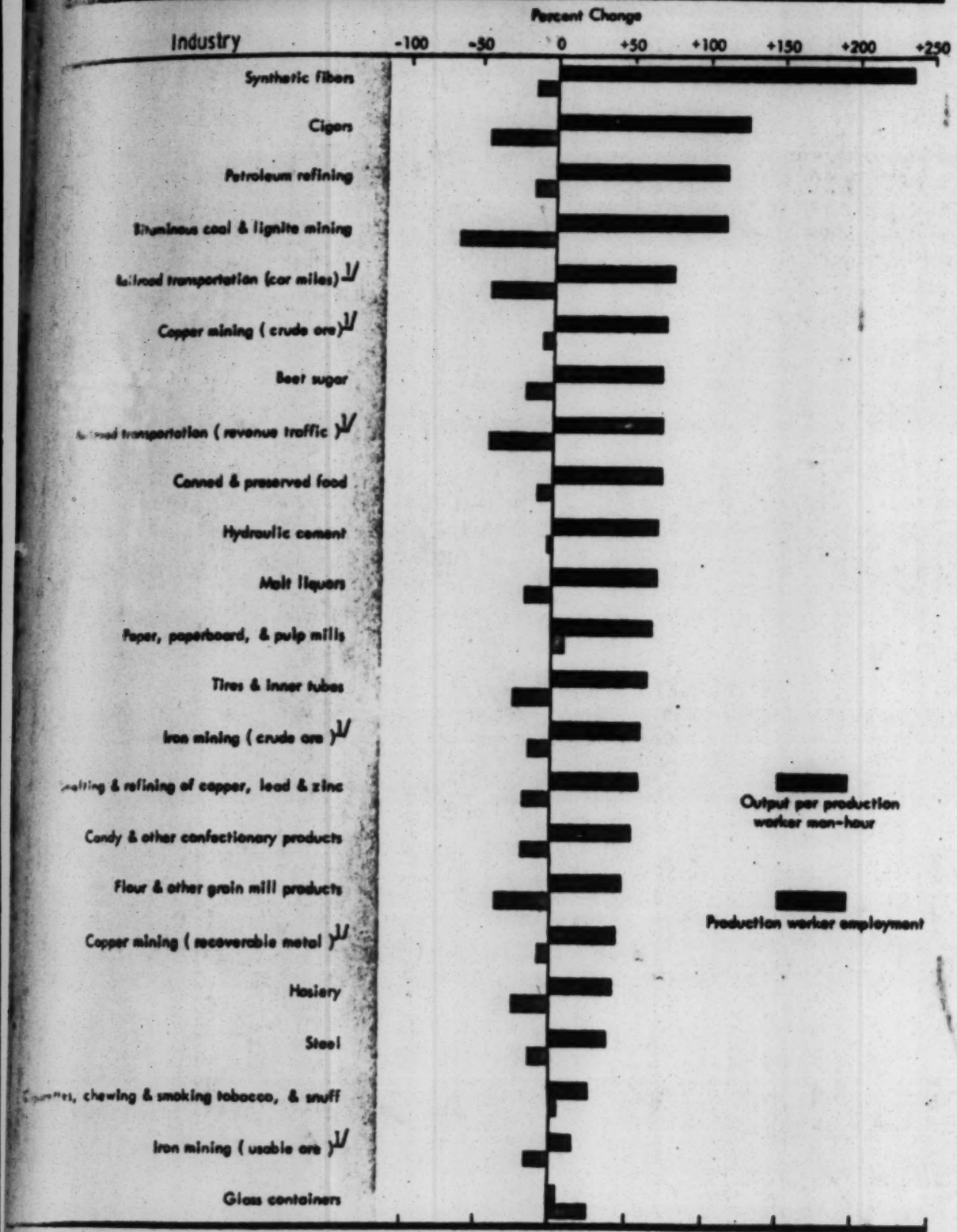
In addition, America sorely requires special efforts to lift the wages and working conditions of the lowest-paid workers, through extended coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act and an increase in the minimum wage to $2 an hour.

Moreover, idle manpower and productive capacity should be put to work, through increased public works programs, to improve America's public services -- our schools, health facilities, housing urban areas and mass transit systems. The job-creating accelerated public works program, which is now being phased out, should be extended, with a $2 billion federal appropriation, to increase employment in the creation of public improvements of lasting worth.

In this way can America generate the more than four million new job opportunities needed each year, through the remainder of this decade -- over 80,000 new jobs each week -- to reduce unemployment to a minimum and keep it there. Only in this way can the American economy be assured of the stability and strength it must have if the nation is to fulfill its obligations at home and around the world.

-30-

## Output per Man-Hour and Employment of Production Workers, for Selected Industries, 1947-60




parentheses indicate the measure of output used in the index.

*Chart 8* **Seasonally Adjusted Unemployment Rate, 1947-62**

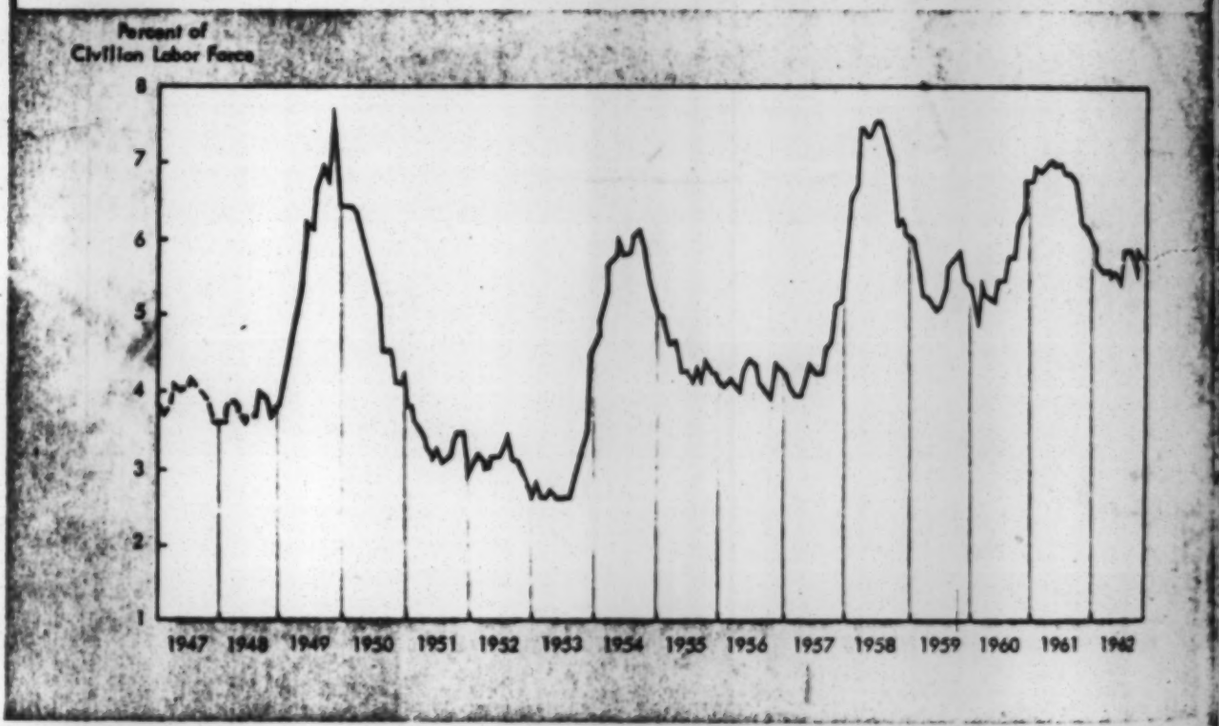
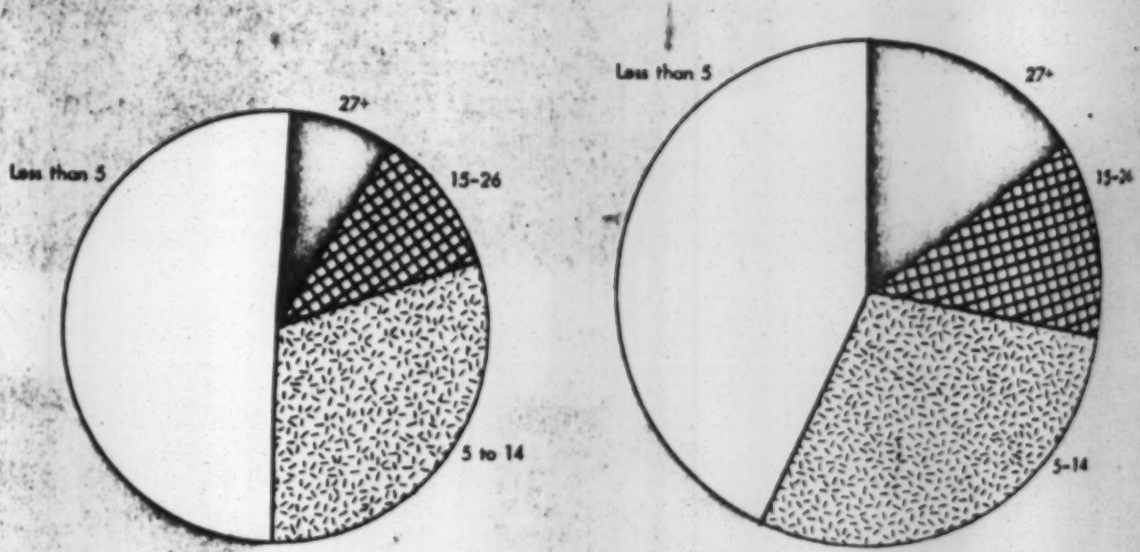



*Chart 9* **Distribution of Unemployment by Weeks of Duration, 1957 and 1962**



5. Personal Income, Per Capita, by States, 1959:

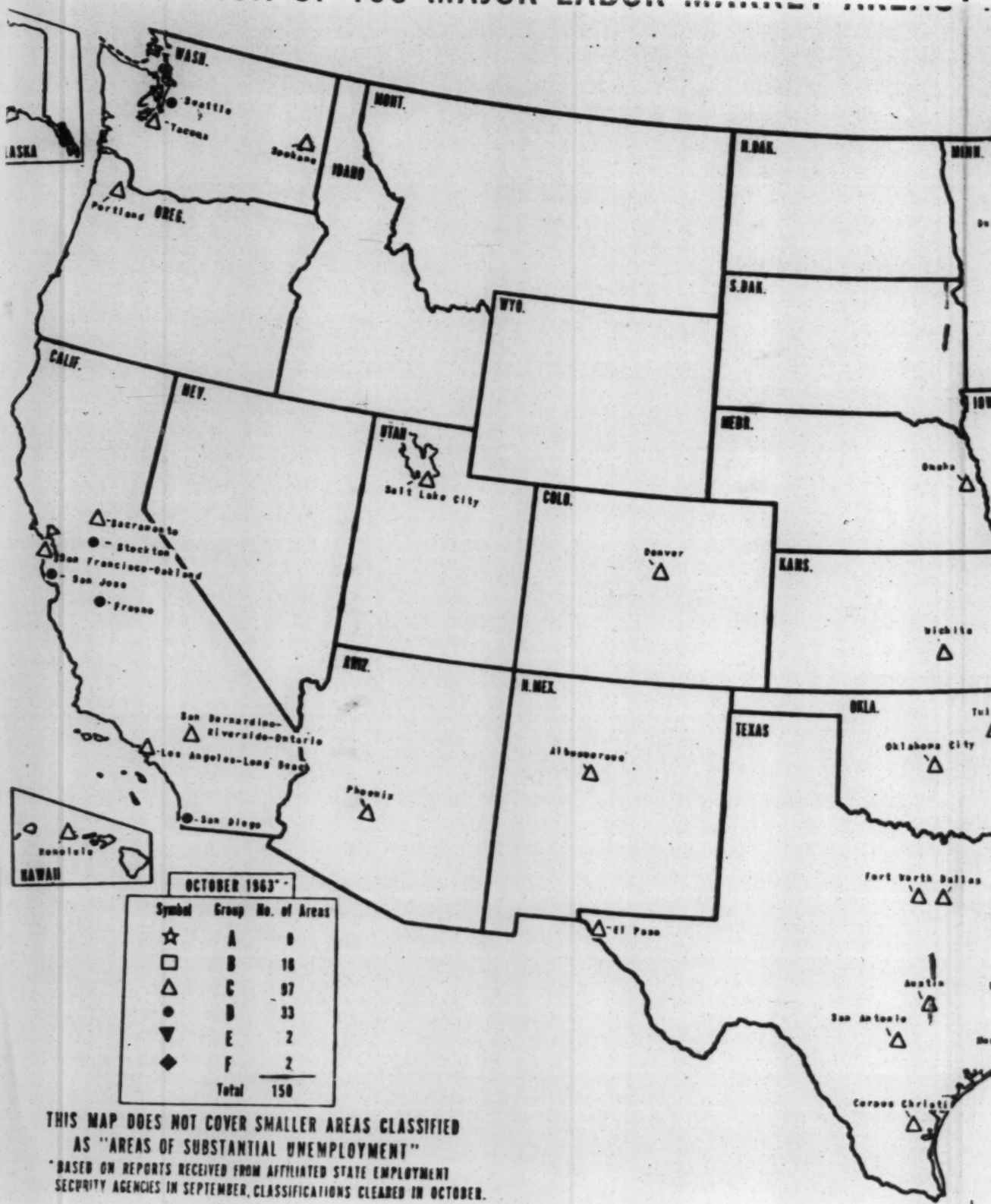
| State | Per Capita (dollars) 1959 |
|---|---|
| United States | 2,166 |
| New England | 2,396 |
| Maine | 1,768 |
| New Hampshire | 2,010 |
| Vermont | 1,789 |
| Massachusetts | 2,444 |
| Rhode Island | 2,156 |
| Connecticut | 2,817 |
| Middle Atlantic | 2,543 |
| New York | 2,736 |
| New Jersey | 2,608 |
| Pennsylvania | 2,222 |
| East North Central | 2,337 |
| Ohio | 2,328 |
| Indiana | 2,102 |
| Illinois | 2,610 |
| Michigan | 2,253 |
| Wisconsin | 2,116 |
| West North Central | 1,978 |
| Minnesota | 1,962 |
| Iowa | 1,953 |
| Missouri | 2,145 |
| North Dakota | 1,526 |
| South Dakota | 1,476 |
| Nebraska | 1,981 |
| Kansas | 1,994 |
| South Atlantic | 1,804 |
| Delaware | 2,946 |
| Maryland | 2,343 |
| District of Columbia | 2,943 |
| Virginia | 1,816 |
| West Virginia | 1,635 |
| North Carolina | 1,485 |
| South Carolina | 1,332 |
| Georgia | 1,553 |
| Florida | 1,980 |
| East South Central | 1,424 |
| Kentucky | 1,514 |
| Tennessee | 1,521 |
| Alabama | 1,409 |
| Mississippi | 1,162 |
| West South Central | 1,764 |
| Arkansas | 1,322 |
| Louisiana | 1,575 |
| Oklahoma | 1,786 |
| Texas | 1,908 |

Personal Income, Per Capita, by States, 1959 (cont'd):

| State | Per Capita (dollars) 1959 |
|---|---|
| Mountain | 1,994 |
| Montana | 1,955 |
| Idaho | 1,782 |
| Wyoming | 2,149 |
| Colorado | 2,123 |
| New Mexico | 1,833 |
| Arizona | 1,959 |
| Utah | 1,848 |
| Nevada | 2,745 |
| Pacific | 2,562 |
| Washington | 2,271 |
| Oregon | 2,171 |
| California | 2,661 |
| Alaska | 2,550 |
| Hawaii | 2,139 |

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1961, p. 307.

6. The figures on pages 31 and 307 of the 1961 Statistical Abstract of the United States show that the average white citizen would still receive less yearly income per capita than the national average even if all of the state's total income were given only to its white citizens -- $2,010, as against the national average of $2,166.



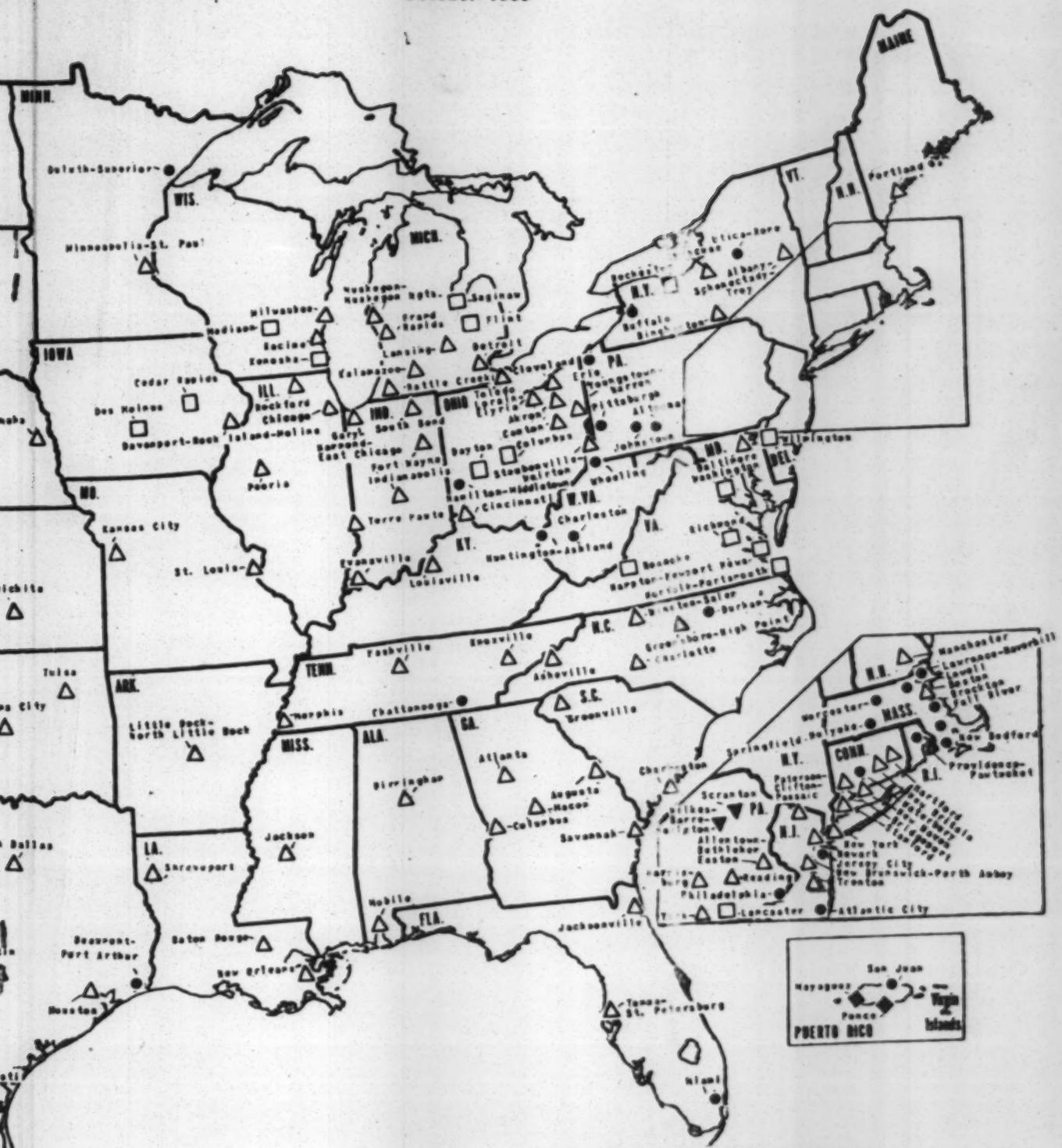

OCTOBER 1963*

| Symbol | Group | No. of Areas |
|---|---|---|
| ☆ | A | 0 |
| □ | B | 18 |
| △ | C | 97 |
| ● | D | 33 |
| ▼ | E | 2 |
| ◆ | F | 2 |
| | Total | 150 |

THIS MAP DOES NOT COVER SMALLER AREAS CLASSIFIED AS "AREAS OF SUBSTANTIAL UNEMPLOYMENT"

*BASED ON REPORTS RECEIVED FROM AFFILIATED STATE EMPLOYMENT SECURITY AGENCIES IN SEPTEMBER. CLASSIFICATIONS CLEARED IN OCTOBER.

October 1963




UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY

CORE National Convention - Dayton, Chio June 28-30

Background material on Income, Employment and Occupation

Family Income: Median Income of White and Non-white families (1950-60)

| Year | Non-white as % of white | Year | Non-white as % of white |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 54% | 1956 | 53% |
| 1951 | 53 | 1957 | 54 |
| 1952 | 57 | 1958 | 51 |
| 1953 | 56 | 1959 | 52 |
| 1954 | 56 | 1960 | 55 |
| 1955 | 55 | | |

Source: Current Population Reports, Bureau of the Census. 1950-59 from Series P-60, #35; 1960 from Series P-60, #37

The above data are for all U.S. families. The situation in various regions of the nation may differ slightly. For example, in the South the gap between Negro and White is wider, in the North, somewhat narrower. The most startling and tragic fact is that in a decade loudly proclaimed for its prosperity, the very wide difference between Negro and white family income remained unchanged.

*** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** *** ***

Unemployment

Unemployment Rates
by Color and Educational Attainment
March 1962

| Age/race | Elementary School | | High School | | College |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Less than 8 | 8 years | 1-3 | 4 years | 1 yr. or more |
| 18-24 yrs. | | | | | |
| white | 21.5 | 15.9 | 16.0 | 9.0 | 5.1 |
| non-white | 18.5 | 32.7 | 24.7 | 17.4 | 12.0 |
| 25-54 yrs. | | | | | |
| white | 8.5 | 6.9 | 6.0 | 3.4 | 2.1 |
| non-white | 9.6 | 12.2 | 14.0 | 11.3 | 4.5 |

Source: Monthly Labor Review, Dept. of Labor, BLS, May 1963 Table 10, p. 513

"As in previous years, unemployment fell heaviest on the non-white worker. The jobless rate for non-white was about double that of white workers (11% compared with 5%). Non-white teenage boys and girls had the highest rates of any population group (21% and 28% respectively). The rates for white youngsters was high -- around 12% - ...but far lower than those of non-whites in the same age group. A large disparity also persisted among adults. For example, the unemployment rate for non-white men 25 years of age and over was 2½ times that for white men in the same age group..."

"Non-white workers accounted for 22% of the jobless in 1962 as contrasted with 20% in 1957. They were 28% of the very long-term unemployed compared with 24% five years earlier, although still representing only 11 percent of the labor force."

Employment and Earnings, Vol. 9, #7, Jan. 1963. U.S. Dept. of Labor, BLS, p. vii.

Employment

The employment picture in recent years has been quite discouraging, and the future holds more of the same. Between 1950 and 1960 the physical output of manufacturing industries increased by 70% with no increase in production worker employment. The table below shows the trend of employment between 1953 and 1963 for the durable goods industries.

Overall employment trends:

Employment in Durable Goods Mfg. Industries
Selected months - seasonally adjusted
(in thousands)

| Industry | July, 1963 | April, 1963 | % Change 1953-63 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 10,275 | 9,591 | - 7.0% |
| Ordinance & accessories | 249 | 216 | -13.0 |
| Lumber & wood prod. | 766 | 613 | -20.0 |
| Furniture & fixtures | 378 | 382 | - 1.0 |
| Stone, clay & glass | 585 | 579 | - 1.0 |
| Primary metals | 1,403 | 1,174 | -16.0 |
| Fabricated metals | 1,179 | 1,131 | - 4.0 |
| Machinery | 1,568 | 1,476 | - 6.0 |
| Electrical equip. | 1,356 | 1,544 | +14.0 |
| Transportation equip. | 2,011 | 1,721 | -14.0 |
| Instruments & related prods. | 343 | 365 | - 6.0 |
| Misc. Mfg. | 428 | 390 | - 9.0 |

Source: Employment & Earnings, Dept. of Labor, May, 1963

During the 1950's the entire increase in total employment resulted from increases in the non-manufacturing sectors of the economy retail and wholesale trade, service industries, government, etc. Approximately 6 million jobs became available in these sectors for 7 million additional workers -- one million were added to the ranks of the unemployed. During the 1960's, 13 million additions will be made to the labor force. The present trends of automation show destruction of 1.4 million jobs a year. Unless a vast national effort is made to create employment, the unemployment figures by 1970 will be staggering.

The impact of this on the nonwhite worker is already clear. When opportunity declines for whites, it stops altogether for the Negro. Between 1956 and 1962 the only area where significant expansion of Negro employment took place was in government. Approximately 85% of the increase in nonwhite employment during this period was in the public economy.

Between 1960 and 1962, there was an increase in government employment of nonwhites of approximately 200,000. For the economy as a whole, employment for nonwhites rose by about 100,000, indicating that in the private economy, there was an actual loss of nonwhite jobs.

Occupation By

1950 an

| Occupation | MALE White 1950 | White 1960 | Non-White 1950 | Non-White 1960 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| All White Collar | 40.3 | 43.7 | 12.3 | 16.1 |
| Prof., Tech., & Prop. | 7.7 | 12.5 | 2.5 | 4.7 |
| Mgr., Off., & Prop. | 16.3 | 16.0 | 4.0 | 3.2 |
| Clerical & Kind | 9.2 | 8.0 | 4.4 | 5.9 |
| Sales & Kind | 7.1 | 7.2 | 1.4 | 2.3 |
| All Blue Collar | 53.2 | 50.0 | 63.7 | 66.5 |
| Crafts | 21.5 | 22.0 | 10.7 | 10.6 |
| Operative | 24.3 | 21.0 | 28.1 | 28.6 |
| Laborer | 7.4 | 7.0 | 24.9 | 27.3 |
| All Service | 6.5 | 6.3 | 24.0 | 17.4 |
| Private Household | .2 | .1 | 2.9 | .2 |
| Service Except Private Household | 6.3 | 6.2 | 21.1 | 17.2 |

Occupation: Two facts are clear from the data in the above t severe occupational disadvantage. In 1960 45 per cent of no as laborers or in the service industries -- the proportion o 40 per cent of the non-whites were found in private household cent for their white counterparts. A second grim fact is tha in eliminating this destructive disadvantage.

ion By Race And Sex

950 and 1960

| | FEMALE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | | Non-White | |
| 960 | 1950 | 1960 | 1950 | 1960 |
| .0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| .1 | 60.0 | 62.4 | 12.5 | 19.2 |
| .7 | 12.3 | 14.5 | 5.2 | 6.2 |
| .2 | 6.4 | 5.2 | 1.3 | 1.9 |
| .9 | 31.0 | 33.7 | 4.2 | 9.5 |
| .3 | 10.3 | 9.0 | 1.8 | 1.6 |
| .5 | 22.3 | 17.3 | 15.0 | 17.2 |
| .6 | 1.2 | 1.1 | .2 | .7 |
| .6 | 20.6 | 15.8 | 13.3 | 16.1 |
| .3 | .3 | .4 | 1.5 | .4 |
| .4 | 17.9 | 20.3 | 72.5 | 63.6 |
| .2 | 5.7 | 6.1 | 50.6 | 39.3 |
| .2 | 12.2 | 14.2 | 21.9 | 24.3 |

bove table. First, the non-white worker suffers a very
of non-white males were working in low wage dead-end jobs
ion of whites was only 13 per cent. Among women workers
sehold employment (domestics) compared to only 6.1 per
is that during the affluent 50's little progress was made

Planning action

In planning action on the problem of employment it would be valuable for local groups to have as much available information on the local economy as possible. Much of this can be obtained from various federal, state and local agencies. At the federal level, the Area Redevelopment Administration (Dept. of Commerce) publishes Statistical Profiles of Redevelopment Areas; the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Dept. of Labor) publishes community wage and occupation studies and surveys of local labor markets. Most states publish extensive data on employment, unemployment, etc. The labor or commerce departments of the state government are usually responsible for this material. Some cities also publish data which should be available on request.

General outline for data gathering:

Current Employment: (private & public)

I. Private: 1) Manufacturing (number, size, product, local ownership or branch)

2) Non-manufacturing (#, size, ownership)
   a) Retail & Wholesale
   b) Service industries
   c) Commerce & banking, insurance

(complete information on unionization of all industries and trades)

3) Occupational break-down for each of above
   White collar, blue collar, skilled, semi-skilled & unskilled.
   Managerial, professional & technical

4) Current racial composition of above categories

II. Public:
1) Federal (agencies & volume of employment)
2) State " " "
3) Local " " "
4) Occupational break-down of each of the above (educational requirements)
5) Current racial composition of employment

III. Profile of the unemployed
1) How many?
2) What industries were they attached to?
3) What occupational category? Skills?
4) Race, education, age and sex?

IV. If possible, the above information should be attained for two periods of time--present and an earlier period. This will permit you to examine the changes which are taking place -- this is usually more important than the picture at any one moment. For example, a particular industry, trade or occupation may be large today but data for an earlier year may show it to be declining rapidly. Another area, employment may appear small but may be growing rapidly -- this is especially true with the rapid automation that is taking place in many sectors of the economy.

7

# SOME PROPOSALS FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY IN AN AUTOMATING SOCIETY*

by Herbert H. Gans

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Rutgers-The State University of
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Urban Studies, University of Pennsylvania.

At a recent conference on the problems of the low income population, one of the participants proposed this assignment: What measures for coping with poverty and unemployment could the Administration develop if it wanted to - or had to - formulate a crash program like that of the First Hundred Days of the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.

The seventeen proposals that follow stem from this assignment. They are a set of individual - and often unrelated - schemes, rather than parts of an integrated program. As a result, they take little cognizance of what is already being done or proposed, for example, in federal depressed area programs, occupational retraining, job formation, education of the unskilled, and the struggle against racial discrimination. Even so, few of the proposals are original.[1] Some are suitable for a crash program; others are longer-range schemes.

Most of the proposals are probably not politically feasible at present. My assumption is, however, that in a crisis - and I think such a crisis may be on the way - new political alignments develop which quickly redefine political feasibility. The important criterion is whether the proposals are workable, and rational; that is, whether they achieve the intended ends, and without unanticipated consequences deleterious to these ends.

I would be the first to admit that most of the proposals are not fully thought out. Indeed, I have written this paper in the hope that they will be subjected to critical comments, and that these will produce schemes that can be undertaken.

## II - The Proposals

The proposals are based on the assumption that in the coming decades, automation and other technological-economic trends will lead to continuing increases in productivity and concurrent decreases in unemployment. The shrinkage of jobs is thus becoming a major problem of American society, and increasingly for more than just unskilled workers.

There are three major types of problems with which the society - and its economy - must deal: the upgrading and shifting of workers and potential workers into the skilled jobs (blue collar, white collar and professional) that will be available; the creation of more jobs, especially for unskilled and semiskilled workers; and the elimination of poverty, a problem left over from the past. Proposals 1 to 4 deal with the first; 5 to 15, with the second; and 16 to 17, with the third.

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*I am indebted to a number of people for critical comments on an earlier draft, especially Stanley Aronowitz, Robert Dentler, Christopher Jencks, Ralph Showalter and Melvin Webber.

[1] I owe an obvious debt to Donald N. Michael, "Cybernation: The Silent Conquest," Santa Barbara: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, 1962. Moreover, many of the proposals were appropriated - even if unintentionally - from friends and colleagues with whom I have discussed this topic over the past year.

## The Shift to Skilled Jobs

The movement of workers from unskilled to skilled occupations essential to the economy is necessary to find employment for those left jobless, and to fill the unfilled jobs that even now exist in considerable number. These aims might be aided by the following:

1. Incentives to Encourage Entry into Unfilled Jobs.

Recruitment for presently unfilled jobs might be increased by certifying entire occupations as Unfilled, and developing programs that eliminate the causes of the undersupply of workers. Higher salaries, better working conditions and training programs for new recruits (see also 3 and 4 below) should be used to encourage entry. An additional possibility is tax reductions, especially during the training period, and while the individual holds the beginning, low paid jobs in the Unfilled occupation.

Among the Unfilled occupations which need workers most urgently are the helping or caretaking professions: teaching, social work, public health, social psychiatry, etc., which require long years of training and hard work, but lack the financial and social rewards of independent professions like medicine and law.

2. The Creation of Helping Sub-Professions.

Perhaps even more important than additional recruitment into the helping professions would be the creation of an entirely new occupational stratum: people who work in the helping professions but on a "subprofessional" level. The needed skills could probably be taught in one or two years programs, or slightly longer ones combining apprenticeship with formal instruction. Recruitment into this stratum should be encouraged among high school or college students who do not - or do not yet - feel themselves ready for professional training, and among adults who want to change occupations.[2] By calling them subprofessions, opposition from the established professions will be reduced, and new curricula can be developed which would avoid some of the lengthy but unnecessary instruction which has become entrenched in these professions.

The greatest need is for subprofessionals, of working and lower class origin especially, who could help the low-income population attain the social and cognitive skills needed to become part of the larger society.[3] Others are needed in almost all welfare and municipal service programs which suffer from a shortage of staff.

These two proposals are needed not only to raise the level of social services and add new jobs to the economy, but also to reduce the current workloads of the existing professions, which is rapidly becoming an overload for some of its members. Expansion of the professions and subprofessions would also halt the stratification of American society into an overworked professional minority and an underemployed majority, a trend that has many undesirable social and political consequences.

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[2] There may be adults who, whatever their jobs, want to be teachers or social workers, but who are too old to start professional training. They might be attracted to the subprofessions - assuming of course that the work would be financially and socially rewarding.

[3] For more detail, see Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Chap. 12, especially pp. 273-278, and Frank Riessman, "The Revolution in Social Work: The New Subprofessional", forthcoming.

3. Incentives to Encourage Occupational Shifts.

Many economic and social obstacles now prevent people from making career or even job-type changes once they are adults, although this applies more to white collar workers than blue collar ones. Some of these obstacles can perhaps be overcome by a grant program which would allow adults to leave the labor force temporarily without loss of income so as to retrain themselves for new jobs. A grant, modelled on the G. I. Bill and equivalent to a going salary or wage, should be made available to anyone wanting to undertake training for an Unfilled job. This scheme might be more successful than current retraining efforts, because it would recruit people who want to be retrained for an occupation of their own choice. It would not, however, be likely to attract the unskilled, who need to make occupational shifts more urgently than anyone else.

Eligibility to participate in this grant program should also be available to adults who dropped out of school in adolescence, and now want to complete their high school and college education. This would attract dropouts who have seen the error of their ways in adulthood, as well as people who are dissatisfied with their initial career choice, and would like to get more education for an as yet unspecified job change.

4. Incentives for Earlier Entry into the Skilled Occupations

Another way of encouraging people to train themselves for skilled work - especially those not planning to go to college - would be combined apprentice-education program which starts in high school and allows students to enter an occupation of their choice while still in school. This proposal, suggested by Arthur Perl, might appeal to youngsters who are unhappy in high school, as well as those who cannot afford to go to college at present. If the grantees are satisfied with their job choice, the apprentice-education program could be continued through college, thus allowing them to obtain a free college education while earning some wage. Income grants, such as those suggested in 3 above, might have to be added as students marry.

A more general variant of this proposal, originally suggested by William Wheaton, would be to give needy students grants to help them complete high school, even if they have not yet made a job choice. This would not only help children who must drop out of school because the family needs their wages, but those who are pulled out of school by the lure of an income and the cars, clothes and entertainment it can buy. A grant program is not the solution to the drop-out problem, of course, for as S. M. Miller and others have pointed out, the fault lies with the lack of meaning of the school curriculum for the lower class youngster, his inability to study, and the desire of the school to push him out.

The Creation of New Jobs

The second, and in some ways the most important problem is to create new jobs, especially for the unskilled and semiskilled. This is extremely difficult, given the trends of the economy, and the fact that such jobs cannot be of the make-work variety. Before suggesting some proposals along this line, it is worthwhile to discuss another approach, the reduction of work-hours to spread existing jobs among larger numbers of people. Although this idea has been questioned by the Kennedy Administration, it is likely to become more necessary in the years to come.

5. Industry Incentives to Develop a Secondary Work Force

One way of reducing work hours would be for the government to subsidize industry to adopt a standard work week of 25-30 hours - at present pay - and to eliminate overtime. This would encourage the creation of a secondary work force, which would hold the same job the other 15-20 hours a week. This force might hire young people - especially in connection with 3 and 4 above - or older people who want to work fewer hours.

Tax reductions and income incentives, such as suggested in 16 and 17 below, might be necessary to encourage people to shift to the secondary work force.

6. Incentives to Workers to Reduce Work Hours

Another approach, suggested by Christopher Jencks, would be to encourage people who want to work fewer hours to do so. This could be done by taxing overtime work, or by reducing taxes for those who want to work fewer hours - thus tying taxation to the number of work hours - or to give people income grants to reduce the differences in pay between full-time and less than full-time work.

This scheme, like the previous one, would of course encourage moonlighting. It should be noted, however, that moonlighting is possible only when extra jobs are easily available, and then primarily because wages are too low to permit workers a decent standard of living from one job. This can be resolved only by raising wages. Moreover, moonlighting could be discouraged by taxing second jobs at a higher rate than first ones. Finally, a study should be made to see whether moonlighting is clearly undesirable, or whether it does not also create jobs that would otherwise not exist. Since moonlighting jobs generally require fewer than forty hours of work per week, they might be the kinds of jobs suitable for the secondary work force proposed above.

7. Elimination of Involuntary Workers from the Labor Force

Another way of spreading the work would be to make it profitable for people who do not really want to work to leave the labor force. This would include especially older people, and mothers who work for income rather than job satisfaction. In addition to permanent departures, it might be desirable to encourage temporary departures from the labor force for those who want to take some time off for travel or just loafing, although this is not likely to create permanent new jobs.

Some day it may even be necessary to discourage anyone other than the breadwinner in each household from working, either by raising taxes for second and third workers, or by giving allowances to wives and mothers to stay home. Women who want to work and pursue careers should not be discouraged, but those who do not really want to work should be kept out of the labor market as much as possible.

8. Grants for Currently Unpaid Volunteer Work

One way of discouraging women from taking jobs would be to pay them for volunteer work. Many women - and men - work hard in voluntary organizations and derive the same satisfactions as others do from a job. Indeed, being an officer in an important local voluntary association can be a full time job. Paying such officers from government funds would not only encourage them to stay out of the labor market, but it might also attract more people into community service.

9. The Professionalization of Work

Another way of reducing work hours and spreading work would be to encourage the already ongoing professionalization of many jobs, and the extension to them of the temporal fringe benefits - or job interruptions - available especially in the academic profession. All workers should eventually be able to obtain long vacations, sabbaticals, travel grants, periodic return to school, "visiting" appointments in other places, and the like.

10. Export of American Consumer Goods Overproduction and of Skilled Workers

Private enterprise and the government could cooperate in the export - at low cost or

absolutely free - of some of our consumer goods overproduction to the developing areas, not only to raise their standard of living, but also to build up the demand for such goods, and thus to create new jobs in this country.

This is a variant of Seymour Melman's scheme to export machine tools, and David Reisman's "Nylon War" idea of sending consumer goods to Russia to reduce cold war tensions. It would cover yet other items that would be of mutual benefit. Emphasis in such a giveaway should be on those goods not already produced - not likely to be produced in the near future - in the developing areas.

11. "Export" of American Skilled Workers

Another way of opening up jobs here would be to encourage workers whose skills are in oversupply here to work overseas in the developing areas where such skills are in demand, either on the job, or for training the domestic labor force. This scheme may falter because of the reluctance of settled blue collar workers to leave America or even the locality in which they were raised, but it might be possible to encourage young blue collar workers to spend some time overseas as part of their apprenticeship, perhaps in a kind of Peace Corps stressing blue collar skills.

## Jobs for the Unskilled

The most difficult task is to expand job opportunities for the unskilled. The best solution is to make certain that as many young people as possible are trained for marketable job skills, and the number of unskilled is reduced to a bare minimum by the next generation. Thus, providing jobs for the unskilled should be a temporary need, and if so, some policies may be justified as a short range solution that would not be desirable on a permanent basis.

12. Employer Incentives for the Hiring of the Unskilled

One solution would be to discourage private enterprise from resorting to those types of automation which sharply reduce jobs, either by incentives or taxes which would reduce the cost advantages of automating. Another approach would be to offer tax reductions and more direct financial incentives to employers to hire the unskilled, especially those who suffer most from unemployment: the very young and those in late middle age. Such incentives would have to be awarded in such a way that no one of adult working age would be released in order to hire them, and that new jobs would be created as a result. It is, however, doubtful that this proposal could create a significant number of jobs.

13. Temporary Adjustment of the Minimum Wage Law

Another method for creating new jobs might be to cut back the legal minimum wage to, say, 75 cents an hour, and have the difference between it and an adequate wage made up by federal payments to the affected wage-earners. This cutback might lead to the development of new businesses, and with it an expansion of job opportunities for the unskilled. Since such a proposal would in effect mean a government subsidy for marginal firms - where working conditions are often the poorest - and since it would also imply a regression from the wage levels for which unions have fought over a century, such a proposal might have dangerous consequences. Therefore it would need careful study, perhaps through some pilot experiments, in order to see whether the benefits in terms of the number of new jobs would outweigh the social and political costs. If the experiments were successful, the scheme could be tried on a wider scale. The dangers in this proposal might be ameliorated by making it a temporary device; that is, to continue only until the new business is on its feet, after which it would be required to pay the going wages.

14. Encouragement of New Businesses Using Unskilled Labor

A more positive approach to the same problem would be to encourage the formation of new businesses, especially in the area of services, by a low cost loan and loan-insurance scheme - the latter somewhat like FHA - which would facilitate the starting of the business and eliminate a large part of the risk. Early mortality would not necessarily be prevented, but the costs of failure would be born in part by the government.

Market studies and imaginative social invention might indicate a number of feasible new businesses and services. For example, farmers near urban areas might transform their farms into resorts providing low cost vacations for city dwellers. Car rental agencies which would rent out used cars, and commercial baby sitting or lawn care enterprises might be profitable.

15. A Blue Collar National Service Corps

One of the best ways of employing the unskilled is a public works program. In addition, it might be desirable to set up a National Service Corps - somewhat like the new C.C.C. suggested by Paul Goodman and others - which would carry out those additional public works and municipal service functions that are too expensive, or of too low priority to be financed from local revenues or a federal public works program. This Corps would also train youngsters in marketable skills.

Among the most important projects to be carried out by such a Corps would be the rehabilitation of preservable substandard urban housing to bring it up to a livable level. This is suggested by the failure of slum clearance to improve the housing conditions of the poor, and by the possibility that the now proposed rehabilitation programs, to be carried out by subsidizing private enterprise, would raise rents beyond the occupants' ability to pay. If rehabilitation were carried out by a service corps, guided by skilled workers, many people might be employed, and housing conditions could be improved immeasurably, although only if the scheme were part of a government public works program to build additional new housing for the low income population.

In addition, the Corps might also help in the provision of municipal services that can stand some improvement, for example mail delivery, garbage removal, street cleaning, the care of recreational open space, and of public buildings and the like.

## The Elimination of Poverty

Poverty is of course intimately related to unemployment, and would be reduced if the previous proposals were carried out. In addition, the raising of substandard incomes can be accomplished by the following:

16. The Elimination of Income Taxes among the Low Income Population

This measure, which has been proposed many times in recent years, should be tried out to determine whether it would significantly reduce proverty and also increase purchasing power to increase the vitality of the economy. But it is probably not enough.

17. Direct Income Grants to the Low Income Population.

If tax abatement is insufficient, it will be necessary to resort to direct grants, based on the conception that everyone is entitled to a standard minimum income, whether obtained from work or other sources.[4] People who are earning less than this

[4] This proposal has recently been presented in greater detail by Robert Theobald, "Abundance: Threat or Promise," The Nation, May 11, 1963., entire issue.

minimum - perhaps $4000 for an urban family, somewhat less for a rural one, and for people without children, etc. - should therefore be eligible for federal grants - not welfare payments - awarded on the same equalization principles now used in allocating grants to the states. Costly as such a scheme would be, the great spur to purchasing power that would result is likely to reduce the net cost to the government. There is of course a danger that such grants would discourage some from working, but experience with welfare payments has made it clear that most people would prefer to earn their income from work. When the day comes that work is no longer available to everyone, an income grant - financed in part from the "profit" of automation - is likely to be considered a less visionary or irresponsible scheme than today, and I can visualize a future era in which all members of society will be eligible for such a grant.

III - The Problem of Implementing the Proposals

All of the aforementioned proposals stem from the assumption that normal methods of job formation, either in private enterprise or in government, will not be enough in the future, and that new approaches have to be found. Moreover, these approaches require that job formation be planned with other than present criteria, that efficiency, profit, and cost-price ratios must sometimes be superseded by social benefit considerations like those which nominally justify the governmental subsidy of family farms. This means not only a more extensive government involvement in the economy and in the planning of that economy than ever before, but also a search for public funds which would pay the initial and sometimes permanent costs of creating the new jobs.

One obvious source of these funds is a diversion of much of the money now spent for missiles and lunar exploration. Another would be the taxation of industry for increasing automation, so that a proportion of its savings would be turned over to the government to pay for the social and economic consequences of automating. But neither of these sources are likely to be enough, and the rest of the funds would have to come from an increase in taxation of the general public. Whether or not the economy can stand a sharp rise in taxes without downturns in productivity is one important question. How to persuade people that taxes must rise is another.

Middle class people could probably pay more taxes than they now do without having to make serious cutbacks in their private expenditures, but this would not be sufficient to gain their assent. One drawback is that Americans believe government spending is almost always wasteful and infringes on their freedom to make their own spending decisions. This belief can only be altered by demonstrating to people that they need the government services for which they pay, and one method of demonstration is to raise a part of the cost of government by user charges, rather than by taxation. This would enable people to see what they are paying for, although it would also allow them not to use services for which they do not want to pay. It might, however, help to create a new climate of opinion about taxation.

Another way to lighten the psychological burden of taxation is to reduce the multiplicity of taxes, and find a way to collect all of them, federal, state and local, in a lump sum income tax. Another would be to find a way of levying taxes in relation to expenditures, so that they would be low during those periods of the lifecycle when home purchases, raising children, etc. create the greatest pressure on the family budget, and high when these pressures abate.

But whatever the method of increasing taxes, it will require a redistribution of income from the haves to the have-nots, which is likely to be met by intense resistance from the former, and by the inability of the latter to exert political pressure on our political institutions.

The federal government has so far been quite unresponsive to the needs of the low in-

come population, and has not felt any real urgency about the state of the economy. Congress is especially insensitive to the problem. One reason is that unemployment affects only a portion of the country and of the society. Not only are the depressed areas highly concentrated geographically, but as Eric Larrabee and David Riesman have pointed out, the economy is a dual one, consisting of affluent and poor sectors, in which the latter is powerless. Congress is elected primarily by the affluent sector - it does not really campaign in the poor one - and the funds which finance election campaigns come almost entirely from a very small portion of the affluent sector. This imbalance might be ameliorated if political campaigns were financed from taxes, rather than by contributions, for this might increase the dependence of Senators and Representatives on a larger number of voters. Even so, it is not likely to produce a legislature that will be favorable to any scheme involving income redistribution or large scale change in the economy.

The real difficulty is that the people in the poor sector of the economy are neither numerous enough, nor unified in area - or even self-interest - nor effective in making their needs felt. They vote less often than others, but even when they vote, their ballots carry little weight because they live in Northern cities or Southern states with one-party political machines, or in districts which have been effectively gerrymandered to reduce their influence within the political structure.

Until this population can demonstrate the power of number at the ballot box, and make its needs felt vocally in other ways, neither Congress nor the Administration will have much incentive to act in their behalf. In all probability, no major changes in the economy, or in government's role in the economy will come about until there is political action by the poor and the unemployed, be this in the form of picketing, protest marches, political organizations, or unions of the unemployed, or all of these.

IV - Work and Social Worth

Even if the government can initiate changes in the economy to increase job opportunities, a high degree of unemployment is probably here to stay. If present trends continue, most of it will be found among an evergrowing minority of permanently unemployed people, who will endure a life of misery and despair, and will be sacrificed to maintain the present economy.

Many of the proposals presented above seek to prevent the creation of such a group, and to share the work equitably. Yet even if this can be done, it is still possible that in the future, there will not be enough full time employment for everyone who wants it. In addition to the economic consequences, this possibility has some significant social and emotional ones that need to be dealt with.

These consequences result from the traditional American - and Western - culture pattern by which man acquires his social worth, and thus much of his self-respect and ego-strength from his job. If that job is not available, widespread anomie resulting from uselessness is likely to develop, and ways must therefore be found to enable people to be - and feel - socially useful in other, non-work activities.

Now it is true that for many people, especially blue collar workers, the job has never provided much satisfaction, being primarily a source of income to finance the search for satisfaction elsewhere. But even people who do not identify with their work feel useless if they do not have a job, a feeling which permeates their role in the family-visible especially in the marital difficulties of Negro men who have suffered so long from instability of employment - and their entire life. Eventually, joblessness leads to total apathy, despair and personality disintegration.

Criteria of social worth will of course change somewhat as employment opportunity

decreases, but they will probably do so much more slowly than the latter. Even the Great Depression did not do away with the attitude that unemployment is a personal failing.

Consequently, it becomes necessary to discover which institutions, old or new, can enable people to be and feel socially worthy when they are jobless or only employed part-time. The ideal target is a society in which nonwork institutions are more important than work, and in which the departure from the labor market is anticipated rather than feared. This ideal has been proposed in many utopias, past and present, but so far it has been mainly a dream of overworked intellectuals which has not been shared by the rest of society. Now the dream may have to become a reality.

At present, the problem is conceived largely as the availability of extra spare time which must somehow be filled with leisure activity - the socalled threat of leisure. As a result, education for leisure is being advocated again, as it was during the Depression. I am skeptical that this is a solution. For one thing, most people, especially in the middle class, do not lack leisure ideas, but only clusters of time and money with which to carry them out, and of course, the inability to depart from the labor force. Moreover, a considerable amount of leisure training is already being offered as part of the college education - why else are so many schools described as country clubs or playgrounds. Leisure training for the noncollege population may help some people, especially among the most poorly educated, although they would probably not apply for it, since their primary need now is for work.

But the main failing of education for leisure is that it fails to come to grips with the real problem. As depression era studies show, people become less interested in leisure activity when unemployed, because jobloss deprives them of social and personal worth - and leisure cannot easily provide for this loss because it is by definition largely socially useless.

I have not so far seen any feasible solutions to the problem. The professionalization of jobs, and the interruption of work by sabbaticals, as well as the upgrading of rewards for community service (see 8 and 9 above) will help a little. So would a concerted attack on the Puritan ethic, and a recognition of the virtues of spontaneous socializing and loafing that still exist in the cultures of the lower, working and lower middle classes.[5] But these proposals are not enough.

Social planning and social research must begin to find ways of revising the institutional arrangements and beliefs that provide social and personal worth. This task offers an opportunity for meaningful social invention that must combine the best features of utopian thinking, social planning, and political pragmatism, backed up by policy-oriented social science research.

Such planning might begin with the study of societies and groups in which worth is not measured by work, including the leisure classes of past Western society, the adolescents, bohemians, hoboes and Skid Rowers of our own, and especially the preindustrial and preliterate societies which have gotten along without a concept of work and job. Not that such findings can be easily transferred to the modern situation. The three institutions which in the past have been most effective in instilling belongingness: the small community, the tribe and the extended family, play a minor role in a large urban-industrial society, while hoboes and bohemians have been despised for their deviant ways. The only hopeful feature of this problem is that there is still some time - perhaps a generation or two - to find a solution.

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5 It is ironic that these cultures are under attack by upper middle class critics, reformers and caretakers who seek to instill their own work priorities and Puritan-like leisure attitudes at a time when they are in danger of becoming anachronistic.

Carl Dahlgran
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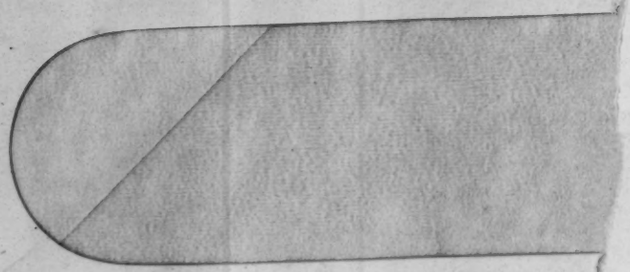

RESOLUTION MAR 18 1964 UNEMPLOYMENT & AUTOMATION

Unemployment and poverty level existence as we know it today is serious, but only a harbinger of much more to come as automation reaches maturity and additional "defense" spending loses its "utility".

We support the token gestures toward the solution of the current problem. Among these are extended and increased unemployment compensation; extensive retraining program for the technologically displaced persons; public works program in needed projects and services; updated vocational training which bears a relationship to the present needs of industry; a "G-I Bill" for all college age students, male and female, who qualify for post high school training; and a domestic"peace corps" with skilled concerned workers.

In addition to the above measures, we support a minimum wage of $2.00 per hour; a work week of 25 hours; a law out lawing"moonlighting"; compulsory retirement at age 55; and compulsory registration of all jobs with state employment agencies.

All the above measures are token steps called for within the the framework of our profit motivated, private property oriented economy. None of these measures will reach the person who has never become a member or an associate of our affluent society. The cry is made for jobs because we accept the old standard that the poor must work in order to eat. With all our intricate legal devices to protect the innocent, there is only one crime for which punishment is meted out with consistency, that is the crime of being poor.

If we are to solve the problem of poverty, we must address it directly. A subsidy to the large farm, the mill operator, an air-line or a suburban railway, a tax cut, a defense contract, reduction of the rate of interest in the Federal Reserve System, all of these may filter down to some of the poor, but this kind of economics, if the elimination of poverty is our goal, is like flying to Hong Kong to save money on a new suit.

We must underwrite the family as our most valuable natural resource. If we can subsidize every other facet of our economy and many foreign countries dedicated to the destruction of democracy, the time has come when we must subsidize our citizens who are always good enough to die for their country, why not good enough to live for it?

Therefore be it resolved that:
The head of every family of four should receive a subsidy sufficient to bring his or her income up to $5,000 per year and $1,000 for each additional child until such child becomes self supporting.

Resolved that, All single workers, male or female,should receive a subsidy sufficient to bring their income up to $3,000 per year.

Resolved that, Unwed mothers with one child should receive $3,000 per year with $1,000 for each additional child until he or she becomes self supporting.

Resolved that, Anyone whose condition of unemployment or underemployment could benefit by increased training or relocation should be given the opportunity for either or both at government expense.

Resolved that, Retired workers should recieve a minimum of $2,500 per year per person, with all medical, hospital, surgical and nursing home care defrayed by the government.

Resolved that, All orphans, handicapped, or disabled persons shall become wards of the state who will see to their care, welfare, education and if possible, rehabilitation through foster homes or whatever method best meets the need.

Resolved that, None of the aforementioned benefits shall be contingent upon the liquidation or surrender of any personal assets such as the deed to ones personal residence, a motor vehicle, the tools of ones trade, books or any other personal possession with the exception of investment capital.

Resolved that, Anyone falling within the framework of the aforementioned minimums for decent existence shall pay no income tax on the minimum income or on any additional benefits such as education or medical care.

Resolved that, Through the income tax proceedure, an absolute maximum on personal income should be established at $50,000 per year with provisions for spreading this income over a number of years in those professions where peak earning power is limited to a few years or subject to great fluctuation.

Finally, be it resolved that, None of the aforementioned benefits shall be limited or denied on the basis of color, creed, national origin or moral standards.

- Carl Dahlgren
John McBride

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Fraternally
Carl Dahlgren

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# THE NEW SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY

©

Edgar S. and Jean Camper Cahn

Increasingly, the prime function of federal officials is to give out money in order to fulfill some national goal. There are many steps to the process -- establishing criteria, determining eligibility, assessing capability, evaluating past performance, setting the range of permissible experimentation. By these means, broad legislative mandates are given concreteness; the ambiguous and often contradictory desire of Congress is given content; national goals are translated into specific programs with specific price tags.

Administrators, in making this complex set of determinations, are not infallible. They have the power to advance or thwart social goals, to benefit or not to benefit the intended beneficiaries, to realize or to subvert the democratic will as expressed, however imperfectly, in legislative programs.

Yet, in this area of overriding and ever expanding significance, the traditional checks to human fallability are strangely absent. The political process does not go into full gear in appraising and reappraising every grant, every policy, every rule and regulation. And the courts, despite their role as overseers of the application of law to particular cases, abstain, for the most part, from intervening in these decisions.

We have, then, a no-man's-land of official anarchy -- a state of affairs inherently repugnant to both the rule of man and the rule of law. These decisions of officials fall below the threshold of notice by the political process. And they have been off limits to the courts. In perspective, the riots may be only a reflection of that sovereign lawlessness -- its mirror image seen, as through a glass, darkly.

One purpose of this article is to piece together those judicial precedents and statutes which would enable the legal system to subject these decisions to scrutiny and officials to standards of accountability. The elements of a coherent body of law exist already to a far greater extent than appreciated. They need to be brought together, utilized and their development vastly accelerated.

But the contribution which statutes and rules of law can make is necessarily limited. Rules of law are not self-executing. And in matters of judgment the best means of validation yet devised is the democratic process: the majority's only justifiable source of complacency is its reliance on dissent. The rule of law can only complement the political process; it cannot supplant it. Thus, it will take more than rules; more than the creation of bodies of legal precedent. For what is here involved is the democratization of the decision-making process and the extension of the rule of law -- into a realm where neither presently hold sway.

In this special sphere, the creation of new institutions and the structuring of new forums is required to translate rules into realities and to extend the democratic process to Grants of the Sovereign.

I.

We begin with a recent and classic exercise of the sovereign will -- the October 1966 decision of the Office of Economic Opportunity (the federal anti-poverty agency) to deny further funds to an organization called The Child Development Group of Mississippi (hereafter CDGM).

CDGM had been established early in 1965 to run a program for pre-school children that would provide medical treatment, food, learning experiences, psychological guidance, socialization, supervised play, and specialized care for children from impoverished families. It was part of a national effort known as Head Start which had been launched by the poverty agency to overcome the deficiencies which severely handicap poverty-stricken children when they enter school. OEO officials had encouraged the formation of this group and been instrumental in its organization because it was felt that existing institutions would not administer an effective Head Start program for Negro children. In 1965, CDGM received $1.4 million to run a summer program for six thousand children, throughout the State of Mississippi. Few whites would participate in the program and most of those who did withdrew because of intimidation by white citizens' councils and other groups. Harassment by local police, arson, shootings and intense political pressure plaqued the program from the outset. Despite severe congressional attacks led by Senator Stennis, OEO made a grant of $5·6 million to run a program for the summer of 1966 for nine thousand children.

Partly by choice and partly by necessity, the program was distinctive in a number of ways. Most impressive was the extent and depth of local support, of parent participation and community involvement in the program. Thus, for instance, many of the centers were built or renovated by volunteer labor and contributed materials; play equipment, childrens' clothes, furniture were typically built by parents and volunteers; between the summers of 1965 and 1966, 50 centers serving over three thousand children were kept in operation through volunteer efforts.

Other features of the program also require mention. Although CDGM was a state-wide organization, the centers, spread through 38 counties were actually run and administered locally, with a central staff providing technical assistance, training, curriculum materials, field supervision and logistical support. This decentralization of decision-making power and responsibility produced a special kind of grass roots democracy with local centers branching out into such activities as consumer education and welfare rights advocacy. It also produced instances of chaotic administration and book-keeping.

Because there is not an adequate supply of child development specialists anywhere, let alone in Mississippi, CDGM had to supplement the specialists it could import by training most of its staff from local sources. In consequence, of two thousand employees, 98% were Mississippians -- and over 90% were recruited from the ranks of the poor and then trained, supervised and promoted as ability was demonstrated. Thus, by choice and necessity, CDGM set out to prove that an adequate and, in fact, superior child development program could be run almost entirely by non-professionals.

During the summer of 1966, CDGM made application for a third grant to run a year round program. On October 2nd, 1966, OEO announced that it would not refund CDGM and simultaneously communicated that fact to the Board of CDGM. No prior notice of the decision had been received, no bill of particulars was provided then or ever, and no opportunity to rebutt the charges or remedy defects was ever afforded. The official grounds given for this decision included mismanagement of funds, poor administration, poor program quality, alleged deviation from Head Start goals and policies, and the virtually all-Negro composition of both staff and pupils. Other allegations, including nepotism and conflict of interest, were also made

In response, the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, a coalition of religious, labor, civil rights and other organizations, organized a massive campaign to reverse this decision. A Citizens' Board of Inquiry composed of eminent individuals was established to inquire firsthand into the charges made against CDGM. Other tactics included appeals to the White House, mass meetings, picketing, newspaper advertisements, congressional pressure, delegations of prominent civic leaders, newspaper and TV coverage and preparation for litigation.

Within less than two weeks after the announcement not to refund CDGM, OEO made grants totalling over twelve million dollars to organizations specially selected as replacements for CDGM. To administrators within OEO, the decision was unpleasant but not novel. I meant sacrificing a highly controversial, predominantly Negro organization and establishing a new organization that purported to be integrated and that was acceptable to the dominant political and

economic interests in Mississippi. Some of the officials involved claimed that they would have sided with CDGM but for the damaging charges that over $200,000 had not been properly accounted for. Others felt it was a choice between CDGM and the survival of the entire poverty program which during the critical months was pending before the Senate Appropriations Committee (of which Senator Stenni: of Mississippi was an extremely powerful member.)

To partisans of CDGM, the battle was symbolic. CDGM epitomized all that the poverty program itself stood for: grass roots participation, a self-help effort, a break-through against discrimination, an innovative use of non-professionals, a shift in the civi rights movement from protest to program -- and a choice in the Deep South between the Old Order and the New.

It is just such decisions of a discretionary and judgmental nature which cumulatively determine the shape, thrust and effectiveness of each of the vast array of federal programs enacted to help the poor. The high stakes involved -- both symbolic and monetary - combined to provide a unique occasion for a utilization of the full range of tactics available to challenge such decisions

It also provided the occasion for a thorough examination of CDGM's legal rights and remedies. We shall consider these now in some detail. What began as a crash job by a handful of lawyers to draw up a complaint in anticipation of litigation, mushroomed into workshop conference on the Rule of Law and Federal Grant Making Agencies, based upon a concerted research effort by over 70 law studen and 20 professors drawn from 6 law schools together with 15 attorn from prominent Washington, Philadelphia and New York law firms.

The following section draws heavily upon the research conducted by these students under the supervision of Jean Cahn as Counsel for CDGM and Chairman of the Workshop Conference.

## II

## THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF FEDERAL GRANTEES -- A CASE STUDY OF CDGM

The hornbook law at first glance presents a particularly bleak picture.

No one has a right to do business with the federal government Grants and contracts are acts of largesse, to be bestowed by the government as it wishes. Short of a flagrantly arbitrary or unconstitutional exercise of that power, courts will not second-guess th judgment of the administrators. These decisions rest upon factors with which the courts claim no special expertise. The separation o powers doctrine engenders a general aversion to judicial meddling i the affairs of the executive branch, especially in those decisions classified as "discretionary." Considerable latitude must be allow administrators if they are to move flexibly -- and administrators a not the courts are best aware of the full range of factors, politic and programmatic, that must be balanced. It is presumably up to Congress to act if it is displeased with the way in which its legis lation is being implemented.

The matter is made more difficult by considerations of stand ing and injury. CDGM was a creature of the federal government and, to the extent that its existence was dependent on federal largesse, existed at the pleasure of that government. Since the same amount funds would be spent regardless of what organization received them and since approximately the same number of children would benefit, r one could be said to have been specially injured because no partic lar child enjoyed a right to participate.

The picture becomes darkest when one considers the question o remedies. Even if one could secure court intervention, the traditio nal approach of courts to such problems is to remand the matter to the appropriate agency for disposition in accordance with procedure to be promulgated by the agency. In short, all one gains is a remand to a biased arbiter who has already served notice of his judg ment on the merits. While traditional doctrines of bias might appea applicable, it is unlikely that the court will disqualify the agency and fashion a new institution which can provide a fair de novo re- view. A court will tend to feel obliged to take the word of an agency which says it will reconsider the matter in accordance with new review procedures. Thus it appeared at first glance that judi- cial intervention, even if it could be secured, would be fruitless.

None of the above statements or considerations proved dispositive for two reasons.

First, under a variety of statutes and court decisions, CDGM had an extremely strong case for securing judicial intervention and certain significant, albeit limited, forms of remedy.

Second, as a tactical matter, if CDGM could just survive int( the court (and not be thrown out on a motion for summary judgment) it could use discovery procedures to obtain certain documents which we known to exist and which substantially cleared CDGM of all charges and corroborated the contention that political pressure had forced the decision. Just to be able to demand those documents, to flush certain issues into the open, to get in a forum where the rules of the game are relatively predictable, would virtually have assured a negotiated settlement. No federal agency, least of all one with OE(

special mission, can readily afford to surrender proof of its own error or to admit that capitulation to political pressure forced a decision at odds with the best interests of the program. While yielding to political pressure goes on every day, the threat of exposure in a neutral formm, the mere airing of the counter charges, let alone the use of discovery procedures, makes getting into court in and of itself, critically important.

It is thus a matter of no small irony that CDGM's surest bet for getting into court was Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

A. Grantees Rights Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

Title VI creates an explicit right to judicial review where refusal to continue assistance is based on racial discrimination. If CDGM was charged with being racially segregated, then it was entitled to the same procedural protection, delay and review as Governor Wallace. OEO officials had been either candid, or careless enough to point to CDGM's predominantly Negro composition as one of the prime reasons for the decision.

Assuming one could demonstrate that one of the grounds for refusing to refund CDGM was that it was racially segregated, then CDGM would have had a right to a full hearing, to judicial review (and possibly to a reversal of the decision, by demonstrating its willingness to comply voluntarily with Title VI). Possibly, CDGM could even have secured an injunction against dispersal of funds to rival groups pending completion of the extremely lengthy and complicated procedure prescribed by Title VI.

Furthermore, the right to a hearing under Title VI might conceivably have been used to secure a hearing and judicial review on all the other charges. CDGM could argue that OEO was manufacturing the other charges to create an independent ground for denial of funds as a deliberate attempt to deprive CDGM of its procedural rights under Title VI. Given the special solicitude which Congress showed in creating the Title VI remedy, an agency presumably cannot circumvent the law by manufacturing spurious alternative grounds for denying funds in the very manner prohibited by Title VI. This kind of pendant jurisdiction argument might have secured judicial review of all the charges.

But even if a court would not have gone this far, OEO would have been placed in a public forum where it would be forced to acknowledge that it was destroying a vital organization run by poor people because whites found the organization distasteful on account of race.

The Title VI road to judicial review may be of use to any federal grantee in the South faced with termination because of the opposition of whites. The charge can usually be made that the composition of the groups was the basis for the action. This becomes a Title VI issue (with right to judicial review) because regulations promulgated under Title VI typically go beyond overt segregation and cover those situations where the composition and structure of a program produces a segregated situation even though no explicit act of discrimination or segregation can be found. Throughout the South, small grass roots organizations and civil rights organizations are likely to find themselves suddenly ineligible for funds because whites will not join.

The utility of Title VI as a route to judicial review (and thus as an indirect weapon against political pressures put on an agency) may well extend beyond the South. Increasingly urban programs are neighborhood based -- and their racial composition is likely to be cited against them whenever political factors make it desirable for them to be "reorganized out of existence." Title VI can be a major vehicle for scrutinizing and challenging official decisions which undermine the capacity of certain urban grass roots organizations to maintain their integrity and their fidelity to the interests of their members.

The facts which provide a local group such as CDGM with the basis for a cause of Action under Title VI will also support a claim of violation of First Amendment Rights.

The relationship between Title VI and First Amendment claims is not accidental. For CDGM was attempting to give meaning to right in a far richer sense than any civil rights statute or court desegregation order could. CDGM is a microcosm of all those endeavors to deal with individual injuries and deprivation through communal effor by seeking to forge the beginnings of a new society based upon dignity, opportunity and participation.

In this sense, Title VI is a mere derivative of the First Amendment claim. For legal equality all too often consigns courts to the unpleasant role of presiding over the painstaking and equal parsing of poverty, hunger, ignorance and deprivation. Title VI doe not generate new resources, new hopes, new possibilities. It can provide some protection for communal efforts such as CDGM. But the First Amendment is the more immediate and more explicit repository of government's interest in nurturing new communal efforts which can offer the substance of full equality. Thus, First Amendment Rights become of increasing importance. For if we cannot deal with such acts of discretion which menace genuine attempts to enrich the range of options available, then we will be left only with an unending squaring off between the aggrieved and their caretakers.

First Amendment Rights

The denial of funds to CDGM was based partly if not substantially on the fact that employees of CDGM and participants in its program were advocates of civil rights and in some cases members of

civil rights groups such as SNCC or associated in some way with the "Black Power Crowd." The nature of Senator Stennis' involvement, the statement made by Herbert Kramer, OEO Director of Public Affairs the use of Howard Law Students to investigate civil rights sympathies and activities of CDGM employees and Board members, and the extensive demand for information regarding civil rights activities made of CDGM by the Director of the Atlanta Regional Office leave no room for doubt on this score.

Accordingly, OEO's action in refusing refunding amounted to the imposition of a disability because of political views and associations.

A long line of cases makes it plain that the First Amendment prohibition on laws abridging the freedom of speech bars the government from imposing a disability on someone because of his political beliefs. Disability in this sense includes discharge or ineligibility from government employment or refusal to allow one to follow a given trade or profession.

To protect this right, it has been held that one has a right to keep his political views to himself as protection against possible unconstitutional consequences.

In defining disability, it is wholly irrelevant that the person may not have a right to the benefit he seeks:

> "We need not pause to consider whether an abstract right to public employment exists. It is sufficient to say that constitutional protection does extend to the public servant whose exclusion pursuant to a statute is patently arbitrary or discriminatory."
> Wieman v. Updegraff, 344 U.S. 192

And more pithily

> "One may not have a constitutional right to go to Baghdad, but the Government may not prohibit one from going there unless by means consonant with due process of law."
> Home v. Richmond, 110 U.S. App. D.C. 226, 229, 292 F.2d 719, 722

The disability here is a serious one, since it effectively precludes CDGM from performing the functions for which it was created. Also the accompanying defamation prevents and will continue to prevent CDGM and those individuals associated with CDGM from securing other Government grants, contracts and employment in this and related areas.

There was no attempt to show that these political views presented a clear and present danger to the achievement of Congress' goals embodied in the Economic Opportunity Act. Nor is there the extended congressional finding regarding the nature of the threat to national security. Nor, in the case of SNCC and "Black Power" is there the extended congressional finding regarding the communist conspiracy and the nature and threat it posed to national security.

Absent that finding, judicial deference to an extended congressional finding with regard to the clear and present danger posed by communist conspiracy is certainly not owed to the vague and ad hoc administrative concern with SNCC and Black Power as posing a possible threat to the Economic Opportunity Act programs. Moreover, the "Black Power" classification is far vaguer than the communist classification, embracing a spectrum of beliefs and views ranging from "self-help programs" and conventional forms of association for mutual advantageous purposes to advocacy of hatred and violence.

OEO's language regarding SNCC and Black Power recognizes no such distinction and embodies no such deliberative fundings as that arguably involved in national security cases.

OEO cannot claim that it properly imposed a disability on account of the civil rights affiliations, sympathies or membership of CDGM officials, employees and beneficiaries on the ground that such views were so repugnant in the South that they would inevitably prevent organizations which employ such persons from mobilizing broad based support from a hostile community. Here, the governmental obligation is clear: to protect the constitutional right to belief and association rather than to suppress speech and associatic on grounds that the exercise of such rights is distasteful to many in the community. The government must side with the individual exercising his constitutional rights rather than the mob who wishes to suppress those rights.

Having made these statements and imposed this disability, OE( cannot simply take it back and manufacture other grounds which are not constitutionally offensive. Once the government has given an unconstitutional reason for an action, or a reason unacceptable on other grounds, it should not be allowed to persist in that decision simply by going through the motions of withdrawing the improper grounds and manufacturing spurious reasons to accomplish the same a(

The relationship of rights of association to the exercise of free speech is too well known to merit discussion here. But it becomes increasingly apparent -- as the limitations of individual jc training and educational programs become apparent -- that organizational efforts, communal enterprises, cooperatives, neighborhood

corporations, community unions and other associational activities will emerge as the most effective route to social change and to elimination of the causes of poverty.

It is precisely at this point that the dependence of such efforts upon governmental support, or at least toleration, is likely to make prctection of the First Amendment Rights embodied in those efforts of paramount importance.

The First Amendment Rights of individuals and groups to engage in such efforts without suffering penalties for the beliefs and associations of individual members become all the more important with developments that blur the distinction between the public and private sector and which make private non-profit corporations a major recipient of public funds. Well over 60% of the 800 community action programs employing over persons are private corporations. The disturbing implications of this new hybrid creature become clearest with the extension of the Hatch Act or its equivalent to all participants in poverty programs, which may amount to a constitutionally suspect sterilization of the political rights of one fifth of a nation.

The centrality of associational rights to the War on Poverty -- and the danger of tampering with them -- becomes clearer by reference to certain aspects of labor law which developed or crystalized in the 30's. Once again we are faced with conditions of unrest sabotage and violence. And, once again, the possibility of collective bargaining, of fair representation, of dialogues conducted in good faith may rest upon the creation and preservation of organizations based upon the principle of a community of interest. It is

doubtful that industrial peace could have been built on a foundation of company unions. Rights of association, combined with the principle of collective bargaining, was the solution this society found to wildcat strikes and industrial violence.

We face now a similar problem -- the renegotiation of the terms of a contract which goes beyond wages and hours and working conditions -- a social contract which governs still more totally the possibility of dignified existence and security and personal fulfillment. The alternative to reaching such a contract is the wildcat strike -- not against the industrial order but against the social order. We call it a riot.

If the poverty program is to cope with this threat to the rule of law, the right to organize, to work collectively, to come together around a community of interests will have to be protected as a sine qua non of the effort to end poverty. That government contracts and dollars areinvolved does not alter this principle. Protection of these rights against the discretionary acts of officials becomes more and more critical as political pressures and hysteria operate encouraging bureaucrats to create "safe" groups, to find "balanced" organizations to administer programs and, simultaneously, to withhold funds from any group which takes a controversial stand, which accepts members who are deeply alienated toward society -- and which does not meet "management's" view of a satisfactory "union."

In consequence, the manipulative actions of OEO in seeking

to destroy one organization and create more acceptable ones will at points subvert the aims of the poverty program and thus might properly be said to violate, not only the First Amendment, but also the enabling legislation itself, the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Governing Statute -- The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

It is possible to contend that OEO's decision not to refund CDGM and instead to fund hastily established rival organizations subverted the Act by:

-- equating the purpose of anti-poverty programs with the creation of groups dominated by individuals responsive to those interests presently politically dominant in Mississippi and avowedly opposed to the purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act;

-- superimposing token bi-racial groups as a substitute for democratic representation and community participation;

-- disregarding the statutory requirement that community action programs shall be "developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the poor."

-- actively aiding and authorizing the development of programs in secrecy and without community participation;

-- deferring token compliance with the requirement of maximum feasible participation until a time when it would be meaningless;

-- ignoring and refusing to enforce requirements to provide the public with reasonable access to information regarding programs awaiting funding;

-- failing to give the required notice of the receipt of an application;

-- ignoring the requirement that an applicant or organization must demonstrate a prior concern with poverty.

A limited right to sue under a statute was recognized in Sanders v. FCC, 309 U.S. 470 (1940) where the Supreme Court took notice of the legislative conclusion that vesting power in the FCC to establish licensing procedures would protect the public interest. The Court insisted that unless Sanders were given the right to question the legality of the Commission's action, no one would be likely to raise those issues which would give substance to the Act's

concern with the public interest. (309 U.S. at 477)

Nonetheless it is noteworthy that this and later cases insist merely that an agency listen to certain voices, consider certain interests and afford opportunity for a variety of views to be heard. They are essential procedural in nature -- going to the mode in which a determination of public interest or statutory purpose is reached rather than taking issue with the decision itself and the weight given to competing values.

It is perhaps typical of the law in this field that the central issues in debate -- the range of appropriate ways to eliminate poverty -- affords the weakest legal grounds for scrutiny of a decision which it is contended thwarts the purpose of an act. A court would be predictably reluctant to make judgments on legislative purpose which are so clearly substantive and discretionary and where so many variables must be balanced in arriving at a decision. Statutory preambles are notoriously vague and ambiguous. If we are to enter an era of judicial intervention on substantive issues, it will be because of a newly developing trend to write into a statute specific requirements, specific performance specifications, specific procedures and formulas where deviation is clearly recognizable and not nearly so speculative and judgmental.

There are many administrators -- dedicated, well-intentioned and courageous -- to whom such a development would be abhorrent. They would claim that the extensive articulation of criteria and procedures would shackle them. Based upon personal experience with both the juvenile delinquency program and the poverty program, we

would acknowledge that the gains made, the innovations launched, the processes set in motion may only have been possible because of the essential lawlessness which characterized the highly intuitive, judgmental, political (in the non-partisan sense) and unorthodox styles of the administrators. Freedom from scrutiny, from being called to account at every step was probably indispensable to trying new methods, by-passing old groups, avoiding the monopolistic strangleholds of established agencies and approaches.

Such an approach, we would submit, is only desirable -- or defensible -- during an initial grace period following the enactment of new legislation creating or significantly expanding and altering the shape of a program. During that period, which usually lasts about a year after the first authorization and appropriation takes effect, a certain recklessness, secrecy, guesswork and unorthodoxy is necessary -- if only to gain a sufficient base of experience to begin articulating goals and standards with greater specificity than that contained in the legislation.

After that first year, circumstances alter. For one thing, certain property rights begin to accrue in grantees, so that the minimal requirements of due process steadily increase. But, even without this factor (to be discussed later), we would put our faith, after an initial grace period, in the progressive articulation, appraisal, refinement and revision of standards defining objectives. The reasons are many.

First, administrators naturally tend to overstate the indispensable nature of unchecked discretion. Such claims are not self-validating. We have seen the effectiveness of lawlessness to

produce distinctive and otherwise unobtainable results diminish markedly after an initial period of innovation. Administrators tend to credit their own style for the effectiveness of their original lawlessness -- while blaming subsequent ineffectiveness on external circumstances.

Neither blame nor credit can be so apportioned. Initial achievements are a product, not simply of administrative flexibility -- but also of the original grant of discretion which carried its own momentum and which implicitly conferred a politically protected immunity of limited duration. Within that period, one can do much to realize its full potential -- or nothing. But administrative discretion creatively used primarily exploits such freedom; it does not create it.

Conversely, external events are only partly responsible for making the style of lawlessness ineffective. The best protection against reaction, political retaliation and the pressures of changing circumstances is likely to be the law. But the lawless official (good or bad) does not seek assistance from the rule of law, from the values of procedure, of uniform standards, of precedent, of rational justification. Instead he moves to secure the intervention of some bureaucratic <u>deus ex machina</u> to deliver him from his present straits. Characteristically, lawlessness when faced with obstacles to achieve an objective (whether good or bad) resorts to further lawlessness, by escalation, by a demand for more power, or by an appeal to some higher authority. Sooner or later one exhausts one's appeals. The sources of power, and of emergency assistance, run dry. And, in the process, one has established a <u>modus operandi</u> which renders vul-

nerable all past accomplishments while leaving one powerless either to defend or to advance. Well-meaning administrators might do well to heed Sir Thomas More's warning:

> More: What would you do? Cut a great road through the law to get after the Devil?
>
> Roper: I'd cut down every law in England to do that!
>
> More: Oh? And when the last law was down, and the Devil turned round on you -- where would you hide, Roper, the laws all being flat? This country's planted thick with laws from coast to coast -- man's laws, not God's and if you cut them down -- and you're just the man to do it -- d'you really think you could stand upright in the winds that would blow then? Yes, I'd give the Devil benefit of law for my own safety's sake.
> A Man For All Seasons.

Second, administrators tend to overstate the extent to which standards, criteria and procedure will shackle them. Performance standards can be used to define end results rather than methods -- leaving freedom to innovate in method and approach -- and implicitly rewarding those breakthroughs in performance which can only be secured through innovation. To be sure, some standards and some procedures inhibit. But others can protect and encourage creativity. So the debate is not rightly framed as one for or against standards -- but rather as a debate between different kinds of standards.

Third, there appear to be almost natural laws of bureaucratic growth which seem to work inexorably to make the gains from lawlessness increasingly marginal and the costs increasingly prohibitive.

The initial legislative license expires. Excuses for mistakes based upon just getting under way become less and less accept-

able politically. The consequences of one's actions become more and more apparent and one is increasingly called upon to defend the past in order merely to survive -- let alone to secure more discretionary power. The need to proceed in a somewhat orderly fashion grows -- and it becomes more and more difficult to do something controversial innovative or risky without being seen, stopped, questioned and subjected to an ever increasing number of safeguards and review procedures.

Within the agency, free wheeling administrators find themselves more and more boxed in, possessed of less power, facing more frustration and more obstacles. A bureaucratic dialectic operates to eliminate the innovator, or to fence him in. Over time, discussion and exploration polarize into debate. Positions become frozen and incapsulated in different organizational units which have different perspectives and positions. Most frequently the alignment takes the form of a cold war between "policy oriented" and "management oriented" officials often reflected in a split between staff and line.

While perspectives are difficult to characterize, the management minded person seems more concerned with closing the gap between need and resources, between supply and demand -- by some orderly process which constricts and makes manageable the dimensions of the problem. The policy oriented persons seem more concerned with retaining fidelity to the original need even though this usually increases the gap between resources and need and stimulates demand and dissatisfaction with existing programs. By a natural process of attrition, turnover and frustration, some of the policy oriented

innovators leave or are forced out. This carries with it special consequences, for they take with them the source of their power, which is highly personal, individual and based on contacts, networks, special sensitivities and savy. The same loss is not true of management oriented officials. Their successors inherit their power to a far greater extent because it inheres in the function rather than in the individual. The management oriented official is relatively fungible; the policy oriented official is not. With each departure, the relative strength of policy oriented innovators diminishes; the frustration increases, driving out still more innovators. Turnover accelerates and the shift in style from creative and free wheeling to managerial and bureaucratic inertia increases geometrically. As a purely practical matter, the capacity of lawlessness to effect good diminishes rapidly.

Fourth, administrators appear, fundamentally, to distrust the political system and the democratic process. And so they subvert it by ambiguity and silence, by preserving immunity from scrutiny, by a refusal to articulate what they are doing and seeking to do -- except in a matter which is calculated to reflect creditably and secure more funds.

This desire to avoid scrutiny and possible criticism is in part the product of considerations of administrative convenience. It is a nuisance and a burden to initiate and sustain an informed national dialogue. But it is also the product of a desire to conceal program deficiences which stem from inadequate resources out of fear that Congress will retaliate for this implicit criticism of its appropriations.

Whatever the causes, administrators act as if they find democracy distasteful -- if not downright dangerous. That distrust is likely to be self-confirming. For where there is no candor no disclosure, no scrutiny, no articulation of choices, the response of the political system will not necessarily merit commendation.

It is a vicious cycle -- which can only be broken by increased specificity about goals, procedures, criteria, policies chosen and alternatives rejected. We believe such candor and explicitness is necessary to call forth the necessary national commitment of resources, to insure that program objectives are realized and to preserve democracy itself.

At present, statutes do not contain the kind of specificity necessary for judicial -- or political -- scrutiny of agency performance. To the extent that such articulation takes place, it is done through the promulgation of agency regulations which, ironically, until recently have been viewed as the private possession of administrators to be jealously guarded. Those regulations are typically silent at critical junctures, unreadable and unmanageable. Nonetheless, the nearest thing we have to full disclosure is to be found in agency rules, circulars, memoranda and policy statements. And thus, the law governing the effect of such documents is of considerable importance.

Regulations promulgated under a Statute

Agencies customarily have power to establish policies, standards, criteria and procedures and to promulgate regulations as seems appropriate to the implementation of their statutory mandate. Once an administrative agency makes a rule, it is bound by that rule and

obliged to follow it.

The agency is not free to disregard those regulations, even though they have not been published in the Federal Register. The regulations are binding even though they are far more generous than that which the agency was required to provide.

Thus an agency once having acted to promulgate procedures can no longer act as if it had unfettered discretionary powers. The language of the court in Cappador v. Celebrezze is particularly apposite:

> And once appropriate rules have been established, the discretion conferred in day to day administration cannot have been assumed to extend to unreasonable deviation from such rules on an ad hoc basis at the whim of the Administration.

A court will require a showing that one has been hurt or adversely affected by the agency's failure to follow regulations. In the CDGM case and in other situations with which we are familiar the most useful regulations have been those governing funding priorities, re-funding procedures, contract dispute procedures, sign-off procedures, inter-agency delegation agreements and coordination procedures.

Usually one can find an agency regulation or procedure which has not been enforced and which, had it been enforced, might plausibly have provided some protection or averted the alleged injury. The press of business, the pattern of agency staffing, the inter- and intra-agency power struggles all make it difficult to follow all regulations with any degree of consistency. A regulation might more aptly be described as a cross between an ex post facto justification for a past action and a bulletin from the bureaucratic battle

front indicating who had prevailed on a given issue and who had secured more administrative terrain for himself. Only occasionally are regulations descriptions of actual agency practice.

Consequently, the threat of compelling an agency to follow its own procedures, to conform to its own policies is formidable. Agencies can ill afford to expend on a continuous basis the staff time, the facilities, the delay, or even the candor which their own regulations often require. Just a remand by a court ordering an agency to observe its own policies may be an adequate substantive remedy because of the nature of the strain imposed by such an order.

It is natural therefore, that agencies are often derelict in promulgating regulations -- and once having promulgated them are particularly secretive about them. While such regulations are theoretically in the public domain, in fact such regulations have in the past not been made available even on request -- except to specially favored, or feared, parties.

That has all been altered by the new Freedom of Information Act, which makes it possible to gain access to rules and regulation and even makes it possible, in certain circumstances, to compel their promulgation.

This Act was not in effect when the CDGM controversy arose, and thus CDGM was in a far weaker position to compel the articulatic of uniformly applicable standards of conduct and enforcement and to obtain access to OEO's own reports, documents which formed the basis for the official decision. It was reliably reported that OEO had in its possession copies of a General Accounting Office report which

substantially exonerated CDGM of all charges of mismanagement of funds and poor accounting procedures. Similarly, allegations of political pressure underlying the decisions could not be corroborate directly although the existence of correspondence substantiating this charge was reported by reliable sources.

Discovery procedures, in the course of litigation, might ultimately have secured access to those documents. But because the threat of litigation is most potent when unused, most grantees of the federal government would be understandably loathe to institute suit purely in order to obtain the correlative discovery rights.

With the new Freedom of Information Act, that pitfall is now eliminated. It is possible to sever one's demands for information and for promulgation of rules and regulations from one's litigation on the ultimate issue. The Act, the new section 3 of the Administrative Procedure Act, creates a right to judicial review of any refusal by an agency to supply certain kinds of information. One does not have to be a party aggrieved or interested in order to secure such redress because Congress was specifically concerned with the narrow construction that had been given those concepts under prior legislation. This Act, the work of ten years, promise to be one of the most potent legal tools available for scrutinizing and challenging the conduct of federal officials. Briefly the new Freedom of Information Act requires every federal agency to

(1) publish certain information in the Federal Register;

(2) make available much other information in a convenient place where any citizen can read and copy;

(3) provide other information upon request;

(4) prove the need and authority for withholding any other government records.

Experience with the old section 3 had educated Congress as to how readily agencies disregard statutory mandates to disclose information and even to disseminate regulations. In consequence, the new Act provides two means of compelling compliance with the Act:

(a) A refusal to provide information is subject to judicial review, takes precedence on the docket and is given expedited treatment. The agency is not entitled to any presumption that its determination to withhold information is legally correct.

(b) A person cannot be adversely affected by a rule of which he does not have proper notice nor can any opinion, memorandum, policy or instruction to staff be used against one if it was not made properly available.

There are to be sure nine classes of information which are excepted from the Act -- and these are worded so ambiguously that they may turn out to undo all that the Act sets out to accomplish.

However, the Attorney General has intimated that he expects federal agencies to respect the spirit as well as the letter of the law -- and since it will fall upon the Justice Department to defend agencies which refuse information, the Attorney General is in a powerful position to insure that the presumption in favor of disclosure and liberal interpretation is honored.

Two factors, other than litigation and court decisions, will ultimately determine the import of this Act. First, Congress must monitor implementation of this Act carefully; there are already

clear signs that at least certain Congressmen and Senators are prepared to do so.

Second, and possibly more important, compliance will rest upon the extent to which the Act is used by the general public, by the press and media, by grantees and citizens groups. While the Act in theory gives the same standing to all citizens to demand information, the equity of the demand will doubtless have a direct impact upon response. Much will also depend upon the particular words used in asking for information.

The new section 3 creates an enforceable right to disclosure and to articulation of the basis for an administrative decision which seems revolutionary -- only because of the inexplicable and inscrutable modus operandi now prevalent throughout the federal agencies.

The mode of decision-making to which CDGM was subject is typical rather than an exception. CDGM received notice of the decision months after it had been made and actions taken to insure that it could not be reversed. It was given no notice of the charges, no bill of particulars, no chance to be heard, no access to the information used against it, no chance to respond to charges, no opportunity to remedy defects, and was subject to a penalty substantially harsher than that applied in cases where similar charges had been actually proven against other grantees. Other federal grant and loan programs administered by HEW, Labor and Agriculture proceed in the following order: verdict first, rationale later and evidence (if at all) last.

The nature of the review and the relief available under such circumstances is governed in the first instance by agency regulations. Despite recent erosions of a substantial nature, the doctrine of exhaustion of administrative remedies still prevails. Some of the more unfortunate consequences of that doctrine will be eliminated by the Freedom of Information Act which at least enables one to know just what remedies there are which one must exhaust. Equally important, however, are the minimal standards to which agency procedure must conform.

An agency is not free to provide an over complicated, inadequate, or unduly burdensome mode of review.

The Administrative Procedure Act.

Judicial review may thus be available if agency procedures do not conform with the requirements which the Administrative Procedure Act levies upon federal agencies.

In order to invoke these procedural requirements, one must show that a legally protected interest has been injured by agency procedure. The APA does not create such an interest by itself. The right to judicial review is posited on the prior existence of a legal right which has somehow been violated or adversely affected. Section 10(a) of the Administrative Procedure Act explicitly provides judicial review only for persons

> "suffering legal wrong because of any ageny action or adversely affected or aggrieved by such action within the meaning of any relevant statute..." [Emphasis added]

From one point of view, the APA only provides protection for a right -- which presumably would have been protected anyway by

either common law or by the Fifth Amendment.

The Administrative Procedure Act does, however, enunicate a clear right to judicial review where procedural safeguards, embodied in the APA, are not provided by the government agency. Thus, for instance, failure to provide adequate notice, failure to hold a hearing, failure to provide an adequate and rational basis for the decision amount to violations of the Administrative Procedure Act. And thus, the APA conferred on CDGM standing to assert the absence of proper procedure -- even though it did not create a substantive right to a grant.

The case law under the Administrative Procedure Act makes it clear that standing to challenge violation of the APA is inherent in the statutory scheme, since judicial review is the enforcement mechanism of the statute.

> It would be a disservice to our form of government and to the administrative process itself if the courts should fail, so far as the terms of the statute warrant, to give effect to its remedial purposes where the evils aimed at appear.

In this case, it would not have been sufficient for CDGM merely to allege that it had been beaten out by another competitor and consequently suffered financial injury. It would have to show injury beyond that arising out of competition per se -- and going t other elements of injury flowing directly from the improper procedures of the agency.

Not only would CDGM have standing as an unincorporated association to challenge OEO's procedure. but other beneficiaries including private individuals -- parents and children -- would have

standing to obtain judicial review for failure to follow the procedural safeguards embodied in the APA.

The Administrative Procedure Act can be used to force an agency to promulgate regulations setting forth the substantive standards and the procedures it will use in reconsidering a decision it has already made. As the Court stated in Gonzales v. Freeman:

> Neither appellants nor others similarly situated can turn to any official source for guidance as to what acts will precipitate a complaint of misconduct, how charges will be met or refuted, and what consequences will flow from misconduct if found... Such disbarment cannot be left to administrative improvisation on a case-by-case basis. The Government power must be exercised in accordance with accepted basic norms.

Section 6 of the APA establishes certain minimal requirements of due process which would have to be incorporated in such proceedings -- including the right of all parties and interested persons to be heard in agency proceedings, and the requirement that all proceedings be conducted with reasonable dispatch and with prompt notice given of decisions.

The Administrative Procedure Act is most useful when treated as an enumeration of the elements of due process which should be afforded by an agency. Thus, a claim under the Administrative Procedure Act is almost certain to be coupled with a Fifth Amendment due process claim. Assuming one can cross the threshold question of a legally protected right to life, liberty or property, the courts are likely to rely upon invoking the Administrative Procedure Act to give an expansive enumeration of the minimal requirements of due process that must be accorded by administrative agencies.

Deprivation of Due Process

The gravamen of CDGM's dispute with OEO involved the claim of deprivation of Due Process. While the exact nature of the procedures which a grantee might secure is likely to depend upon the court's application of the Administrative Procedure Act, the underlying issue -- whether there has been a deprivation of Due Process - is a constitutional issue raising at least two questions:

First: what is the nature of the property interest which a grantee of the federal government such as CDGM might claim was taken without due process?

Second: is the underlying purpose of the Due Process Clause to protect the specific interests of individuals or to operate independently as restraint upon the operations and conduct of government?

The Property Interest of Grantees.

The most useful analysis of this question is to be found in the case of Gonzales v. Freeman, 334 F.2d 570. In Gonzales, the defendants were debarred by the Secretary of Agriculture from doing business with the Commodity Credit Corporation without any kind of hearing under any formalized procedure.

The court started off by acknowledging that no one has a righ as such to do business with the federal government -- but found that fact not to be dispositive of the issue before it. They rejected the right-privilege dichotemy as sterile and instead asked: was Gonzales deprived of a "substantial interest" -- for if he was, then even in the absence of a right, he was entitled to the protection of

the Administrative Procedure Act and the Fifth Amendment.

The court found that Gonzales did have a "substantial interest" but that term is obviously not self-defining. Instead, it too is a conclusory word -- the product of a balancing process in which the values of unfettered discretion and administrative convenience are weighed against the types of hardship suffered by the complaining party.

The court emphasized that

> The interuption of an existing relationship between the government and a contractor places the latter in a different posture from one initially seeking contracts and can carry with it grave economic consequences.

Grave economic consequences, in themselves, do not constitute a "substantial interest" and the court enumerated the kinds of factors which it balanced against administrative discretion in arriving at a finding that a legally (and constitutionally) substantial interest had been infringed without due process. Those factors were:

-- the size and prominence of the contractor;

-- the ratio of his government business to non-government business;

-- the length of his contractual relationship with government;

-- his dependence on that business;

-- his ability to secure other business as a substitute for government business.

Other cases have recognized other factors which might be considered as giving rise to a substantial interest or "property" within the meaning of the Fifth Amendment. Those cases might be classified under the following types of interests:

(a) eligibility for continuing contractual relations or franchises.

(b) right to perform certain acts and engage in certain occupations.

(c) impairment of substantial property investment in special equipment.

(d) impairment of ongoing business or professional practice.

(e) impairment of present status as government employee or student.

(f) impairment of good name or reputation.

(Hearing and attendant processes seem clearly the sole remedies for official defamatory statements because courts have long accorded high executive government officials absolute privileges from defamation suit.) All these lines of case law were, to one degree or another, in point to CDGM. And they are likely to be in point with respect to other grantees.

Thus, for instance, CDGM had made a considerable investment in highly specialized equipment (including the building of five community centers, re-modelling or making addition to nearly every other center, building or re-finishing playground equipment, tables, benches, shelves, toys, wading pools.) The federal requirement of contributions in kind is likely to produce a substantial investment which, though it does not give the grantee the automatic right to continue in business at least gives him a sufficient investment to entitle him to due process before its value is destroyed by federal fiat.

In addition, CDGM's status was similar to that of the holder of a franchise. The federal government is loathe to run or license duplicative and competitive poverty programs in the same communities and, in consequence, competing applicants stand in a position similar

to that of airlines, radio stations and other holders of government franchises. Similarly, the uniqueness of federal programs, the nature of the special qualifications required and the lack of utility of those qualifications for other activities puts the federal grantee in a situation similar to that of the licensed professional who is prevented from engaging in a business or occupation.

Furthermore, a strong case can be made (based on the nature of the relationship, the original understanding, the customary practice of agencies and even official memoranda regarding re-funding procedures) that past efforts have been made in reliance upon an understanding of continued re-funding. While re-funding is always understood as conditioned by the availability of funds and satisfactory past performance, it is also equally assumed that barring such contingencies, there will be re-funding at past levels or even at significantly higher levels. Efforts, expenditures and investment in reliance upon such expectations (which usually are tacitly if not explicitly encouraged) strengthen the proposition that grantees of federal programs possess a "substantial interest" which cannot be destroyed by government action without certain clearly established procedures.

The expansion of this concept of property will have one clear result. It will put existing grantees in a favored position legally over new applicants. This is useful when one is trying to protect the life of a "good" program. But such doctrine cuts two ways -- affording equal protection to mediocre and poor programs controlled by groups interested in maintaining the status quo.

Such is now the case, for instance, with an organization called The Friends of the Children of Mississippi -- which is seekin to secure federal funding to operate in five counties where another organization, Mississippi Action for Progress now has an exclusive franchise. For a year, FCM has maintained centers which have functioned largely on volunteer efforts with subsistence financing from the Field Foundation. Now in seeking Government funding, it faces two choices: absorption by merger with MAP, subcontracting with MAP, independent funding directly from OEO or substitution of its program for that of MAP. This story can be repeated nation-wide where new grass roots organizations have sought anti-poverty funds only to find that the existing community action agency has established a monopoly grip. We see no adequate justification for preventing competing programs from functioning in the same geographi area -- and, in fact, this has been OEO's stated, if not its actual policy.

Nonetheless, so long as OEO proceeds, despite congressional urging, to treat grants as exclusive franchises to operate in an are then the courts' decisions in United Church of Christ v. FTC and Sanders v. FTC appear directly in point. It is in no way inconsis-tent with the above summarized concepts of property to require that the renewal of a grant to MAP or to a community action agency be viewed as the renewal of a franchise with a full determination of th desirability of so doing, based upon a review of past performance with opportunity guaranteed to rival groups to come in and challenge the grantees' fitness, to prove that it is not in the public interes to renew the grant. The agency, under such a procedure, would be

required to articulate both the criteria applied and the findings made in order to demonstrate it was in the public's interest (as contemplated by the Economic Opportunity Act) to renew the grant. And this determination would be reviewable by a court to ascertain whether due consideration had been given to all the considerations mentioned, whether the points of view of competitors and of the consumer or intended beneficiary had been given adequate hearing and consideration. This does not defeat the concept of "substantial interest" of present grantees. It does imply that concepts of property must be placed in the larger context of due process -- and the meaning of due process explored more fully.

The law -- both decisional and statutory -- appears to be moving away from a simplistic view of due process as simply conferring an immunity to certain kinds of governmental action upon specific "property interests" and moving towards a concept of due process conceived as an operative internal limitation on government itself. The difference between limitation on power and the conferring of immunity is not as metaphysical as a Hohfeldian analysis might imply. The difference shows up

-- in concepts of property

-- in case law on standing

-- in definitions of benefits and gratuities

-- in an expansion of the means available to hold government accountable in the exercise of its powers.

The expansion (some would call it erosion) of the property concept is only one manifestation of the expanded use of due process as a limitation on actions of government which harm any one in any way.

A second movement toward the use of due process as a limitation on government comes in the developing case law on standing. Standing is no longer determined by seeing, first, who has a property interest that has been injured. Rather, the court says: if there is an area of governmental activity which must be kept under surveillance, we will recognize standing in those groups or parties which are likely to be motivated to assist in providing that surveillance. In Sanders a competing media was used as a policing mechanism. Producers with a profit motive would, it was perceived, have a stake in insuring that the "public interest" was protected. In United Church of Christ v. FCC, it was perceived that consumers -- the listening audience -- as well as producers would be motivated to police governmental decision-making processes. Standing then becomes a way, not of recognizing injury, but rather of looking for ways to convert due process into an effective means of holding the processes of government to certain fundamental norms.

Third, and closely related to the concept of property, is the changing nature of notions of gratuity and benefit. The case law increasingly recognizes that gratuities and benefits, acts of largesse cannot be withdrawn at will and whimsy -- and thus, in a variet of contexts, has stated that the recipients of largesse and privileges may not have a constitutional right to that largesse-- but nonetheless government is not free to withdraw the enjoyment of those privileges willy nilly. Moreover, the nature of gratuities appears to be changing such that one may have a constitutional right to schooling, police protection and other services "bestowed" by government -- at least where such services are needed to remedy an unconstitutionally wrought injury or handicap.

## II.

## BEYOND RULES OF LAW

The preceding section has attempted to review and assess the doctrinal resources of the law -- both court decisions and statutes -- for making a successful assault on the citadel of the new sovereign immunity. They present in their entirety a formidable source of authority for subjecting official decisions to scrutiny and for increasing the accountability of officials exercising discretionary powers. The CDGM controversy -- while it gave rise to the research summarized in the foregoing section -- also provided the context for assessing the limitations of those rules.

First, it is reasonably clear that litigation alone would not have sufficed to reverse the decision.

Second, the effort involved in preparing for litigation by itself was so time-consuming and expensive as to preclude its use by the vast numbers of grantees whose injuries do not arouse the same kind of indignation, where the stakes involved are not nearly so large, dramatic or symbolic, where the injury suffered is death by attrition rather than by execution, and where the equities involved are far less one-sided.

Third, much of the factual basis for the legal case stemmed directly from the covert assistance of sympathetic OEO officials combined with a distinctive blend of candor and lack of sophistication. Had these officials been more circumspect, more shrewdly Machiavellian, more dishonest or insensitive, they would have moved in a much more polished way to give CDGM the semblance of due process and thereby would have gravely undermined both CDGM's legal and

moral case. From this two lessons could be drawn. First, one cannot approach the government purely as an adversary; a variety of relationships must be cultivated which start from the premise that officials genuinely want to do their duty and are even grateful for external pressure being brought which will provide them with the occasion and the pretext for doing what they wanted to do all along. Second, silence and bureaucratic sophistication can be lethal. And techniques, extending well beyond formal discovery, must be devised to supply the kind of information which is indispensable to securing any kind of redress or framing any kind of demand for relief.

Fourth, an attack upon sovereign immunity which is dependent entirely upon complaints is likely to miss many of the most fundamental issues. Complaints tend to be only about the things we know about and only about situations which we feel entitled, as a matter of right and equity, to complain about. Thus, for instance, OEO is an agency which has received disproportionate criticism in large par because it has held itself out as responsive to criticism, as being willing to listen. The same cannot be said of many agencies and departments which administer major programs which supposedly are for the benefit of the poor. Their very unresponsiveness immunizes the from criticism. Their lack of accountability insulates them from effective surveillance. The CDGM case may be said to illustrate the sad proposition that we fight most with our friends; our enemies we leave alone. We must recognize that the distribution of complaints against federal agencies may be in inverse proportion to where the real problems are.

Fifth, the relationship between federal grantees and federal agencies is such that victory and vindication can be Pyrrhic if it destroys the underlying relationship of faith and confidence. Harassment and retaliation by the agency are always possible. An agency determined on gradually eroding the strength and legal rights of a grantee can usually prevail. And litigation often has the effect of abrogating irrevocably the relationship it seeks to preserve. Officials dealing in the field of social welfare are not accustomed to being sued; they take it personally as a reflection on their integrity and their good intentions. And it will take a good bit of experience before poverty officials respond to litigation or the threat of litigation with the objectivity and professional detachment of their counterparts in the regulatory agencies which are sued with great regularity.

Sixth, often programs go awry, not because of a particular decision of an agency but because of rules and policies and patterns of conduct which are not essentially "adjudicative" in nature as was the CDGM case. The rule-making, policy-making functions of government, the administrative and organizational decisions regarding staf monitoring, enforcement and delegation are treated by law as "legislative" decisions not subject to judicial review in even the limited way that adjudicative decisions are. To get at the substance of decision-making in government, one must proceed beyond specific decisions governing specific individuals or groups and go to underlyin causes embedded in rules and patterns of administration that are easily overlooked as part of the eternal scheme of things. One always has the impression: this is how things always have been done

and always will be done under a given act. Officials mask the range of alternatives available to them -- and even tend to believe that they have no choice but the course taken. Much of the lack of effectiveness of government programs, much of the impersonal inequities and injuries that programs work result from rules and policies that need never have been made but which are never challenged because it never occurs to anyone that they represent a choice among alternatives, a choice which could be revised by a simple act of discretion.

Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the facts which underly the recent Supreme Court decision in Thorpe v. Housing Authority of Durham. It is just such invisible choices which have converted a national program to provide "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every Ameriman family" into public housing as we know it today -- a program which conjures up an image of massive vertical ghettoes devoid of any sense of community -- bleak, over-crowded, pervaded by an atmosphere of despair and insecurity.

The Thorpe case involved the eviction of a woman who had organized a tenant's council in her housing project. Mrs. Thorpe maintained that she had a constitutional right to a hearing that would have accorded her all the aspects of due process (including notice of the charges against her, confrontation of witnesses, opportunity to introduce evidence on her own behalf.) The Supreme Court avoided a decision on Mrs. Thorpe's constitutional rights because of a circular promulgated by the Federal Housing Assistance Administration (HAA) stating that

> "since this is a federally assisted program, we believe it is essential that no tenant be given notice to vacate without being told by the local authority, in a private conference or other appropriate manner, the reasons for eviction, and given an opportunity to make such reply or explanation as he may wish."

The case was remanded to the lower courts for disposition in the light of this circular.

Ironically, no one, including the author of the circular, knows whether it is binding or is prepared to say whether it could be made binding if the HAA chose to make it so.

This case raises far broader issues than those before the court. These issues arise because responsibility for administration of public housing is split between the federal agency and the local agency. On the one hand the statute says that:

> "it is the policy of the United States to vest in the local public housing agencies the maximum amount of responsibility in the administration of low-rent housing program including responsibility for the establishment of rents and eligibility requirements."

On the other hand, it makes such locally established standards:

> "subject to the approval of the [federal] authority, with due consideration to accomplishing the objectives of this Act while effecting economies."

It would appear, in short, that the local authorities have the initiative -- but that HAA monitors those local policies to secure conformity with national goals. It can seek to assure implementation in a variety of ways:

(1) by including certain requirements in the Annual Contributions Contract, the contract between the federal

government and the local agency. This contract contains extensive terms and conditions. Violations of these conditions can result in loss of "owernship" of the project.

(2) by exercising its statutory power to promulgate rules and regulations (contained in the "Low Rent Management Manual." These requirements are binding and are "the minimum consistent with fulfilling federal responsibilities under the United States Housing Act." They are als apparently incorporated by reference as part of the Annual Contributions Contract.

(3) by promulgating advisory statements of policy and recommendations which are contained in the Local Housing Authority Management Handbook.

(4) by promulgating Circulars and Bulletins which may or may not be mandatory depending upon their nature and upon the designation given them by the HAA.

(5) by exercising a separate statutory power to require local authorities to keep records. (Thus the circular in the Thorpe case stated that the local public housing authorities should offer a conference before eviction and required the local authority to keep records on all evictions including the reason for eviction, the date of the conference, etc. Even if the directive to provide pre-eviction conferences was only advisory and exhortatory the requirement to keep records on the extent of compliance with this exhortation was clearly obligatory.)

(6) by direct personal intervention even where no statutory power exists. (In at least one case, after the Regional Office of the Housing Assistance Administration stepped in, the local authority rescinded its policy against admitting unwed mothers.)

Notwithstanding the extraordinary leverage which it has over local housing authorities, the federal agency, HAA and its predecessor have:

(1) denied power and authority to shape or control the way in which public housing projects are administered;

(2) countenanced or ignored blatant disregard of constitutional rights of privacy, association, due process and equal protection on the part of local authorities;

(3) utilized its rule-making and exhortatory powers to make the lot of tenants more oppressive and more readily

subject to arbitrary, discriminatory and abusive treatment.

(4) responded only grudgingly and partially to pressures from tenants groups and court decisions to influence local authorities to alter their practices;

(5) declined to monitor the relationship between local policies and federal goals and declined to intervene affirmatively to remedy manifest subversions of congressional intent.

It is clear, then, that we are confronted with a program where there is ample discretionary authority -- both exhortatory and mandatory -- but where there has been almost total failure to use it

We deal here in an area where test cases and the usual approaches of reform by judicial intervention are particularly inadequate for a variety of reasons:

1. The retaliatory power of the local housing authority is virtually total.

2. Individual test cases raising critical issues of law can be -- and regularly are -- mooted because the local housing authority gives in rather than risk an adverse court decision -- and then persists in the same practice.

3. Where issues have received treatment by the courts, local authorities feel free to ignore them.

4. Tenants associations which have the potential for effecting reform on the local level are nipped in the bud by evicting leaders and organizers.

5. Local housing authorities maintain that their violation of a federal policy or regulation is a matter strictly between them and the federal agencies and take the position that since tenants are not parties to the contract between the federal government and the local authorities, they cannot benefit from invoking conditions in that contract.

This is not to say that law suits will not establish major changes in federal housing policy. The circular in Thorpe was clearly a response to the pressure of potential and pending litigation:

> "Within the past year increasing dissatisfaction has been expressed with eviction practices in public low-rent housing projects. During that period a number of suits have been filed throughout the United States generally challenging the right of a Local Authority to evict a tenant without advising him of the reasons for such eviction."

Nonetheless, considerable latitude for creative federal supervision and affirmative action is clearly present -- the absence of such initiative is most noticeable where the constitutional rights of tenants are involved and where prevailing local practices have demonstrably failed to achieve the purposes set forth in federal legislation.

Ironically, within the HAA, one finds:

(1) a prevailing belief that HAA lacks legal authority to do much that it can clearly do;

(2) an intense desire to effect necessary reforms;

(3) a somewhat furtive hope that external pressure from somewhere will emerge to provide the agency with a plausible pretext for doing what it wants to do and has the legal authority to do;

(4) a tendency in the General Counsel's office to interpret the powers of the HAA in the most restrictive fashion or, alternatively, to discourage innovation by saying that the law is ambiguous as to how far the agency may go in instituting, encouraging or requiring reform. The absence of clear and explicit authority for action is then used to undermine and restrict the general and broad grants of power expressly conferred on the agency;

(5) a cadre of dedicated officials uniquely possessed of the expertise, experience and inside knowledge of the kinds of changes needed to overhaul the public housing program;

(6) insecurity over exercising initiative and anxiety over the possibility of being accused of trying to reform the abuses of local authorities.

Significant improvement in public housing programs will require two kinds of change in federal rules and practices.

First, specific policies and rules will have to change. These could be incorporated in The Low Rent Management Manual or in the Annual Contributions Contract.

Second, and perhaps more fundamentally, the Housing Assistance Administration must begin to make provision for effective enforcement of all rules and all terms of its contracts. This may seem elementary -- but presently, the only means of enforcement is actually taking over the possession and ownership of a local project This is manifestly too drastic; so far as can be ascertained, this sanction has never been imposed -- so that for all intents and purposes, there is no means of enforcement.

Creation of effective means of insuring compliance with federal rules and policies would involve:

-- the creation of an inspection and enforcement unit within the HAA to investigate reports of non-compliance and to recommend action;

-- the development of a range of intermediate, milder sanctions for minor breaches of the contract including fines, contempt proceedings and provision for dismissal of local offices for cause;

-- the vesting of legal power in individual tenants to enforce rules, policies and contractual conditions by explicitly providing that they can rely upon such rules and policies either as a defense in an eviction proceeding or affirmatively in a suit to compel an official to discharge his duty;

-- the affirmative promotion of tenants' associations as a means of insuring effective protection of tenants' rights and enforcement of HAA policies;

-- the provision by regulation of a role for tenants' organizations in the management, administration and policy-making of local housing authorities;

-- the provision of free legal assistance to tenants faced with eviction or seeking to compel compliance by local officials with HAA policies.

Such changes might be made by legislation, but it is exceedingly difficult to generate congressional action to deal with matters which Congress wisely left to the discretion of administrators. It is precisely this kind of interstitial law-making function which lies beyond the conventional political process. Means must be devised to democratize that process, to make it subject to scrutiny and discussion and to render it less inscrutable, unfathomable and unreviewable.

We are dealing thus with an area where entirely different modes of intervention must be developed if such discretionary decisions of officials are to be scrutinized and their actions rendered accountable.

Long before the legal process is triggered in its traditional way by resort to the courts, administrative remedies must be exhausted -- but to be exhausted they must be created. Because at present there are no administrative remedies to exhaust, intervention in the discretionary decision-making processes of officials requires the creation, from scratch, of administrative sources of redress.

The instruments and institutions which presently exist to provide administrative remedies date back to the 30's and to a concern with the exercise of regulatory power by officials. They are not directly applicable -- nor does their counterpart exist with respect to the grant-making and policy formulating activities which characterize government today. The methods of control presently available were designed primarily to ensure that the regulatory powers of the government were exercised fairly and in accordance with the elemental notions of due process. They involve essentially streamlined versions of the judicial process.

Today, however, we deal with the grant-making and benefit dispensing activities of government. The process is essentially judgmental and discretionary. And the methods devised for checking abuses of regulatory power do not suffice because procedural concerns are typically subordinated to considerations of flexibility, effectiveness, efficiency and administrative convenience. If there is to be an insistence on exhaustion of administrative remedies before courts intervene to scrutinize this new class of discretionary decisions, then we will need to design functionally suitable administrative procedures which incorporate the concept of performance standards.

A beginning must be made -- but the beginning must be based upon an acknowledgement of certain propositions which emerge from the preceding discussion.

First, the existing set of rules and statutes are inadequate by themselves. They need to be expanded; and they need to be asserted.

Second, it would not be realistic to approach the problem purely in terms of rules -- even if they were far more adequate and extensive than they presently are. It takes manpower to assert rules, to invoke them -- and thus, we need to think, not only in terms of rules, but in terms of the resources, the manpower and the institutions necessary to invoke them and assert them.

Third, an institution which evokes this set of rules (and tries to evolve new ones) for the purpose of subjecting discretionary acts to scrutiny and administrators to genuine accountability

is not engaged in a purely ministerial task of asserting rights. There appears to be a myth prevalent in some quarters about legal aid agencies, neighborhood law firms: that the lawyers somehow mechanically pull levers called rules and out pop rights. Much more was intended in bringing neighborhood legal services into being -- and much more is intended here than an institution which performs ministerial legal functions. Neighborhood law firms were intended to be the embodiment of a perspective: the perspective of need, or urgency, of grievance and injury as a counterveiling force to the empire building, alliance preserving, long range strategic considerations which preoccupy and paralyze bureaucracies created to serve the poor. That perspective implies a set of priorities, a method of establishing priorities, a set of relationships between the institution and the community to be served which, if ignored, squanders resources irreparably among innumberable "good deeds." Likewise, an institution designed to affect the discretionary acts of officials in giving grants and administering federal programs cannot be simply a litigation factory -- even if it were to deal wholly with case law and statutes. It is itself an independent force -- not merely an "agent."

Fourth, it is clear that an institution designed to bring the democratic perspective (the perspective of the intended beneficiaries of a program, the perspective of the consumer and the citizen) to bear on those discretionary acts presently vested with sovereign immunity must be concerned with more than the creation and assertion of rules. CDGM provides a case where a vast array of tactics were improvised to secure review. The range of tactics ultimately

employed in that controversy ran the gamut from mass demonstrations, mass meetings, pickets, movies, newspaper advertisements, petitions, editorials, to private negotiations, small delegations of distinguished civic leaders, a formal board of inquiry and direct involvement of political figures. These in turn opened up a variety of channels of communication, review and reconsideration both within OEO and throughout the Executive Branch. The process of creating such modes of administrative review and remedy needs to be refined -- and the patterns of administrative relief changed from ad hoc crisis responses to standard procedures and customary modes of official behavio

This has practical consequences -- which we shall explore in Part III. It also has jurisprudential implications that the rule of law is not simply and solely a matter of rules. Rules must be invoke and enforced. They are not self-executing. Further, it suggests tha law is not solely or even centrally an affair of rules but rather con sists in constellations of forums where pressures bearing the imprimatur of legitimiation are brought to bear in predictable ways to make conduct conform to certain norms.

Courts are only one such forum; rules of law are only one such pressure. And if this is so, it means that extension of the rul of law in a democracy -- and the definition of law itself -- cannot b divorced from the whole range of institutions and forums, values, pro cesses, pressures, presuppositions and expectations which determine the permissible limits of conduct.

This entails an explicitly normative jurisprudence -- a democratic jurisprudence. How one defines law depends on why one asks the question: what is law? And so anthropologists, linguists,

sociologists and psychologists might all find different and, for them, valid answers. We ask the question as members of a democratic society and we find that that identity means that we cannot approach the question, "what is law" independent of our notion of man, of man's wishes and of the instrumentalities devised to fulfill those wishes. To those who say, that confuses law and politics, we respond, at what point do we banish man and his institutions from jurisprudence? To those who say: we must define law as independent of the political system for law surely exists in non-democratic socities, we respond by saying that to so define law is <u>not</u> a neutral act but one which fundamentally subverts the possibility of law as it should be in a democracy. The values and institutions, aspirations and axioms we call democracy define the nature of that process. Where the source of legitimation, authority and sovereignty is defined as deriving from the people, law cannot be divorced from the source of legitimation or the institutions conferring legitimation. McCluhan would say: the process defines the product. Yeats put it better:

> O body swayed to music, O brightening glance,
> How can we know the dancer from the dance.
>
> "Among School Children"

Rules and choreography have something in common. And Yeats' question becomes more complicated and more obviously relevant if the dancer must be licensed and accredited, if the stage must be built of marble, and if the dance to speak must speak to an audience from which many are wrongly excluded.

Rules themselves are only symbols, a shorthand symbol for a moment in time seized from the continuous interplay of conflicting forces and values. So, too, the institutions that embody them are vehicles of a perspective and unique products of the interaction of different perspectives. And each institution which applies, or declines to apply, a rule colors that rule -- so we say, with Yeats, rules cannot be divorced from the process of applying them -- and law cannot be divorced from the ordered quest for human dignity that is the democratic enterprise. There then is no neutral jurisprudence for one who wishes to define law in a democracy. Law is the way we have found of structuring possibilities and probablities, the possibilities of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the possibility of dialogue, the possibility of dignity and self-fulfillment.

The definition is admittedly normative -- for a democratic jurisprudence seeks ways to extend the concerns of the polity, the sources of legitimation, directly and effectively into all forums which are presently closed. It does not deny the authoritative, legally binding impact of undemocratic, unresponsive bureaucracies. Nor can it ignore the internal lawlessness of the process. It is thus explicitly normative in that it seeks to extend the pressures, the concerns and the perspectives of the citizenry into those areas of "the sovereign" from which he has been excluded -- and it makes that enterprise expressly an extension of the rule of law as well as of politics.

Thus the following proposal deals with law as much as it

does with enfranchisement in the political sense. For law is a human enterprise. The concept of judicial review itself represents a turn in the object of our appeal from divine wisdom of "the sovereign" to the judgment and scrutiny of the citizenry that is part of what Wallace Stevens called "The Maker's Ra ge to Order." Man is The Maker.

III.

## IMPLEMENTING A DEMOCRATIC JURISPRUDENCE

## A PROPOSAL FOR A CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND COMPLAINT CENTER

We are confronted then with a vast no-man's land at the heart of our legal system -- territory off-limits to the courts and beyond the ken of the traditional political process. This is more than an anomaly -- a no-man's land is the antithesis of democracy itself.

DeToqueville prophetically warned of two chief sources of this state of affairs: a representative system by which men periodically bestir themselves to select their masters and then relapse back into a state of total subservience; and a benevolent bureaucratic state which exercises a legislative function vast in scope and minute in detail.

The remainder of this article sets forth a proposal developed in response to issues raised by the CDGM controversy for the establishment of an institution which would investigate complaints and monitor the discretionary actions of federal officials.

Such an institution, once established, would only be the first step of many needed to span the void that stretches between judicial abstention and political unresponsiveness -- but, hopefully, it would initiate an evolutionary process that would extend the effective functioning both of democracy and of the rule of law into the administrative process.

Over time, we may see emerge a variety of official self-policing mechanisms and the institutionalization of modes of behavior which embody more fully the values of due process,

accountability and responsiveness. But it would appear that we must start by creating an institution external to government and financed with funds from the private sector before any chain reaction produces a new synthesis of governmental structures and procedures.

The simple and seemingly plausible solution would be the creation of a federal Ombudsman -- an office that would be charged with the power to investigate citizens' complaints, to initiate investigations and to compel changes of practices by censure and other means. It is, as yet, by no means clear what kinds of adaptation such an institution would have to undergo to be suited to a federal system of the size and diversity of this nation.

The Founding Fathers viewed the policing function as residing in the first instance (as well as the last) with the people. Arguably, the creation of an Ombudsman would constitute a partial transfer of the policing function from the citizenry to the government in a manner at odds with that tradition. It may well be possible, philosophically, to reconcile governmental exercise of the self-policing function with a tradition that vests the censorial power in the people over the government. But as a practical matter, government hardly seems over-anxious to assume this responsibility.

For three years, there has been on the books a statute creating a federal Ombudsman of sorts -- albeit with limitations. That statute has yet to be utilized, the position filled and the first appropriation requested. The Act is the Administrative Conference Act of 1964, one of the first acts passed under the Johnson Administration. It stems from recommendations of the

Administrative Conference, established through executive order by Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy as the counterpart of the judicial conference to examine the procedure and structure of federal agencies, and make recommendations that would improve the fairness and efficiency of their mode of operation. The center of focus was clearly the regulatory agencies -- and the support for the bill came both from the organized bar and from business which had an obvious interest in creating a body which would police the regulatory agencies.

But the Act is drawn in such broad terms that it clearly has the potential of going considerably beyond the originator's conception. Its jurisdiction is as broad as that of the Administrative Procedure Act. And its mandate is to oversee all aspects of agency procedure, organization or management which:

> may affect the equitable consideration of public and private interests, the fairness of agency decisions, the speed of agency action, and the relationship of operating methods to later judicial review.

John Marhsall would doubtless have found such a grant of jurisdiction adequate, even though it explicitly excludes a consideration of substantive policy. The structure of the conference is unwieldy -- being designed as a small legislature. Significantly it was given explicit authority to investigate specific complaints of private citizens as well as to make general procedural recommendations. This legislative body would be composed of roughly two thirds top government officials and one third private individuals, presumably experts in administrative law and representatives of groups with special interests or expertise in these

areas. It would have no power to compel acceptance of the recommendations and resolutions it enacted -- but the involvement of officials in this para-legislative process would clearly create pressures to respond to recommendations based upon public scrutiny and official debate of their own operations.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion after three years have passed without a Chairman being appointed that this is not the first priority of the executive branch. It is reported that there is less than great enthusiasm over this Act, particularly in the powerful Bureau of the Budget.

The acceptance by government of the self-policing role as an appropriate and integral function is yet to come. Government has a difficult time underwriting the adversary process -- even in the area of legal services where vested rights are involved and where the adversary role of the legal profession is enshrined in law and tradition.

A. Affecting Official Behavior -- Questions of Power, Posture and Methodology.

1. Power

The question of how to affect bureaucracy is usually approached as a matter of raw power. This approach simply inquires: what are the sources of pressure that can be brought to bear upon an official or an agency. The traditional answers include direct political pressure, legal pressure, mass demonstrations, public censure -- but range to more subtle and sophisticated methods.

The CDGM controversy illustrates both the value and the futility of approaching the question of responsiveness and accountability as a pure question of power. The power approach took the form of establishing a national coalition the backbone of which was the various church groups. Picketing, congressional inquiries, newspaper stories, mass meetings, all applied pressure. Escalation of a conflict into the bureaucratic equivalent of nuclear warfare may on occasion be necessary; it is rarely if ever sufficient. The capacity to escalate is more important than the exercise -- just as the power to threaten litigation is often required to avoid litigation.

A direct power confrontation rapidly depletes the available source of power. And those reserves, once used, are not readily replenished. However, the creation of a private complaint center, in itself, would alter the power position because merely by existing it could offer a focal point around which to coordinate effort and funnel communication. Its existence would constitute a statement that the capacity to "go to the mat" is available if necessary. It would accumulate the expertise and sophistication necessary to activate and coordinate appropriate sources of power with a considerable economy of effort, and would have accumulated a network of information, contacts, complaints and incentives that no ad hoc campaign can duplicate.

The balance of power only structures the range of the possible; it does not determine, where, within that realm, the ultimate decision will be reached. The outcome is then likely to depend upon the forum chosen, the techniques used, the alternatives framed

and the style of negotiation adopted.

For the bulk of problems that arise, one can invariably find some source of power -- a friendly congressman, some important civic groups, the threat of litigation, or exposure, the offer of support on other issues, the existence within the agency of heterogeneous groups -- which brings some kind of satisfactory solution (even if not an optimal one) within the range of the possible. The question then becomes how to reach the most desirable, or least undesirable, of the possible alternatives. And this requires a more fine-grained analysis than that typically implied by the word "power."

Posture and Style

Different kinds of problems can be resolved in different ways. Some simply call for information, for the clearing up of a misunderstanding for smoothing over personality differences. Sometimes a seeming conflict simply involves skillful negotiation to arrive at a compromise; sometimes it involves the intervention of a third party to serve as mediator or arbitrator of a dispute.

Top administrators are acutely, if fitfully, concerned over the actions of the vast bureaucracies over which they preside. They know only too well how the letter and spirit of agency policy has a way of being mired and destroyed as it trickles down. One cannot start from an a priori assumption that every complaint calls for hostile confrontation. A "good guy-bad guy" view of the world is neither accurate nor helpful in dealing with officialdom.

One thing is certain, however. The dependent status of grantees sharply inhibits if it does not preclude rational

communication over conflicts and issues of the federal government. The grantee, disgruntled over a particular decision is forced either to beg for grace or, alternatively, to go on an all out offensive, pulling out all the stops and escalating the issue to a political confrontation. Neither is conducive to a rational or equitable outcome. Thus the question of power often becomes a matter of posture: how to structure the terms of communication so that the relationship of dependency does not govern the process of designing a solution.

What then are possible alternatives to the posture of supplication on the one hand and hostile retaliation on the other? There are two processes, or patterns of communication, not now available to grantees of the federal government which might constitute substantial improvements on present modes of communication for resolving disputes. They are mediation and third party representation. A complaint center, simply by inaugurating such processes would significantly increase the range of options available to both officials and grantees. By doing so, it would help change the issue from one of power to one of policy and equity.

Mediation

The mediation process appears particularly appropriate to the grantor-grantee situation. It is no accident that mediation developed in the field of labor relations where one deals not with a contract in the ordinary sense but with a continuing relationship where the parties must learn to live with each other and where individual grievances and difficulties must be dealt with in such

a way as not unnecessarily to damage the underlying employment relationship. Mediation then is tailored to keep things moving rather than to make them grind to a halt while the parties do battle. Thus mediation, properly used, seems most appropriate to the grantee situation where the object is to resolve disputes without jeopardizing the program's objectives or continued funding.

There are a number of aspects of mediation as an approach to dispute resolution which make it a particularly effective mode of handling conflicts and of bringing subtle pressures to bear on officials to evolve a satisfactory solution.

These factors which contribute to producing and shaping agreements which might otherwise not be forthcoming include:

-- eschewing debate over who was to blame in the past and concentrating on a joint quest for a mutually satisfactory understanding governing the future conduct of both parties;

-- appeal to the natural instinct to satisfy a neutral mediator as to one's reasonableness and good faith;

-- a desire to save face where the quid pro quo for a consensual agreement is that the past will be forgotten and forgiven on both sides;

-- an untangling of the issues actually in dispute from those which are irrelevant;

-- a disengagement of the specific dispute from the more fundamental continuing relationship which is to be preserved intact against the threat of escalation of the conflict to embrace the total relationship;

-- the rewarding of concessions as a sign of judgment rather than as a sign of weakness;

-- the increase in objectivity and perspective which comes from the intervention of a stranger to a dispute.

There are many types of mediation. It can be entirely voluntary and consensual, or it can be compulsory and closely akin to arbitration. And officials may protest that handing a matter over to a mediator and sharing confidential information with him would be an improper delegation of their prerogatives and authority. Such justifications for refusal to mediate are not very plausible given rather inexplicable discrepancy between government's willingness to submit contract disputes to arbitration under standard contract dispute clauses and its reluctance to invoke similar procedures where grants are involved. Even so, it is not uncommon to invoke the "good offices" of an official who is higher up in authority and who, if not entirely disinterested, at least does not have the same degree of personal ego involvement as those directly involved in the dispute.

The use of expert panels, the increased use of inter-agency committees and advisory committees composed of private citizens may be precursors of formal mediation panels for disputes between grantees and the federal government. The Complaint Center might itself provide a neutral forum for mediation, but more likely, its role would be to secure the intervention of an official or distinguished citizen as mediator, or formally to propose that both parties utilize mediation as a way of resolving their differences. Thus while the advisory stance of the Complaint Center would not make such a proposal out of order, the parties themselves may hesitate to make such a suggestion, fearing that it involves a loss of face. And a proposal to mediate may be specially attractive when coupled with a second process provided by the Complaint Center: third party

representation.

Third Party Representation

Federal officials often seem invested with the Delphic oracle's aura of mystery, inaccessibility and incomprehensibility. The grantee seeking a change of heart, or simply guidance and information, is usually at a total loss as to how to proceed in this enigmatic world. And, typically, he over-reacts to every suggestion, every gesture and every seeming hint.

At the same time, the official faced with a dispute is caught between the external perception of him as all-powerful and the internal sense of the precariousness and insecurity of his position, his impotence to accomplish much that he desires, and his constant manoeuvering to consolidate his position and secure more power whether for selfish or idealistic reasons. Every dispute, every disagreement, every controversy is perceived as a demand upon him to exercise power he feels he lacks, to risk his own plans and strategies by becoming the grantee's advocate before superiors. He responds to such threatening requests by seeking to make sure that the demand is as safe and reasonable and unobjectionable as possible, by imposing new barriers and requirements of proof as a way of deferring the moment of decision. In so doing, he further reinforces the impression that he has final authority in the matter. Often the official's fears are unfounded -- but that makes them no less formidable as obstacles to resolution of a conflict. The official engages fundamentally in a balancing process -- weighing the demand upon his generosity and the appeal to his principles against the cost of possible disapproval by his immediate superiors.

Disapproval takes subtle forms. One becomes viewed as an "agitator" within the agency rather than a person of balanced mature judgment. One ceases to be trusted with responsibility for fear that one may "take sides". And one becomes labelled as a professional do-gooder who cannot be trusted by the bureaucracy if one's relevant world of approval is that of the people to be served rather than the approval of one's own bureaucratic compatriots. This disapproval takes the form of the fear that one will be viewed as disloyal because one's judgment has been tainted by the "external" influence of principles and passion. And the fear of disapproval, real or imagined, is often more potent than the desire to appear magnanimous, beneficient or even principled in the eyes of the grantee.

This mode of discourse and communication must be fundamentally restructured so that what is at issue is not the beneficience of an official but the integrity and fairness with which programs are being administered. There is a need to inject some degree of reality, or predictability, of clearly defined substantive and procedural standards into this murky situation governed by fear and uncertainty on all sides.

Formalized representation by a third party can go far toward structuring the situation, generating basic ground rules, increasing the pressure to make decisions in accordance with publicly articulated and definable standards. For the official who genuinely desires to act in a principled fashion, the insistence that he do

so by the complaining party provides a source of protection and justification for his actions. The more competently framed and sophisticated the demand, the easier it is to make a principled response.

For the grantee, afraid to precipitate a demand for fear of rupturing a delicate relationship (and incurring displeasure) the interposition of a third person as advocate relieves him of this burden, enables him to escape a sense of anxiety and guilt for insisting on explanations and justifications and makes the world with which he must deal far less frightening, mysterious and unpredictable.

For this reason, the third party representation which a complaint center could provide offers a posture or stance which can fundamentally change an issue from one or largesse to one of conduct in accordance with duty, publicly defined and publicly scrutinized.

Methodology

Depending upon the nature of the complaint or problem and the stage which has been reached, different postures and modes of communication will be effective and appropriate. But underlying the question of posture -- and anterior to it -- is the question of methodology. What does one do? Where does one start? How does one proceed?

Neither posture, nor power, answer these questions. Any issue can be handled in low key or high with an assertion of power or without, in a hostile spirit or an amicable one, by mediation or confrontation.

For this reason, it is essential to delineate a methodology which defines basic procedures before a choice of posture or a decision to invoke certain sources of power can be intelligently reached.

Such a methodology is implicit in the analysis contained in Part I and Part II of this piece. CDGM essentially involved an instance of what traditionally is called the adjudicative function performed by administrative agencies. The analysis of the Thorpe case and its implications for public housing involved a consideration of the rule-making or quasi legislative functions performed by administrative agencies. The following methodology flows from viewing a complaint center as an intervenor in the adjudicative and rule-making functions performed by administrative agencies.

Many of the problems that arise call for the reversal or reconsideration of a decision which is essentially adjudicative in nature. Others arise because of the need to alter a rule or policy (which includes not only substantive policy rules, but "legislation" which sets priorities of an agency, allocates resources and also structures the agency itself).

If the agency action involved is primarily adjudicative, action concerned with the application of policies or rules to a particular party, then the starting point is to seek a clarification of where things stand procedurally and what procedures or channels are afforded either within the agency or without for taking an appeal. Particularly where the substantive demand does not involve a legally vested right, it is easier (and usually sufficient) to demand fairness, openness, consistency and impartiality -- in other

words, to convert a substantive demand into a procedural demand.

Thus the first set of approaches derives from the "judicial" aspects of administrative action. They are procedural in nature:

-- ascertaining what the appeal routes are;

-- holding an agency to its own procedures;

-- forcing the promulgation of procedures by an agency to ensure fairness of adjudication and adequacy of review;

-- forcing articulation of the grounds for a decision (in order to compel consistency with officially promulgated agency policy);

-- establishing procedures whereby adversely affected parties are afforded opportunity to intervene and present their case.

These steps work -- largely because most agencies deviate from their own procedures extensively and because to invoke such procedural safeguards is to require officials to account for their actions and to justify their decisions to a degree which they are often reluctant, unwilling or even unable to do. Consequently to demand an explanation to require that procedures be followed to the nth degree can be an effective way to secure a reconsideration from agencies which are understaffed, overworked and which rely upon cutting procedural corners in order to function at all.

It should be noted that if one goes to the trouble to demand what review procedures are available, it is a common experience to find that one need go no further. The request to know one's "rights" often suffices to produce a settlement through negotiation or mediation. But one may have to assert those rights to secure not merely a resolution but also vindication.

This approach, while useful, has drawbacks. In effect it "judicializes" the administrative process. And the grievance may well be the direct product of over-judicializing decision-making process, of over-complicating procedures, too many layers of review which stultify administrative creativity and diffuse responsibility too thinly. In short, bureaucratic red-tape can be useful but it can also mean that only those parties which have either inside pull or leverage, or exceptional staying power, can beat the bureaucracy on its own terms.

Thus, one may find it necessary or desirable to deal directly with the fundamental defect (substantive or procedural) which gave rise to the problem. If this is what appears needed then it is most useful to view agency's rules, whether procedural or substantive, as "legislation" by the agency.

In effect, this implies the extension of political participation into the rule-making functions of administrative agencies. The real decisions which affect people's lives most significantly are ones which are virtually unaffected by the vote one casts every two or four years. Genuine political participation in the governmental process requires the development of new forms or representation and new means of participation in determining the content of rules, decisions and policies by federal agencies.

If we view agency rules, policies and procedure as laws of legislation then changing those rules calls for new legislation. Effecting a change in policy will then include all the traditional elements of the "legislative process" including pointing out the need for a change, gathering evidence in support of that position,

drafting a proposed rule or policy, generating debate on the proposal, securing adoption of the rule and, finally, securing prompt and full implementation of the rule. These are the varied stages of the rule-making process as it actually occurs in agencies -- albeit not always in a systematic and orderly fashion.

But sometimes a more fundamental change than a rule may be required; in effect, each agency in setting policy is like a legislature with its own composition, its own outlook and structure and perspective. To change agency policy may require a kind of reapportionment of that legislature so that different points of view and different interests prevail. Thus, for instance, one of the direct factors in the Secretary of Agriculture's decision to alter the administration of the Food Stamp Program was the result of a confrontation and accord reached in the Economic Opportunity Council where, in effect, other agencies and departments were given a voice and a "vote" with regard to the actions of a department historically concerned with the producer and not with the consumer.

Whichever route one takes -- new "legislation" or fundamental reapportionment -- methods are required which will enable the public to participate either directly or by proxy in the agency's rule-making or quasi-legislative process.

If we go back to the traditional distinction between adjudication and rule-making in administrative law, it becomes possible then to enumerate two complementary approaches derived from viewing the agency as a "court" on the one hand and a "legislature" on the other.

It is, of course, recognized that the nature of the administrative process is mixed -- both adjudicatory and rule-making in nature. Specific adjudications lay down rules and precedent. Conversely rule-making partakes of adjudication because frequently an agency rule is promulgated in response to a specific case or crisis which requires the formulation of policy. In consequence, many issues will require the utilization of both "judicial" and "legislative" approaches.

But the distinction is nonetheless of importance for two reasons.

First, it provides the basis for a checklist of methods which avoids the necessity of approaching each case from scratch and re-inventing the wheel in determining ways to handle each new complaint. But, second and more fundamentally, the distinction provides a basis for a systematic enumeration of institutional mechanisms and techniques which may produce a new set of institutions and a new body of legal concepts qualitatively different and distinct from the judicial or legislative models from which it derives.

We have attempted to delineate the need for a new institution and to define its purpose and method of operation. Yet no institution established for this or any other purpose can be trusted to remain honest or faithful to its original mission. The age old question must be faced: who shall watch the watchers? Such an institution carries with it no special immunity to the pressures of expedience, survival, funding, respectability and success.

Even were these pressures not present, there would be the difficult issues of priorities and choices. Every federal program could bear scrutiny. And each can doubtless make some special case for exemption from scrutiny -- for the time being.

So too, different complaining parties will each urge that his case is uniquely urgent, uniquely significant, involves special equities and special considerations of friendship or indebtedness. Each choice, each decision by the Complaint Center will raise questions of credibility as to the capacity, the competence or the integrity of the institution.

And, the ramifications of each choice, the pressures and the contending claims -- both meritorious and irrelevant -- can produce a screening and selection process which converts a complaint center into the self-righteous counterpart of those very bureaucracies it purports to police. The poor have surely had enough of that pernicious infinite regress: the struggle to secure help to secure help to secure help....

How then is it possible to insure that such an institution will retain fidelity to its mission, will use its resources with maximum effectiveness, will remain responsive to the changing needs and concerns of those whom it was intended to serve?

This question embodies two perspectives: that of the moment, and that of evolution over time. For the present, we must attempt to articulate standards, criteria and procedures, in the exercise of our best intuition. For the future, we must build in processes, mechanisms, safeguards to insure continuing reassessment, responsiveness and restructuring. And we must consciously set in

motion forces which will have a continuously corrective effect upon the natural tendency toward inertia, rigidity, empire building and unresponsiveness.

The touchstone of performance is to be found in a definition of mission: to extend the rule of law and the democratic process into the grant-making process in order to maximize the contribution which specific programs can make toward the realization of national goals. And, as a matter of preference, accident and greatest need the Center would concern itself only with those governmental activities aimed at, or having the potential of, contributing to the eradication of poverty with all its attendant evils.

Experience demonstrates that a statement of mission -- however lofty -- will not suffice. The poor have been told that the mission of education is to provide opportunity; of welfare, to assure maximum subsistence with dignity; of public housing to assure the security of a shelter for all; of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, to act as steward of an historical trust and sovereign obligation.

Divergence from mission comes at two points: in making individual decisions to take or not to take a particular complaint (or investigate a particular program); in the cumulative effect of individual decisions, each of which may be irreproachable standing alone but, taken together, define a direction, a strategy, a priority or thrust which subverts the original purpose. Consequently, two sets of criteria are required; the first governing specific decisions and actions; the second setting standards against which an overall record can be periodically judged.

Criteria for making individual decisions.

The best one can do -- before one has a body of experience from which to draw -- is to set forth those considerations which would weigh heavily in deciding to take a complaint or initiate investigation into a specific program. There are three classes of considerations which will affect a decision to involve the Complaint Center: the nature of the issues presented (by the complaint or as a result of independent research and investigations the nature of the affected party; and, the nature of the agency or department involved.

The Issues Involved.

The answers to the following questions would weigh heavily in any specific decision to become involved or not:

(a) is the complaint felt to be urgent and of widespread importance by the poor?

(b) does the complaint raise an issue which appears to go to the heart of a program's ineffectiveness or detrimental effects?

(c) will handling this complaint prevent future similar complaints from arising?

(d) will handling this complaint substantially alter patterns of official policy and practice?

(e) is the particular complaint a good "test case" where the issues are well framed and the equities relatively clear?

The Nature of the Complaining Parties.

(a) will failure to handle this complaint result in the destruction or severe harm to an important program, group or organization?

(b) will failure to become involved in this complaint be interpreted by the complaining party (and more broadly) as a form of betrayal or rejection or reluctance to become involved in controversy?

(c) will assistance to a group strengthen its capacity to become self-sustaining, to fend for itself and to demonstrate new modes of cooperative effort to eradicate poverty?

The Nature of the Agency, Department or Program Involved.

(a) is the agency, or program or department one which has escaped scrutiny and which has by unresponsiveness insulated itself from criticism?

(b) are the activities and program of the agency of significance or potential significance in eliminating poverty?

(c) can scrutiny of an agency result in the re-focusing of its energies and the diversion of more of its resources to those in direst need?

(d) can intervention result in a shift in the administrative structure and perspective of a program?

All of these considerations must be considered within the context of available resources. More, however, is involved than simply trying to avoid over-committing one's resources and spreading oneself too thin to be effective

There must be a rough allocation in advance among different types of activities. The pressure of demands to run interference for complainants, to make phone calls, to provide information, to assist in grantsmanship, to find out where things stand with respect to a particular grant, to put in a good word for a program, to expedite an application, can absorb the total energies of an institution. Yet, some such service may be necessary in order to pinpoint critical policy issues. One cannot just "wait around for the big case" because the big case never comes unless one performs certain day to day service functions.

Beyond this service function, a substantial portion of complaints can be handled adequately -- and perhaps even most

appropriately -- by referral -- to a congressman's office, to a government agency, to a local poverty program, or legal service program or similar institution. However, such referrals, to be done conscientiously, require not only the development of a referral system but a monitoring of referrals to make sure that referrals do not simply become a way of passing the buck. Referrals thus can involve a substantial commitment of staff resources, particularly because there must be follow up.

Next there are the problem areas which never come to the surface unless one is prepared to invest resources in research to see how a program is operating, who is benefitting from it and how it should be changed. Complaints are unlikely to be directed at the Justice Department for failure to intervene affirmatively in cases of police brutality, at the Federal Trade Commission for not policing those consumer frauds of which the poor are the most constant victim; at On-The-Job-Training programs for minority groups and persons with few skills, at the Bureau of Indian Affairs for continuing to invest heavily in building residential schools for Indian children while publicly articulating a policy of doing away with residential schools, at the Farmers Home Administration for delegating lending authority to private parties which have consistently discriminated against the poor. No one complains -- because no one appreciates the potential or recognizes the obligation of these programs to engage in substantially different policies and activities. But to conduct the research to locate these kinds of problems requires the diversion of staff and resources away from the service function, away from day to day

provision of crisis assistance into projects which will not alleviate the ever-mounting backlog of complaints.

The allocation of resources amongst these competing needs: information and advice, referral, indepth servicing of complaints, special research projects -- necessarily involve a second set of criteria: those involving overall performance.

Criteria for judging overall performance.

In the final analysis, there are only two judgments that must be made about the composite activities of an institution such as the Complaint Center: did it retain fidelity to its mission? And, was it effective in doing so? This latter question entails not just an assessment of impact but also a more fundamental evaluation of the centrality and significance of the institution's mission.

Fidelity to Mission.

This involves both an affirmative and a negative determination. The affirmative determination starts by asking: was there a demonstrable change in the decision-making processes of government so that, in particular cases and, hopefully, beyond particular cases, an agency began to articulate standards and procedures and policies more fully, abide by those policies and procedures and became more accountable for its actions and its performance to those whom it was intended to benefit?

The negative side involves asking: did the institution just act as a trivial facilitator and expediter? Was it content to win ad hoc battles, to make "deals" and to enter into a

symbiotic relationship with the federal establishment similar to that which often exists between the public defender and the prosecutors office. The Complaint Center's purpose is not plea bargaining and its fidelity to its mission must be assessed not in terms of the compromises made but in terms of the principled nature of actions taken, the agreements secured and the official behavior generated. Concommitantly one must ask whether important issues were avoided. At least as important as the nature of the particular outcome was the way in which it was reached and the extent to which it constitutes not a defeat or a victory for the complainant, but a defeat or a victory for the rule of law and the democratic process.

An easily overlooked but central aspect of fidelity to mission is the nature of the distribution of cases and issues in which the institution becomes involved. For what is called "creaming" in individual service and training programs has a counterpart in the realm of complaints: helping only the most powerful and articulate groups; scrutinizing only familiar and responsive programs, fighting only cliche battles along traditionally drawn lines.

A complaint center will have to be continuously on its guard against inadvertantly developing too narrow a clientele and a fixation for particular agencies and programs. Thus, judging overall performance will surely involve a consideration of the distribution of complaints over various agencies and programs, the composition of persons and groups served -- ethnic, urban or rural, geographical, grass roots or established groups, etc.

A second, and even more difficult assessment to make, is one of effectiveness. A complaint center cannot help but do some good for some people. The need is so great and the resources for securing remedies so scarce. The issue becomes not whether some good is done -- but whether the potential for effectiveness is realized. It is possible to dissipate all one's energies over a myriad of trivial good works, feel virtuous and yet have fundamentally avoided one's responsibility and commitment. Because some return is certain on any investment of effort, the issue becomes whether the complaint center has acted in such a way as to provide the highest possible return on its investment.

Consequently, it will be indispensable for a complaint center to institute a careful book keeping system of the sort which law firms keep in order to bill clients. There must be some way of keeping track of how much time of what kinds of staff doing what kinds of things was expended to secure a given result. Without that basic information, no assessment of effectiveness is possible. In the complaint field, some fundamental cost accounting will be necessary -- to assess performance and even to justify existence. The value of the result achieved (good or bad, success or failure) will doubtless be subject to debate. But if there is to begin to be a rational allocation of resources to achieve certain ends, we must know what the cost in time and dollars is of various kinds of assistance and intervention.

There will undoubtedly be difficulty in arriving at any objective assessment of the nature and value of the return. But we can begin by recognizing that different kinds of returns must be

defined for each of the four classes of effort, and different time periods will be involved.

Thus, for instance, in providing information and advice the experted return will be defined largely in terms of number, caseload, promptness and quality of information and assistance provided; customer satisfaction is probably the most important indication, but credibility to local groups and information gained about local problems and resources are also important.

With respect to referrals, the results may well be defined in terms of customer satisfaction, of increased agency responsiveness and possibly of changes in agency policy.

In-depth servicing of complaints will involve still different returns: the establishment of precedent, changes in agency procedures and priorities, assuring the survival of a significant program or organization are the chief "performance standards."

Research and special investigations of programs are most closely akin to long term investment. Over a period of months, or even years, one may begin to see fundamental changes in program direction, in policies, in staffing patterns, in priorities, in monitoring of performance, in articulation of standards and procedures. But such an investment almost invariably involves sacrificing present satisfaction and quick results for future gains. And therefore the return on the investment must be judged against a different time period than is involved in providing a single piece of information, securing a referral or following through on a complaint.

In attempting to judge effectiveness, two things must be specified with particularity:

The time and effort invested.

The initial expectation as to the nature and immediacy of results desired.

Finally, an assessment of effectiveness involves an inquiry into the underlying worth of the institution itself, an examination of its basic premises and presuppositions -- a testing of its hypothesis that an institution directed at intervening in the decision-making processes of administrative agencies is indeed a distinctively effective way of increasing the accountability of officials, of extending both the rule of law and the democratic process into administrative agencies. And even if it is effective, the question must be faced as to whether resources expended for this purpose would not be better expended to alleviate poverty more directly.

Totally honest self-examination may be an impossibility. It certainly exceeds the capacity and the performance of most. And, consequently, the articulation of criteria, of standards, of objectives, will not suffice. The process by which those criteria are applied will be as critical as the criteria themselves. If a man may not be judge in his own case, then surely, no institution can afford blithely to assume to that a commitment to evaluation is a guarantee of honesty or the implementation of that evaluation.

Who does the evaluating? What are the safeguards to insure honesty? What are the mechanisms to produce full candor and disclosure? And it is here that the democratic process has the greatest direct bearing and offers the least fallible of alter-

natives. The matter cannot be left entirely to professionals -- though expertise and professional judgment have an essential contribution to make. Evaluation must be performed by those who will suffer most from poor performance and will gain most from improved performance. That perspective is that of the consumer, or, more precisely, of two classes of consumer:

(a) Actual consumers, actual customers, groups that have been served and helped -- including those who are dissatisfied;

(b) potential consumers, those who have not been helped, those who are most likely to feel that, regardless of what was done for others, not enough was done for them.

The reaction and assessment of both groups of consumers, past and potential, is essential to honest evaluation. But it is not enough to conduct an honest evaluation unless an evaluation is made, is listened to, heeded and implemented. There must be some way of insuring that evaluation is not a one shot, once a year or every two year process -- but that it is an integral part of the continuous redefinition of direction, priorities, goals and underlying purpose of the institution.

First, there should be formal provision for those who do the evaluating subsequently to become decision-makers so that they can be assured that their concerns are listened to and incorporated. Thus on the board of the Complaint Center, there should be provision for two classes of individuals; those who represent a sample of those actually served by the Complaint Center, who know its failings and strengths at first hand; and, second, representatives of the total range of groups and individuals and interests to which the Complaint Center is avowedly responsive.

Second, there must be provision, within the staff operations for the development of roles, of staff positions so that the consumers can be insiders, can be involved in the internal operations of the institution and affect its activities and judgments directly on a day to day basis.

This does not mean that one is required to follow some constitutional one-man one-vote formula, for the goal here is not proportionate representation in a mathematical sense but representation to insure responsiveness and integrity as a qualitative matter. Yet the strategy of involvement, of participation, can become a covert means of coopting the leadership, of buying off criticism, of silencing those who are dissatisfied.

And consequently it is not enough to establish a certain kind of institution, to provide for independent evaluation and to incorporate the evaluators into the decision-making process. What one controls, one can pervert. What one incorporates, one can corrupt. And, consequently, one must endeavor to set in motion forces and pressures over which one has no effective control if one is to be assured that "the watchers will be watched."

There are two obvious ways of doing this. First, one can stimulate demand for one's services by decentralizing, by intensifying the volume of demands, by advertising, by the establishment of ad hoc groups to make demands. This will make it more difficult to shut out problems, deny responsibility for them, or pretend that they do not exist.

But, second and even more effective, one must stimulate competition -- involve other groups and institutions in offering

competing services so that as a matter of survival, one does not have the "safe" insulation of monopolistic status to insure that one can ignore criticism with impunity. The response of middle class social welfare agenices, of certain civil rights organizations and of professional groups to the poverty program was in many cases hostile -- but it was hostility directed at direct competition, at a threat to survival in terms of prestige and power and funds because the poverty program had entered "turf" which these organizations and groups had claimed as their own. Thus, if the Complaint Center is to be kept both honest and effective, it will have to be prepared to stimulate competition, to attract other groups and individuals to performing similar functions -- by prodding government to set up an Ombudsman, by training local indigenous leaders to perform the watchdog function independently, by stimulating private organizations to perform similar functions and by sharing information, research, legal analyses, reports and contacts. The alternative may well be a cosy oligopoly where the Complaint Center, the labor unions, the civil rights groups, the religious organizations, the professional groups and political organizations all stake out their own territory and agree to leave each other alone.

It is perhaps too much to expect any institution continuously to attempt to make life difficult for itself -- to stimulate unbearable demand, to invite threatening competition. An occasional gesture, a one shot effort is possible. But with the best of intentions, no institution is likely to divert too much of its resources into stimulating competition for funding sources, for

recognition for grass roots support and for sources of confidential information. The job of stimulating demand, and of creating competition may have to be performed largely by others.

And thus, the best assurance that a complaint center will be responsive to the needs and demands of the poor, will retain fidelity to its mission and will seek to achieve maximum effectiveness rests with subjecting the Complaint Center itself to the control of the democratic process -- rests in structuring accountability and responsiveness into the design of the institution itself.

Yet such an attempt is likely to meet opposition from two sides -- from professionals who say the poor are incapable of making informed decisions about the operation of such a sophisticated institution; from the poor who recognizing the degree of expertise and sophistication involved in the conception of the institution will find it convenient to attack the institution as fundamentally undemocratic and elitist.

In consequence, the relation of such an institution to the democratic process can be clarified only after disposing of two polar fallacies; one, The Fallacy of the Monolithic Man; the other, The Genetic Fallacy of Democracy.

The Fallacy of the Monolithic Man underlies the professionals' argument for elitist control of institutions.

The Fallacy is based on three basic propositions:

(a) the poor tell us what they want when they ask for help.

(b) if professionals devoted 100% of their effort to responding to the demands of the poor, one would never

get to the significant underlying causes but would deal only with symptomatic, unending crisis demands.

(c) therefore, the poor cannot be permitted to control institutions or decide what professionals are to do if those institutions and those professionals are to achieve significant social change on behalf of the poor.

Thus, the choice of priorities, the design of programs, the allocation of resources must necessarily be a matter for professional decision.

The fallacy is contained in the first proposition: that the poor tell us what they want, when they ask for help. It assumes that a person can only speak in one mode -- and that a person asking for help is only capable of approching the problem of allocating resources in the way which he does when he is in the process of seeking assistance. That is nonsense. When a person is asking for help, he is asking for help. He is not making a decision about the optimal allocation of resources. He is an advocate, his own advocate. He is not a judge. That does not mean he is not capable of being one -- if that role were assigned him. Professionals have structured the situation where the poor may only speak in one capacity -- asking for help, acknowledging need and dependency. Having structured the process by which the poor may make demands on their resources -- they then decry the irrationality of a system which allocates resources by giving help to whoever comes in the door on a first come first serve basis. But the poor are not monolithic: they are composite individuals, capable of speaking and deliberating in a variety of modes. And the poor person who asks for help is quite capable, in the context

of a community meeting or a discussion, of saying that resources must not all be devoted to the service function, to meeting crisis demands but that some must be diverted to effecting significant change.

Until recently, there has been no attempt to create forums in which the poor have been asked to make decisions as composite human beings, as human beings who have something valid to say about the allocation of resources from the point of view of their community. And so, instead, they are turned into selfish, dependent individuals. By confining them to speaking in that role we prove their incapacity to function responsibly in any other role. Yet, as a profession which drafts corporate charters and constitutions, lawyers are specially sensitive to the fact that different decisions require different kinds of deliberation -- that mergers, or acquisitions or sale of assets involve more serious decisions and that different rules and different procedures must be followed in order to insure that the best interests of all are preserved. The issue is not whether shareholders can make decisions but, rather, how can the decision-making process be structured to increase the likelihood that that decision will be deliberative, carefully considered and rationally chosen.

Yet, if the professionals are wrong in their assertion that their expertise necessarily entitles them to control, the poor are equally in error when they charge that any institution employing a professional or designed by a professional is necessarily tainted by paternalism.

Currently, the statutory mandate that the poor are involved in the planning process has given the genetic fallacy great currency. If the poor are to be involved in the planning, then the next logical question is: but who does the planning of how the poor are to be involved in the planning?

And this infinite regress can be readily converted into an indictment of any effort, any program or any institution. For, regardless of the point in the evolution of a program wherethe poor are involved, it is always possible to point to an earlier point at which they were not involved. And, from that, it is easy to charge that the entire undertaking is tainted with the poverty program's version of original sin.

The essential fallacy here is the assumption that the accident of origin necessarily defines the nature of the object. An institution is what it is -- either responsive or unresponsive, faithful or unfaithful to its mission, effective or ineffective.

At the beginning, there may well be a grace period, much as we suggest there is with public agencies, where the standards both of procedural regularity and of democratic participation apply with less force than they do once the first tentative definition of program and priorities and policies has been formulated sufficiently to permit intelligent public review. There is a necessity to start somewhere -- and whoever takes the initiative is in some sense acting unilaterally -- even when he acts to consult others. The call for a Constitutional Convention in 1787 was viewed by many as high handed, aristocratic, dictatorial and anti-democratic. The process of perfectingdemocracy is unending, but it must be begun.

And the hard question still remains: in the beginning, if an institution does not meet the optimal and ultimate demands of a perfect democratic representation and total involvement, must it at least meet some minimal requirement? Must there be some minimal quantity of democratic involvement, some minimal investment in consultation and discussion and dialogue in defining the institution?

We believe that in planning an institution, there is one threshold question which cannot be treated entirely unilaterally which must be subjected in some measure to broadly based scrutiny: namely, the extent of the resources which will be devoted to the democratic process during the first period of operations. Democracy is expensive. It costs money to hold meetings, to consult people; it takes time, staff and resources: a commitment to democracy must be reflected not only in organization charts but in budget. And just as we believe that the poor can make a rational and informed decision in allocating resources among competing demands such as service and social change, consumption and investment, so too, we believe that the poor are capable of making a decision as to the portion of resources which they wish to expend on the democratic process -- on scrutiny, on surveillance, review and effective control. It is conceivable that the poor would rather have results than conferences, changes in federal programs rather than board meetings. But we think that this decision -- this initial rough allocation of the dollars to be spent on the democratic process -- must be made in concert with those who are supposed to be served by such an institution. That choice must be put, not in terms of dollars and percentages, but specifically in terms of

what those dollars will buy: how many meetings, how many reports what kinds of disclosure, how many phone calls, how many publications, what kind of accounting with what kind of detail and specificity, and what kind of participation in making the next budget for the next period of operations when there is a record of performance to judge and review.

It will require some initial investment, during the planning period, to consult and confer as best one can in whatever way one can. But even a private firm wishing to peddle a product would invest in market research. And, in this case, the product is in part the nature of the institution itself.

Does the consumer want meetings about the nature of the institution or does he want actual processing of complaints and policing of agency performance? It is our belief and our experience that the poor are capable democratically of saying: we want a job done.

But they will also demand to be in a position to determine whether the best possible job is being done for the least amount of money -- and whether some of those jobs could not be done by poor people as well for the same or less. The right to scrutinize involves the right to decline to scrutinize -- and that threshold determination is the minimal democratic mandate.

In short, in a democracy, the question: who will watch the watchers, is answered by the people. And the people have the right to say: "no one need watch the watchers right now;" so long as they retain the right, later on, to change their mind.

file copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 Oct. 1963

# AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

## I INTRODUCTION

On May 1, 1961, President Kennedy signed into law the Area Redevelopment Act, known as ARA, to bring the resources of the federal government to bear to "help areas of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment to take effective steps in planning and financing their economic redevelopment."

This program is an attempt on the part of the federal government to "create a partnership of private enterprise, community leadership, state governments and many federal agencies -- all working together to build stronger local economies that will provide the new jobs that are needed." The tools that Congress made available under this act are:

1. Long term, low interest loans to help establish new industrial or commercial enterprises or to help existing firms expand in redevelopment areas. These loans can run for as long as 25 years, and currently bear an annual interest rate of 4 per cent.

2. Loans or grants to help build new public facilities -- like sewage plants, railroad spurs or access roads -- which communities must provide to help new or expanding industry. These loans can run for as long as 40 years and currently bear an annual interest rate of 3 3/8 per cent.

3. Technical assistance, to help break "bottlenecks." These usually involve special studies by private firms, universities, state agencies or federal agencies, financed wholly or in part by ARA funds.

4. Programs to retrain jobless workers, usually for new jobs created in the area, but also to equip workers with skills for existing job vacancies.

5. Subsistence allowance for workers while they are in training.

In addition the Area Redevelopment Act amended the Urban Renewal section of the Housing Act, to provide special help for redevelopment areas in tailoring some of their urban renewal activities to the need for creating new job opportunities. Also, ARA brings together many federal agencies, in what is called "one-stop service" and focuses their resources on the problems of redevelopment areas. ARA acts as the contact point between the communities and other federal agencies, making it possible to get the answers on all available federal programs, at one point. ARA funds and programs are not however, used to bring "runaway plants" into a community. Congress said that the purpose of the Act is not to transfer jobs from one area of the country to another but to create new jobs.

## II CRITERIA

### A. Area Conditions

The unemployment levels necessary for an area to come under the ARA program are, by the law, precisely defined. For urban areas with fairly large labor markets, there are two standards:

1. Current unemployment must be six per cent or more, after discounting seasonal factors; and

2. The annual average rate of unemployment must have been either:

   a) 50 per cent above the national average in three of the preceding four calendar years; or

   b) 75 per cent above the national average in two of the preceding three calendar years; or

   c) 100 per cent above the national average in one of the preceding two calendar years.

In addition, there are rural areas and small labor markets which qualify under one or more of the following standards:

1. All Indian reservations with serious unemployment or underemployment problems.

2. Areas of low median family income $1,560 or less. (One-third the national median.)

3. Areas of low median farm income $1,170 or less. (One-fourth the national median.)

4. Counties which were part of an earlier rural development program of the Department of Agriculture.

5. Areas of low production farming.

6. Very small areas (labor force under 15,000) with substantial and persistent unemployment. (The criteria are roughly the same as for urban-industrial areas.)

NOTE: The national unemployment average in 1958 was 6.8 per cent; in 1959, it was 5.5 per cent, in 1960 it 5.6 per cent; in 1961 it was 6.7 per cent; in 1962 it was 5.6 per cent.

The decisions on designating redevelopment areas are made by the Area Redevelopment Administrator acting for the Secretary of Commerce. Facts and statistical data necessary to making these decisions are provided by the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, Labor and other federal and state agencies. While no local initiative is required to have a redevelopment area so designated, in borderline cases where a community feels that it has a serious problem, but does not meet the standard requirements, the community may bring additonal evidence to the attention of the ARA.

B. The Overall Economic Development Program (OEDP)

In order for a designated redevelopment area to receive assistance under the ARA program, it is necessary for a group to file an OEDP (Overall Economic Development Program.) This will hopefully mean that community leadership will take the initiative in economic redevelopment. The OEDP includes the following basic essentials:

1. A description of the representative local organization responsible for the OEDP

2. A background picture of the redevelopment area as a place to live and work

3. An assessment of the labor market and skills, natural resources, physical facilities, transportation networks, available markets, and available and potential financial resources

4. Analysis of the "bottlenecks" impeding progress

5. A program of action for creating new employment opportunities. Help in drawing up the OEDP may be otained from the ARA Field Coordinator. After the local group has completed the OEDP it is submitted to the State Agency designated by the governor to coordinate redevelopment activities. It then goes to the ARA in Washington for review and approval. If the OEDP is for a rural area, ARA seeks the advice of the Department of Agriculture. Thus, the area should work out its plan with the local Rural Areas Development Committee, and submit it simultaneously through Department of Agriculture channels.

C. The Training Program and Criteria

Besides bringing new industry into an area, one of the important aspects of the ARA program is its job training program. This training covers a wide variety of fields -- from semi-skilled production workers to white collar crafts or "refresher" courses in highly technical skills. Occupational training under ARA is applied to help solve the various manpower problems which are especially acute in redevelopment areas, particularly in connection with new employment generated by ARA loans and grants which lead to the establishment of new industries or the expansion of existing ones. Under the law, the ARA is authorized to pay subsistence allowances to ARA trainees for the period of their training, a maximum of 16 weeks. These payments are equal to the average weekly unemployment compensation payment benefit payable on the state.

To be eligible for an ARA training program, the local group must first draw up and submit an OEDP. Then the local public Employment Service office determines the occupational shortages, screens applicants and selects for training those who can be reasonably expected to obtain jobs following the course. The training programs themselves are set up by local and State Vocational Educational Authorities.

**SUMMARY**

While the ARA program can make vast changes in the economically underdeveloped areas of the country, there are two observations that must be made about the program and its implementation.

1. In many of the redevelopment areas in the South, Negroes comprise a substantial proportion of the population.

2. Through the lack of any anti-discrimination clause and through lack of knowledge of the program, Negroes have been systematically excluded from the local redevelopment committee.

The result is that Negroes are excluded from the job training programs administered under ARA, and when the plant(s) are built and management calls for trained people, Negroes, lacking training, are turned away.

Because of these problems, Mr. James T. McCain, Director of Organization, CORE and CORE General Counsel, Mr. Carl Rachlin held a meeting with the top administrators of the ARA program in Washington. As a result of this meeting the ARA intimated that if Negroes in the local area complained "in time" to the ARA that they had been systematically excluded from the local planning, the ARA would hold up on grants, loans, etc. The ARA's policy has, to some degree, been borne out through further discussions with the local ARA representative in New York. In fact, the Administration has just sent out forms requiring a census and analysis of the job categories in the "designated redevelopment areas" by race. This is to insure that in industries built with ARA funds, non-whites are not excluded in training programs and employment opportunities in all job categories. Also, in some instances, the ARA has turned down the OEDP's of local committees that are all white and then helped to structure committees that more fully represent the ethnic patterns of the local area.

Enclosed is a list of the counties designated by the ARA as "redevelopment areas." If your chapter is within one of these areas or if you have close contacts within one the areas mentioned, you should do the following:

1. Find out whether a local redevelopment committee has been set up. If so, is there strong minority representation? If not, notify this office and the ARA.

2. If there is no committee, notify this office.

The National staff of CORE will help in either getting local Negro representation on the committee or in setting up local development committees.

For further information, contact: Norman Hill, Director, PROGRAM DEPARTMENT
James McCain, Director, ORGANIZATION DEPT.

# THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

The Area Redevelopment Act provides federal assistance (through loans and grants, advice, and training programs) to areas which are economically underdeveloped. An area may be designated a "redevelopment area" (and therefore eligible for help) if it has substantial and continuing unemployment.

Loans can be made to public and private applicants for purchasing and developing land and facilities for commercial or industrial use (including construction and repair of buildings), provided the aim is not to relocate industry from one area to another and provided the money is not to be used for working capital. The project for which the loan is made must be likely to provide more than temporary relief of unemployment. The money is borrowed on reasonable terms, and the borrower must be judged capable of repaying it. Up to 65% of the cost of a project can be loaned under the act; at least 10% of the cost is to be paid by the state, or by a community or area organization which is not governmental. Applicants for loans must be approved by the state or local authorities of the area.

Before assistance is given a plan for the over all economic development of the area must be submitted to the Secreatar of Labor and must be approved by him; the proposed project must fit into this plan.

Loans and grants may be made for purchasing or developingland for public facilities and for construction or improvement of public facilities. Assistance in deciding the needs and potential of an area (for example, technical assistance, market research) is provided by the Secretary of Labor..Technical assistance can also be obtained for areas not designated "redevelopment areas" if there is a substantial need for it.)

Training for jobs in redevelopment areas is made available by the Sec'y of Labor (with training allowances equal to the state unemployment compensation) providing an overall economic development plan has been approved. The maximum period of training is 16 weeks.

Nearly 600 ARA rural development areas are in the South and border states, many in counties heavily populated by Negroes. Eligibility for ARA participation was made possible for many of these counties by low Negro family income. As of June, 1963 there were no ARA Negro trainees in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia - states where in 1960 the Negro unemployment rate ranged from 20 to 40% of the unemployed. Louisiana and Mississippi had no ARA training programs in 1963. In all, about 160 Negroes were trained in the South; these trainees represent only 12% of the total number of Southern ARA trainees.

One problem is that all programs must be state approved before loans are made. This makes it difficult for projects proposed in the South by Negro community organizations. Further, the act favors communities where there is some money, some capital. At least 10% of the cost must be paid by the sponsoring group (or 5% if the state government is paying 10%) and 25% more must be found. In our areas the funds to begin a project may be hard to get. In addition to these problems, the Overall Economic Development Plan must give a picture of the community's total planned development. Some of the criticisms by ARA of the plans so far have been: 1) employment goals were not realistic; 2) sources of technical assistance have been overlooked; 3) statements on the growth of population and the labor force and the manpower plans of the program have

not been developed; 4) the causes of unemployment have not been spelled out.

THINGS TO DO:

First discover whether your district is classified as a "redevelopment" area. Then, SNCC workers should give serious consideration to any possible community projects that can function in the communities where they work. Try to inform the people in your community about ARA, and interest them in finding projects that are possibel.

In attempting this, consider carefully the resources of the area and the community.

For further information write to:

Miss Ann Gould
ARA
US Dept. of Commerce
Washington 25, D.C.

or to:

Washington SNCC
3418 11th Street, N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE MANPOWER TRAINING LAW

In his message to the Congress on June 19, 1963, President Kennedy suggested several amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA). These were to

> increase the authorization ceiling and to postpone the effective date of State matching requirements *** to lower the age for training allowances from 19 to 16, to allocate funds for literacy training, and to permit the payment of a higher proportion of the program's training allowances to out-of-school youth, with provisions to assure that no one drops out of school to take advantage of this program.

Among the late President's suggestions included in the proposed amendments were that:

> A. The Federal government pay all of the costs through 1965 so as to encourage more participation. (As presently set up, States had to match federal funds in programs.)
>
> B. It authorized basic training for persons whose education would not qualify them for training as the program is now set up. (People can get the basic education they need to qualify for retraining as a part of the program.)
>
> C. It emphasizes youth training by lowering the age from 19-17.
>
> D. It increases training allowances to youth. Unskilled youth can receive an allowance while in training.
>
> E. It permits trainees to do up to 20 hours part time work without losing the allowance and widens eligibility for programs.

One of the leading makers of automation equipment, John L. Snyder, chairman and president of U.S. Industries, Inc., testified to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower on October 3 as follows:

> Last week, before a Senate labor subcommittee, a top productivity expert from the Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that the Department felt that rising productivity --- another way of describing automation -- would eliminate 200,000 jobs a year, or 4,000 jobs a week.
>
> Personally, I think this is a gross underestimate of the real situation and that automation is a major factor in eliminating jobs in the United States at the rate of more than 40,000 a week, as previous estimates have put it.

Experience under the act so far demnnstrates that three important changes are necessary at this time. First, to sustain the program over a period long enough to permit a fair appraisal, the present State matching requirement has to be postponed for 1 year. Second, the plight of the undereducated unemployed needs more attention and special provision is now made for them. Third, the present provisions for unemployed youth have likewise been improved.

The inadequately trained youth represents the hard-core unemployed of today.. The uneducated represents the hard-core unemployed of

tomorrow. Without help they have no other prospect than as public charges, currently and in the future. Yet the bulk of these unemployed have the capacity to be helped and can be put on the road to productive employment.

Historically, vocational education has been available throughout the country for many years. But it had little impact upon training of the displaced unemployed for the simple reason that no adequate means were available to maintain the financial support needed by a breadwinner for his family during the period needed to complete his training. The act passed by the Congress last year was primarily to plug this void. Some 60 percent of its appropriations is spent for training allowances alone.

AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG NEGROES IS 20%.

The Negro Community must O R G A N I Z E to bring retraining programs to the unemployed.

1. Contact your local employment office and find what retraining programs exist. (If the local employment office is not cooperative, contact the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and SNCC will inform you of the existing programs in your community.

2. Apply for participation in the program.

3. If there is no retraining program in your community contact the local employment office.

4. SNCC must accompany the people who apply for retraining and a record must be kept of everything that happens.

ORGANIZE YOUR COMMUNITY TO DEMAND JOB RETRAINING.

If there are any problems, write to:

U.S. Civil Rights Commission
Washington 25, D.C.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
3418 11th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, Dept. of Labor
Washington 25, D.C.

AUG 2 3 1963

EDMUND G. BROWN
Governor of California

~~JOHN F. HENNING~~ Ernest B. Webb
Director of Department

EDWARD HOWDEN
Chief of Division

Commissioners
JOHN ANSON FORD, Chairman
ELTON BROMBACHER
C. L. DELLUMS
(Mrs.) CARMEN H. WARSCHAW
DWIGHT R. ZOOK

STATE OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
DIVISION OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES
STATE BUILDING ANNEX, 455 GOLDEN GATE AVE., SAN FRANCISCO
UNderhill 1-8700

*Address Reply To:*
FEPC, P. O. BOX 603
SAN FRANCISCO 1

7 August 1963

# MEMORANDUM

From Edward Howden, Executive Officer, California FEPC

To CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP, OTHER KEY PEOPLE

You will be interested in the following information concerning FEPC, fair housing, and other significant State Government developments, not all of which have been reported fully statewide:

## 1. GOVERNOR'S CODE OF FAIR PRACTICES

Enclosed is your copy of Governor Brown's just-issued Code of Fair Practices. It is, we believe, the strongest executive order of this nature yet promulgated in any state. It seeks to codify and sharpen, for guidance of the Executive Branch, the State's public policy against discrimination because of race, religion, or ancestry.

I think you will find, on close reading, that this is a truly historic document. And I am convinced that it will prove to be far more than a document in the months ahead, as each State agency critically reexamines its practices and bears down upon all forms of discrimination or inequity within its reach.

FEPC contributed significantly to the writing of this new Code and will have a hand in its implementation. Again -- as with the FEP Act, the Fair Housing Act, and other big civil rights measures -- Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown's all-out stand has been forthright and powerful.

## 2. FEPC PROGRAM STRENGTHENED

New offices. In the first such move since 1960, the Legislature, in this year's regular session, provided a modest but important augmentation of FEPC's capacity to cope with inequality of employment opportunity. Establishment of our first offices outside the San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan areas was authorized: one in Fresno, one in San Diego, each to be manned by one FEP Consultant (investigator-conciliator) and a secretary. These new offices, to

be opened in September, will administer both the FEP and Fair Housing Acts in their respective areas. Main thanks for these actions are due Assemblymen George N. Zenovich of Fresno and James R. Mills of San Diego; the leadership (Democratic) of both houses; and the Governor.

The Commission repeats and reemphasizes that it is available to the individual who wishes to file a complaint or simply make an inquiry concerning apparent job discrimination (and now housing bias, as well). No person who believes he or she has encountered racial or religious restriction in employment should fail to inform FEPC of this experience or consult us concerning a possible complaint. It is well to remember that upon the individual and the civil rights organization rests in large measure the responsibility for making use of the hard-won Fair Employment Practice Act of the State of California. FEPC can best help the person who brings his problem to FEPC -- whether by mail, or telephone, or direct visit. It is mostly up to you.

Note our new pre-complaint information form, a copy of which is enclosed. This is especially useful for persons who are unable to come to one of our offices. Let us know if you would like to have a supply.

Affirmative action. Since last spring the FEP Commission has been giving serious attention to ways of achieving greater impact upon widespread remaining patterns of job discrimination and segregation. While mindful of its primary legal duty to the individual complainant, the Commission has sought new means of influencing broadly the hiring and upgrading practices of an entire industry or occupation in the direction of full compliance with the spirit of the FEP law. Actually, from the beginning we have striven for such compliance during conciliation of the individual case and through Commission-initiated investigations. We have chalked up many "firsts" and "breakthroughs" while working on such cases, and have witnessed increasingly significant changes in employment traditions.

Yet the task remaining is obviously of great magnitude. It demands the utmost energy and imagination on the part of all of us. In addition to FEPC's other responsibilities, therefore, we shall henceforth devote all possible effort to encouragement of meaningful affirmative compliance on the part of employers, unions, placement agencies, and training and counseling resources.

FEPC is of course limited by budget -- mainly personnel, that is -- in the ground we can cover. Even as augmented, we shall still have only 14 field personnel to handle employment cases throughout this vast State. We are nonetheless determined to expedite case processing to the greatest degree possible and to engage in increasingly effective affirmative actions on a broad scale, through conference, negotiation, survey, and like methods, in addition to our continuing information-education program

3. FAIR HOUSING BUDGET APPROVED: REFERENDUM THREATENS

The Governor's request for $117,000 for FEPC administration of the new Rumford Fair Housing Act was cut to $75,000 by the Legislature in the special session. Senator Hugh Burns, in moving the cut, suggested that by the time FEPC

had undergone several months' experience with the new law we would again be before the Legislature, in the 1964 budget session, and that upward adjustments, if warranted, could then be made.

Now promoter Robert Weinmann -- who helped manage defeat of Berkeley's fair housing ordinance last spring -- has launched a signature petition to submit the Rumford Act to referendum. No known industry organization of substance has endorsed the infant campaign. The California Real Estate Association has officially declared itself against the Weinmann move. Should he be successful, however, in securing the 293,000 valid signatures required by midnight September 19, the urgently needed new Fair Housing Act would be suspended and a statewide civil rights battle of unprecedented proportions would be in prospect. We shudder at the consequences for future human relations in California should the promoters of this referendum succeed in their ill-advised campaign.

4. THE COMMISSION'S MEETING SCHEDULE for the fall is:

| | |
|---|---|
| September 17-18 | Los Angeles |
| October 9-10-11 | San Francisco and San Jose |
| November 6-7-8 | Los Angeles |
| December 5-6 | San Bernardino |

Most of the Commission's sessions are open to press and public. Representatives of civil rights organizations are of course welcome. If you have a particular subject in mind for which you would like time reserved on the Commission's agenda, please write or telephone Edward Howden or Aileen Hernandez in the San Francisco office or Lawrence Lucks in the Los Angeles office.

To: Fair Employment Practice Commission, State of California

**INFORMATION ABOUT APPARENT EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION**
because of race, color, religious creed, national origin, or ancestry.

(THIS IS NOT AN OFFICIAL COMPLAINT. There is no charge for your State FEPC's services. Sending this information to FEPC does not mean that you must file a complaint.)

YOUR NAME (please print).....

YOUR STREET ADDRESS..... Apt. or Room No.....

City..... Zone..... County.....

Telephone number(s) where you can be reached.....

WHO DISCRIMINATED? (check one)
◯ Company ◯ Employment Agency ◯ Labor Union
◯ Government agency (local or State) Other:.....

ITS NAME.....

ITS STREET ADDRESS.....

City..... Zone..... County.....

Name(s) and title(s) of person(s) who discriminated (if you know them):

WAS THE DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF: (please check one)
◯ Race or color ◯ Religious creed ◯ National origin ◯ Ancestry

Other (specify)

PLEASE DESCRIBE EXACTLY WHAT HAPPENED -- including the date and place, the people involved, and WHY YOU BELIEVE IT WAS DISCRIMINATION. (Tell the details. FEPC will then analyze the information and advise you as to what can be done.)

(If you need more space, continue on other side or attach a second sheet)

YOUR SIGNATURE..... Date of signing.....

NOW MAIL OR BRING THIS FORM TO:

(In Southern California)
FEPC, Room 8019
107 South Broadway
Los Angeles 12, Calif.
MAdison 0-2610

OR

(In Northern California)
FEPC, Room 7214
455 Golden Gate Ave., P.O. Box 603
San Francisco 1, California
UNderhill 1-8700, Ext. 2191

S-10-248
5/15/63

STATE OF CALIFORNIA

# *Governor's Code of Fair Practices*

## ARTICLE I — Declaration of Policy

Nondiscrimination is the policy of the State of California in all of its activities. Employees shall not only rigorously enforce that policy; they shall also take affirmative action to assure equality of opportunity in the internal affairs of state government and in its relations with the general public.

## ARTICLE II — Employment Policies of State Agencies

State officials and supervisory employees shall appoint, assign, train, evaluate, and promote state personnel on the basis of merit and fitness, without regard to race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. All state agencies shall promulgate clear, written directives to carry out this policy and to guarantee equal employment opportunities at all levels of state government. They shall regularly review their personnel practices to assure compliance. Where existing staffing patterns suggest something less than complete adherence, they shall determine the causes and, if necessary, initiate special recruitment programs to correct the situation. They shall conduct continuing orientation and training programs with emphasis on human relations and fair employment practices. The State Personnel Board shall take positive steps to insure that the entire examination process, including the qualifications appraisal panel, is free from either conscious or inadvertent bias.

## ARTICLE III—State Services and Facilities

All services of every state agency shall be performed without discrimination based on race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. No state facility shall be used in furtherance of any discriminatory practice, nor shall any state agency become a party to any agreement, arrangement, or plan which has the effect of sanctioning such practices. Each state agency shall critically analyze all of its operations to ascertain possible instances of noncompliance with this policy, and shall instigate sustained, comprehensive programs to remedy any defects found to exist.

## ARTICLE IV — State Contracts and Subcontracts

Every state contract and subcontract for public works or for goods or services shall contain a clause prohibiting discriminatory employment practices by contractors and subcontractors based on race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. The nondiscrimination clause shall include a provision requiring state contractors and subcontractors to give written notice of their commitments under this clause to any labor union with which they have a collective bargaining or other agreement. Such contractual provisions shall be fully and effectively enforced, and any breach of them shall be regarded as a material breach of the contract. As part of its annual report each state agency shall submit to the Governor certification of compliance with these provisions by all contractors and subcontractors.

## ARTICLE V—State Employment Services

All state agencies, including educational institutions, which provide employment referral or placement services to public or private employers shall accept job orders only on a nondiscriminatory basis. They shall refuse to fill any job order

designed to exclude any
group because of race,
origin, or ancestry. Th
Employment Practice C
or unions known to pe
practices. They shall ass
seeking to broaden their
include qualified applica
ligious, and ethnic back
Department of Employm
knowledge of the labo
with job applicants, em
promotion of equal emp

## ARTICLE VI — State Fair Practice C

All state agencies sha
the Fair Employment
They shall comply with
tion concerning practic
state policy of nondiscri
follow its recommendati
that policy. In addition
forcement duties, the Co
phasis on programs of a
field of human rights.

## ARTICLE VII — State Edu and Trai

All educational, cou
guidance programs and al
the-job training program
which state agencies part
all qualified persons, w
color, religion, national o
programs shall be condu
fullest development of
skills, and capacities of a
with special attention to
ally deprived, educatio
economically disadvanta
of training opportunities
shall also be encouraged
volving larger numbers of
segments of the labor fo
upgrading levels of skill

## ARTICLE VIII — Private E Institutio

All private educational
chartered by the State,
business, and vocational t
required to show compli
icy of nondiscrimination
sions and other practices
tinued participation in
eligibility to receive any

## ARTICLE IX — State Licen Regulatory

State agencies shall no
religion, national origin, o
denying or revoking a l
shall any person, corpor
which is licensed or regu
criminate against or segre
grounds. All businesses li
the State shall operate o
basis, according equal tr
their services to all person
ter holder who fails to c
shall be subject to such d
consistent with the legal a
regulations of the approp
latory agency.

de any member of a minority
race, color, religion, national
y. They shall advise the Fair
ctice Commission of employers
to persist in restrictive hiring
all assist employers and unions
n their recruitment programs to
applicants of various racial, re-
backgrounds. In addition, the
nployment shall fully utilize its
e labor market, and contacts
ts, employers, and unions for
al employment opportunities.

**e Fair Employment**
**ctice Commission**

ies shall cooperate fully with
yment Practice Commission.
y with its requests for informa-
ractices inconsistent with the
ndiscrimination, and they shall
nendations for giving effect to
ddition to discharging its en-
the Commission shall place em-
ns of affirmative action in the
ghts.

**te Education, Counseling,**
**d Training Programs**

l, counseling, and vocational
s and all apprenticeship and on-
rograms of state agencies, or in
ies participate, shall be open to
ons, without regard to race,
tional origin, or ancestry. Such
conducted to encourage the
nt of the interests, aptitudes,
es of all students and trainees,
tion to the problems of cultur-
ducationally handicapped, or
dvantaged persons. Expansion
tunities under these programs
uraged with a view toward in-
bers of participants from those
bor force where the need for
f skill is greatest.

**ivate Educational**
**stitutions**

cational institutions licensed or
State, including professional,
tional training schools, shall be
compliance with the state pol-
ination in their student admis-
ractices as a condition of con-
on in any state program or
ve any form of state assistance.

**e Licensing and**
**ulatory Agencies**

shall not consider race, color,
origin, or ancestry in granting,
ing a license or charter; nor
corporation, or business firm
or regulated by the State dis-
r segregate any person on such
esses licensed or regulated by
erate on a nondiscriminatory
qual treatment and access to
persons. Any licensee or char-
ils to comply with this policy
such disciplinary action as is
e legal authority and rules and
appropriate licensing or regu-

**ARTICLE X — Housing Accommodations**

No person, corporation, or firm which is licensed or chartered by the State to engage in the business of selling, leasing, renting, financing, building, or developing housing accommodations shall discriminate against any prospective buyer, lessee, or tenant because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry; nor shall any licensee or charter holder seek to promote the sale or lease of any residential property on the ground that a person of minority racial, religious, or ethnic background has established or will establish residence in the neighborhood. Any real estate broker or salesman, corporate owner, lending institution, homebuilder, or developer who fails to comply with this policy shall be subject to such disciplinary action as is consistent with the legal authority and rules and regulations of the appropriate licensing or regulatory agency.

**ARTICLE XI — Public Schools**

Through its policy declarations and staff services, the State Board of Education shall assist local school districts in eliminating racial imbalances and *de facto* segregation in the State's public schools. The Board shall also pursue its programs of promoting fair employment practices for certificated teachers and approving textbooks which realistically portray the contributions of minority groups to the history and culture of this State and nation.

**ARTICLE XII — State Financial Assistance**

Race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry shall not be considered in state-administered programs involving the distribution of funds to qualified recipients for benefits authorized by law; nor shall state agencies provide grants, loans, or other financial assistance to public agencies, private institutions or organizations which engage in discriminatory practices.

**ARTICLE XIII — Law Enforcement**

Through the Attorney General's Office, the State shall encourage local law enforcement agencies to develop special training programs in the field of human relations, to establish formal procedures for the investigation of citizen complaints of alleged abuses of authority by individual peace officers, and to promote mutual understanding and respect for the law enforcement officer's duty to maintain the peace and the citizen's right to protection of his constitutional guarantees.

**ARTICLE XIV — Annual Reports**

Each state agency shall report annually to the Governor, between December 15 and January 1, all programs undertaken during the past year to effect this Code of Fair Practices. The report shall cover both internal activities and external relations with the public and with other state agencies.

**ARTICLE XV — Publication and Posting of Code**

Copies of this Code of Fair Practices shall be distributed to all state officials, employees, and the governing boards of all political subdivisions of the State. The Code shall be posted in conspicuous locations in all state facilities.

Edmund G. Brown

*Governor of California*
Sacramento, July 24, 1963

# GOVERNOR'S CODE OF

This nation and state were founded on the principle that all men are
blessings of democracy without discrimination.

To carry out the clear mandate of our Federal and State Constitution
in employment, housing, schools, and places of business. These laws, enu
been supported by executive action and upheld by judicial decree.

But the laws, court edicts, and official pronouncements are only a be
forbidden, a more subtle, but equally restrictive, *de facto* discrimination
old forms of discrimination but that we act affirmatively to assure thos
in its rewards.

To meet the obligation of the State and under the authority vested i
Code of Fair Practices to be the official policy of the Executive Branch

# OF FAIR PRACTICES

nen are created free and endowed with equal rights to secure the

itutions, the Legislature has enacted laws to prohibit discrimination
vs, enunciating the State's public policy of nondiscrimination, have
.

ly a beginning. If discrimination and segregation have been legally
ination exists and grows. Justice demands that we not only banish
re those who contribute fully to our society a chance to share fully

ested in me by the Constitution, I hereby proclaim the following
Branch of the State of California.

State of California

Division of Fair Employment Practices

# Promoting Equal Job Opportunity

## A GUIDE FOR EMPLOYERS

The Fair Employment Practice Commission administers the California law against discrimination in employment on account of race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry. In carrying out its duties, the Commission seeks to help employers, employment agencies and labor unions to improve their practices, widen employment opportunities for individuals from groups which have suffered discrimination, and promote the full use of California's potential work force.

This guide supplements the FEPC "Checklist for Fair Employment" with specific suggestions for affirmative action in the spirit of the fair employment law.

## POLICY AND RESPONSIBILITY

1. Issue a forthright statement of nondiscriminatory policy with regard to hiring, upgrading, training, layoffs, rehires and working conditions. Publicize it to employees at all levels, and to customers and the community. Make it explicit in training sessions, manuals and company publications.

2. Make a specific, written assignment of responsibility to the company's head of personnel, with equally specific delegation of separate functions to those responsible for training, employment, labor relations and public relations. Require regular reports by all.

3. Review the ethnic pattern of employees, job by job and department by department. If evidence indicates reluctance or failure to hire or upgrade members of any group, take appropriate action.

4. Include a nondiscrimination clause in union contracts, and in contracts with suppliers, vendors, concessioners and services. Insist on compliance.

## RECRUITING

1. Advertise job vacancies in minority news media. State "All qualified applicants welcome" or the equivalent.

2. Utilize mass media and company publications to project an image of the company as employing minority workers. Publicize the achievements of those employees.

3. Place job orders with the State Employment Service (California Department of Employment) and with employment agencies which comply fully with the Fair Employment Practice Act. Review past recruiting methods to discover which sources do not refer minority applicants, and what geographic or housing limitations tend to prevent minority persons from applying or being employed. Take positive steps to overcome these obstacles, and thus enlarge the labor pool from which your company draws.

4. Make your needs know to minority churches, school principals, teachers and counselors, and to organizations such as NAACP, CORE, CSO, Urban League, agencies affiliated with community welfare councils, human relations commissions, Division of Apprenticeship Standards and FEPC.

5. Encourage minority employees to refer qualified friends and relatives.

6. Conduct plant tours for minority students, teachers and counselors. Employ them in summer replacement positions.

7. Send speakers---preferably members of minority groups themselves--- to "career days" and like events, and like events, and to conduct general recruiting at schools and colleges. Meet with parent and teacher organizations in minority communities.

8. Send special letters to, or meet with, employment agencies and school placement offices to emphasize your equal employment policy.

9. Work with colleges, junior colleges and adult education institutions to encourage courses and programs in which minority employees or prospective employees participate. Assist school districts in establishing "school-work" (4-4) programs. Contribute to scholarships on the basis of need as well as academic excellence.

## HIRING

1. Display the FEPC poster where applicants and interviewers will see it. Review procedures of personnel department and medical and security departments to eliminate any possible discrimination, real or apparent. Be sure that all personnel extend a truly friendly, courteous reception to all applicants, whether or not they are hired.

2. Review tests and criteria to see that they are valid for the position, uniformly applied, and free of inadvertent bias against persons not experienced at this kind of testing. Retrain employment representatives, interviewers and testers to make sure that your equal opportunity policy will be carried out. As new personnel people are hired, this should be part of their indoctrination.

3. Survey and analyze lead-in or entry-level positions. Emphasize their availability to minority applicants.

4. Make a conscious effort to place members of minority groups in positions or departments which they have not previously entered, especially in "public contact" positions.

5. Tally applicants and referrals by ethnic group. (Caution: Do not record the racial or ethnic identity of individuals on pre-employment forms or records.)

6. Public employers should frequently include members of minority groups on oral boards and interviewing panels.

## TRAINING

1. Review the ethnic pattern of employee groups receiving training. If classes are not integrated, learn why and take positive steps to see that minority employees enter the program. Where indicated, establish special training classes.

2. Encourage minority employees to participate in school courses and take advantage of educational reimbursement plans. Counsel them regarding methods of self-improvement and opportunities for advancement in other departments.

3. Recognize and publicize the advancement of minority employees and their work in unusual jobs.

4. Place minority workers in trainee positions, especially those which lead to skilled, supervisory or executive levels.

## TRANSFER AND UPGRADING

1. Review all positions normally filled by promotion from within---including supervisory, inspection and quality control positions---to make certain that minority employees have equal opportunity for promotion to them. Review qualification and experience records of minority employees to determine whether they are under-utilized. Maintain a roster of those qualified for upgrading or special training.

2. Transfer minority employees to "public contact" positions such as receptionist, interviewer, salesman, buyer or public relations representative.

3. Place minority individuals as secretaries or administrative assistants in the offices of department or division heads.

## FOLLOW-UP AND COMPLAINTS

1. Make annual surveys of ethnic pattern, job by job and department by department. Require explicit reports by all those assigned responsibilities in your equal opportunity program.

2. Place responsibility for handling complaints of discrimination on those who normally handle complaints---but emphasize their special importance. Discuss each complaint with all concerned, and take appropriate action.

3. Cooperate with FEPC and the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in processing complaints and working out solutions.

## SPECIAL NEWS MEDIA

Following is a partial list of publications and radio and television stations which are useful in reaching Negro or Spanish-speaking Californians. (The information-education of FEPC will advise you concerning media for other minority groups.)

Bay Area Independent, 1555 Turk Street, San Francisco 15
California Eagle, 1050 East 43rd Place, Los Angeles 11
California Voice, 814 - 27th Street, Oakland 12
Herald-Dispatch, 1431 West Jefferson Blvd., Los Angeles 7
La Opinion, 1436 South Main Street, Los Angeles 15
Las Noticias, 2341 Mission Street, San Francisco
Los Angeles Sentinel, 1112 East 43rd Street, Los Angeles 11
Mas Grafica, 4226 Brooklyn Avenue, Los Angeles 63
Sacramento Observer, 2408 - 21st Street, Sacramento
Sun Reporter, 1366 Turk Street, San Francisco 9
The Outlook, 730 East Brundage Lane, Bakersfield
The Post, 1401 Middle Harbor Road, Oakland

KALI radio, 5723 Melrose, Los Angeles
KCOP Television, 915 Vine Street, LA
KDAY radio, 1549 Vine Street, Los Angeles
KDIA radio, 327 - 22nd Street, Oakland
KEEN radio, Hotel De Anza, San Jose
KEWB radio, 2150 Franklin Street, Oakland
KGFJ radio, 4550 Melrose Avenue, LA 29
KLOK radio, S. King Rd. & Loupe Ave San Jose
KMEX Television 721 N. Bronson Los Angeles
KWKW radio, 800 Sierra Madre Villa, Pasadena
KSAN radio & TV 1111 Market St. SF 3

For consultation or further information write or phone FEPC at the offices below:

San Francisco: P.O. Box 603, 455 Golden Gate Avenue, UNderhill 1-8700, Ext. 3167
Los Angeles: 107 S. Broadway, Madison 0-2610
Fresno: 2550 Mariposa St. AMherst 8-7151, Ext. 277
San Diego: 1350 Front Street phone 232-4361

S-10-278
10-14-63

State of California

Division of Fair Employment Practices

# QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
# about the
# CALIFORNIA FAIR HOUSING LAW

**What is the California Fair Housing Act?**

It is the law against discrimination in housing. It declares that discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry in housing accommodations is against public policy in California. It forbids such discrimination in the sale, rental, lease, or financing of housing, and establishes methods of preventing and remedying violations.

**When did it go into effect?**

September 20, 1963

**Who enforces it?**

The Fair Employment Practice Commission, staffed by the Division of Fair Employment Practices. They have administered the Fair Employment Practice Act since 1959.

**Why was a law needed?**

Negroes, Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups have been excluded from many residential areas and in effect restricted to segregated living in ghettos. Serious social ills are the result. California law has recognized the problem since 1959. Provisions of the Unruh and Hawkins acts of that year were incorporated in the 1963 Rumford Fair Housing Act. The principal innovation in the Rumford Act was the assignment to FEPC of responsibility for administrative enforcement and for conducting a program of education and affirmative action to eliminate discrimination in housing.

**Are there similar laws in other states?**

Yes, in Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania.

## COVERAGE

**In California, what portion of the housing market is covered?**

About 70 per cent, it is estimated.

**What kinds of housing are covered by the Fair Housing Act?**

Public and redevelopment housing;

Publicly assisted, owner-occupied, single-unit homes;

apartments in structures of three or more units;

all activities of real estate brokers and salesmen;

generally, activities of persons or firms engaged in the business of housing or mortgage lending.

**What kinds are not covered?**

Housing operated by religious, fraternal, or charitable organizations not for profit;

Privately financed, single-family homes and duplexes.

## COMPLAINTS

What is unlawful under the Fair Housing Act?

The law forbids the owners of most housing accommodations, and their agents, to refuse to sell, rent or lease to any person or group of persons because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry. Banks, mortgage companies, other financial institutions, builders and developers, and others in the business of housing, are similarly forbidden to discriminate.

Suppose tenants or neighbors put pressure on an owner to keep him from complying with the law?

It is unlawful for any person to aid, abet, incite, compel or coerce a discriminatory act. Complaints may be filed against such persons by a landlord or seller.

Ordinarily, who may file a complaint?

A person claiming to be aggrieved, that is, an individual who believes he has been wrongfully refused housing accommodations because of his race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Does he have to have the proof in his hand?

No, but the more specific he can be about names, places, dates and times, the better. FEPC will make a full investigation in order to ascertain the facts.

How soon after the incident must a person file his complaint?

Within 60 days. If he doesn't learn about the alleged violation until after that, he may be allowed another 60 days in which to file. It is generally to the advantage of all parties, however, if a complaint is filed promptly.

Is there any other legal remedy?

An aggrieved person may choose to retain an attorney and go to court under the Unruh Act. In that case he has a year after the incident to file suit. But if he wants FEPC to handle the matter (without charge) he is required to waive any right to bring such a suit in court.

How does a person file a complaint?

FEPC has offices in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco and Fresno. An individual who is unable to visit them in person may telephone or write a postcard or letter to one of those offices, asking assistance. In many cities, the State Labor Commissioner's office or Employment Service will help refer inquiries to FEPC.

Why file a complaint?

Every Californian has the right to equal opportunity in obtaining housing for which he is qualified. If he is denied such opportunity, it is not only for himself that he should ask FEPC assistance, but for the sake of others who suffer discrimination and for the good and welfare of the entire state. The law will work only when it is used.

## INVESTIGATION

Who investigates a fair housing case?

The case is first assigned to one of the seven members of the FEP Commission. Under his supervision, a trained staff consultant carries out the investigation.

What is the purpose of the investigation?

The Commissioner must have the facts in order to make a determination. He wants to know exactly what happened. Information must be gathered from all reliable sources.

How do you decide what is discriminatory?

The main test is whether the standards set by the owner, manager, agent, or business firm have been applied equally to all qualified home seekers. If the treatment is different because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry, this is discrimination.

Who decides?

The assigned Commissioner does. If the case goes to public hearing, the decision will be made by a panel of other Commissioners.

May an owner or other respondent be required to give evidence?

The Commission has the power to subpoena witnesses and records, if the respondent does not provide them voluntarily.

Are the respondent's rights protected, as well as those of the complainant?

Yes, it is the duty of the Commission and staff to be fair and objective. Investigation must be prompt, and there are provisions for early dismissal if the evidence does not indicate that the complaint is well founded. (See below, "legal safeguards.")

## CONCILIATION

What happens when there is a finding of probable cause to believe the allegations of the complainant?

The Commissioner immediately endeavors to eliminate the alleged unlawful practice by conference, conciliation, and persuasion.

Suppose no probable cause is found?

The Commissioner must dismiss the complaint. Notice is sent to respondent and complainant, and the latter has 15 days in which he may file an appeal.

What is meant by conciliation?

Efforts to obtain a just and practicable remedy for the person whose rights have been violated, and to correct the unlawful practice, through a negotiated settlement.

Are such negotiations publicized?

The law forbids disclosure of what transpires during endeavors at conciliation.

What are typical terms of conciliation?

In many cases, where the housing accommodation in question is still available, its sale or rental to the complainant may be arranged. If it is not available, a like accommodation, or the next vacancy, may be negotiated. Or there may be a payment of damages to the complainant.

## ENFORCEMENT

Can the Commission prevent the sale or rental of the property while the case is pending?

If there is probable cause for believing that the allegations of unlawful discrimination are true, the Commission may obtain a court injunction to prevent disposition of the property until a determination is made.

If the respondent refuses to agree to a settlement, what can the Commissioner do?

Serve the respondent with a written accusation requiring him to answer the charges at a public hearing. The hearing panel considers the evidence anew, makes findings of fact, and, if appropriate, issues an order requiring corrective action. If it finds no violation of the law, it dismisses the case.

Who conducts such a hearing?

A panel of Commissioners, not including the assigned Commissioner who filed the accusation. The latter may not participate except as a witness concerning the facts.

Are there legal safeguards?

The California Administrative Procedure Act assures all parties due process of law. Questions of law are referred to an authorized hearing officer, and any party to whose position an order is adverse has the right to appeal.

What is the outcome if the Commission decides there was discrimination?

The respondent will be ordered to cease and desist from the unlawful practices found, and to take one of the following actions as determined by the Commission:

1. Sale or rental of the housing accommodation to the aggrieved person, if it is still available.

2. Sale or rental of a like accommodation, if available, or the next vacancy in a like accommodation.

3. Payment of damages to the aggrieved person in an amount not to exceed $500.

## AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Is the Commission limited to processing complaints?

No, it conducts programs of education and affirmative action designed to promote good will and minimize or eliminate discrimination. It studies problems of discrimination and fosters good will, cooperation and conciliation among the groups and elements of the population of California.

What is affirmative action?

A program seeking the voluntary cooperation of such groups as property owners, public agencies, real estate brokers and associations, builders and developers, mortgage and financing companies, and others in the business of housing. By counseling them as to methods of applying equal standards, and by agreements concerning equal access to housing accommodations, the Commission seeks broad observance of fair practices.

Can others help in carrying out provisions of the law?

Community organizations, religious groups, and citizens generally can contribute to the programs of education and affirmative action. Anyone who learns of apparent violations of the law should inform FEPC so that appropriate action may be taken. Those who agree with the spirit of the law should make this known in their communities, especially to those in the business of housing.

How does the Commission tell people about equal opportunity?

It publishes a newsletter and other publications and utilizes news media to release information concerning the law and FEPC activities. Other methods include posters, exhibits, broadcasts, conferences and a speaker service.

What is the ultimate objective of the Commission's program?

The elimination of discrimination in employment and housing in California because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry, and the establishment of equal opportunity for all Californians.

Where can more information about the law and about FEPC be obtained?

By visiting, phoning or writing FEPC ----

| | |
|---|---|
| San Francisco: | P. O. Box 603, 455 Golden Gate Avenue<br>(phone UNderhill 1-8700, extension 3167) |
| Los Angeles: | 107 South Broadway<br>(phone MAdison 0-2610) |
| Fresno: | State Office Building, 2550 Mariposa St.<br>(phone AMherst 8-7151, extension 276) |
| San Diego: | State Office Building, 1350 Front Street<br>(phone 232-4361, extension 285) |

IR-469
12-19-63(R)

Large no. jobs
Turnover
Seasonal jobs

COMPOSITE EMPLOYMENT REPORT
Safeway Operations -- Greater Sa

| Ethnic Group (by sight) | Applicants to D/E window | Interviewed at D/E | Referred to take tests at D/E | No. taking test | No. passing test & referred to Safeway interviewer | SAFEWAY INTERVIEWS From D/E | SAFEWAY INTERVIEWS Other Sources | NO. REJECT Rejected |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 584 | 433 | 294 | 275 | 138 | 357 | 246 | 265 |
| Negro | 135 | 110 | 86 | 70 | 20 | 31 | 15 | 17 |
| Spanish-American | 29 | 19 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 11 | 45 | 28 |
| All Other Minorities | 25 | 25 | 14 | 9 | 3 | 18 | 23 | 24 |

Totals not applicable since applicants interviewed during a given week may be t
week, and rejected, placed in pending file or hired the following week or later

PORT BY ETHNIC GROUPS
er San Francisco Bay Area

5 Weeks Ending November 2, 1963

REJECTED, PENDING, HIRED

| cted | Pending | Hired | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | 274 | 182 | 140 retail stores, 11 helpers - plant, 5 warehousemen (temporary), 2 quality control inspectors, 5 secretaries, 5 clerk-typists, 2 plant men, 3 janitors, 2 warehousemen - supply, 1 foreman - supply, 1 shipper (temporary), 1 statistical clerk, 1 traffic clerk, 3 comptometer operators, 1 claims clerk |
| 7 | 18 | 22 | 10 retail stores, 9 warehouseman (temporary) 2 helpers - plant, 1 stenographer |
| 3 | 4 | 32 | 18 helpers - plant, 7 warehousemen (temporary) 5 warehousemen, 2 retail stores |
| 4 | 5 | 8 | 6 retail stores 2 senior plant clerks |

y be tested the next week, referred to the interviewer the following
later, depending on references received.

COMPOSITE EMPLOYMENT REPORT
Safeway Operations -- Greater S

| Ethnic Group (by sight) | Applicants to D/E window | Interviewed at D/E | Referred to take tests at D/E | No. taking test | No. passing test and referred to Safeway Interviewer | SAFEWAY INTERVIEWS From D/E | SAFEWAY INTERVIEWS Other Sources | NO. REJE Rejected |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 483 | 377 | 283 | 242 | 130 | 214 | 169 | 165 |
| Negro | 108 | 77 | 51 | 48 | 19 | 26 | 31 | 20 |
| Spanish-American | 22 | 13 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 17 | 8 |
| All Other Minorities | 18 | 12 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 9 | 12 | 11 |

Totals not applicable since applicants interviewed during a given week may be
and rejected, placed in pending file or hired the following week or later, de

EPORT BY ETHNIC GROUPS
ter San Francisco Bay Area

4 Weeks Ending November 30, 1963

REJECTED, PENDING, HIRED

| ected | Pending | Hired | Classification |
|---|---|---|---|
| 65 | 160 | 122 | 1 lab technician - supply<br>86 retail store employees, 7 supply whsemen (temp.) 5 meat whsemen, 2 traffic whsemen, 3 comptometer operators - service, 3 senior secretary-clerks (2 part time)- service, 2 tab operators - service, 2 key punch operators - service, 1 research writer - service, 2 plant helpers - supply, 2 loaders (pt. time) - supply, 1 produce buyer, 1 clerk (Pt.time) supply, 1 PBX-Receptionist - supply, 1 whse. order clerk - retail, 1 mechanic - garage - retail |
| 20 | 14 | 22 | 11 warehousemen - temp. - supply, 1 helper - plant-supply, 1 messenger - service, 8 retail store employees, 1 order clerk - grocery whse. |
| 8 | - | 10 | 5 helpers - plant - supply, 2 whsemen - temporary-supply, 2 retail store employees, 1 mechanic-garage |
| 11 | 2 | 7 | 5 retail store employees, 1 lab technician - supply, 1 tab operator - service |

ay be tested the next week, referred to the interviewer the following week,
r, depending on references received.

Fair Employment Practice Commission, State of California

# STATEMENT ON SURVEYS AND STATISTICS AS TO RACIAL AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF WORK FORCE OR UNION MEMBERSHIP

From time to time various business firms, unions, and government agencies have asked the California Fair Employment Practice Commission to explain how the State FEP Act applies to collecting racial and ethnic information on employees and job applicants. When told that statistical research of this kind is not prohibited by law and is considered desirable under certain circumstances, they have requested guidance as to principles and methods.

The following guidelines apply generally to surveys of racial and ethnic patterns in employment, and to such record-keeping as may be necessary to provide data which can assist administrators in carrying out an affirmative policy of merit employment and equal opportunity. Answers to specific questions may be obtained by writing or telephoning FEPC at one of the offices listed below.

**PRE-EMPLOYMENT INQUIRIES** or specifications as to the race, religious creed, color, national origin, or ancestry of individuals are prohibited by the California Fair Employment Practice Act. The FEP Commission's "Guide to Lawful and Unlawful Pre-employment Inquiries" explains this section of the law, and gives examples of questions which may or may not be asked of an applicant.

Although a job application form may not include any direct or indirect racial or ethnic identification of an individual, it is quite in the spirit of the law to conduct other types of inquiries in order to facilitate or implement a program of equal opportunity for members of all groups. Nothing in FEP law or policy precludes <u>tallying</u>, for statistical purposes, the approximate numbers of applicants or employees of each main ethnic group, or making periodic surveys of the ethnic pattern of a work force, or keeping <u>post-hire</u> records including racial or ethnic data, provided they are never used for discriminatory purposes.

Indeed, in order to achieve equal opportunity for Negro Americans, Mexican Americans, and other minorities, there must be adequate information concerning the unemployed as well as about applicants for specific jobs and jobholders. Relevant statistics are useful, not only in the work of FEPC, but also for the information of management, employment services, labor organizations, and research agencies. Enlightened, affirmative programs to widen opportunities and utilize the manpower potential of minorities can be developed and administered only from a solid basis of relevant facts.

PHILIP M. HAUSER, President of the American Statistical Association, writing of this problem, has said: "Information itself is always neutral. It may be used for 'harmful' purposes but it may also be used for 'beneficent' purposes. Moreover, the absence of information may prevent beneficent action and encourage and perpetuate harmful action."

The National Urban League concluded in 1962 that "at the present time and under the present circumstances the value of mass racial statistics outweighs the admitted dangers" and that such data should be compiled and reported. A high official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has said that the organization advocates the selective collection and publication of racially classified data "where they may be used for constructive ends."

Experience has demonstrated that it is possible for such information to be gathered without affronting the dignity or infringing the rights of individuals or groups, and that it is now essential to do so for the purpose of accelerating progress in nondiscriminatory employment.

IN ORDER TO SERVE this purpose, yet observe firm safeguards against discrimination or misunderstanding, the following principles are suggested:

1. Great care should be taken in choosing the methods of inquiry and transmittal of data on race, color, or ethnic origin. Information

should be obtained quietly, confidentially, and without questioning of individuals orally or through questionnaires. Generally, visual observation plus common-sense supplementary information is the simplest and most satisfactory method. Absolute accuracy is neither possible nor essential. In general, if an employee appears to the observer to be of a given racial or ethnic group, that person will usually be so regarded and treated by others.

2. Post-hire records containing such data which pertain to specific individuals should be maintained for research purposes only, not as part of the operational personnel records of an employee. Such records should contain no identification as to race, color, or ethnic origin.

3. Forms should be designed in such a way as to provide all the information necessary for legitimate statistical and general personnel planning purposes, without such information being disclosed at points where it might be used adversely against individuals by those making specific employment decisions.

4. To be meaningful, a review or survey of the ethnic makeup of a work force should reveal numbers of persons of each main group according to levels of skill or supervision, departments or sections, and other significant breakdowns. Grand totals alone will often be of little or no value in analyzing the results of the survey.

5. No such personnel survey or record-keeping should be concerned with religious preferences or affiliations.

6. Any employer, employment agency, or labor organization undertaking the recording of data by race, color, or ethnic origin should be scrupulous in adhering to these principles and should assume active responsibility for preventing violations of the Fair Employment Practice Act.

Nothing in this statement is to be construed as sanctioning any quota or preferential hiring by reason of race, religion, or ancestry.

Further information may be secured by writing or calling any of the following FEPC offices (all in State of California buildings):

| | |
|---|---|
| San Francisco: | P. O. Box 603, 455 Golden Gate Avenue (phone UNderhill 1-8700, extension 3167) |
| Los Angeles: | 107 South Broadway (phone MAdison 0-2610) |
| Fresno: | 2550 Mariposa Street (phone AMherst 8-7151, (extension 276) |
| San Diego: | 1350 Front Street (phone 232-4361) |

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

John Anson Ford, Chairman
Elton Brombacher
C. L. Dellums
Mrs. Carmen H. Warschaw
Dwight R. Zook

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Ernest B. Webb, Director

DIVISION OF FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

Edward Howden, Chief

November 1963

COMPOSITE EMPLOYMENT REPORT BY
Safeway Operations -- Greater San

| Ethnic Group (by sight) | Applicants to D/E window | Interviewed at D/E | Referred to take tests at D/E | No. taking test | No. passing test and referred to Safeway interviewer | SAFEWAY INTERVIEWS | | NO. REJECT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | From D/E | Other Sources | Rejected | |
| White | 359 | 259 | 172 | 189 | 118 | 146 | 120 | 111 | |
| Negro | 113 | 87 | 65 | 48 | 7 | 10 | 14 | 7 | |
| Spanish-American | 21 | 10 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 3 | |
| All Other Minorities | 18 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |

Totals not applicable since applicants interviewed during a given week may be t
week, and rejected, placed in pending file or hired the following week or later

RT BY ETHNIC GROUPS
r San Francisco Bay Area

4 Weeks Ending December 28, 1963

EJECTED, PENDING, HIRED

| ted | Pending | Hired | Classification |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 141 | 98 | 4 Food Clerks (part time), 39 retail stores, 34 retail stores, 1 foreman - plant - supply, 1 quality control inspector - supply, 1 lab technician, 1 construction engineer - service, 1 comptometer operator - supply, 1 file clerk - service, 1 typist (temp) - retail, 2 warehousemen - meat - retail, 1 warehouseman - frozen - retail, 2 mechanics (temp) - retail, 1 mail clerk - service, 8 warehousemen - coffee-supply |
| | 4 | 17 | 1 food clerk (part time), 3 retail stores, 4 retail stores, 1 janitor (part time)-supply, 1 record clerk - supply, 1 clerk-typist -supply, 6 warehousemen - coffee - supply |
| | 2 | 5 | 5 retail stores |
| | 2 | - | |

be tested the next week, referred to the interviewer the following
later, depending on references received.

OAKLAND CORE
3534 Telegraph Avenue
Oakland, California
January 12, 1964

Oakland CORE respectfully submits the following proposal for discussion at the California CORE Council Conference, January 17, 18 and 19:

That a CORE Committee be created, state-wide in skeleton, to deal with the racial problems involving Labor unions. One of the purposes of this committee would be to persuade the creation of a bi-racial committee, within each union, which will, acting in good faith, insure non-discriminatory policies and practices by employers when requesting the services of union members.

It is our hope that other purposes of this committee will evolve out of discussion.

civil rights

Respectfully submitted,

s/Eugene Drew

Eugene Drew, Chairman
Employment Committee
OAKLAND CORE

workers & form committees

Congress of Racial Equality
Box 34, Marin City, California

Marin CORE has been working on employment problems from two directions. The Employment Committee has been negotiating with the local branches of the businesses with which CORE has negotiated on a state wide basis. They have had success with Macy's, Montgomery Ward's and Penney's. The Committee staged a highly successful "walk-through" in one of our largest shopping centers, converging on Ward's.

The Job Opportunities Committee has been concentrating on the more individualized problems. One, the person with a specific skill; two, the employer who wants to integrate his work staff and who needs people with a particular aptitude and/or interest (Ex. hobby shop manager); three, interested agencies, businesses and organizations who are willing to work on Job Development. There has been demonstrated a great need for skill training for men.

We first began to get job offers which we could not fill. About this time the State Department of Employment appointed a Minority Group Employment Specialist. We gave her our job listings and information on applicants we had already interviewed. She was able to screen more effectively and cut the disappointing, unsuccessful job interviews down considerably. Marin is particularly fortunate in having a person on this job who has had a great deal of experience in the area of minority employment as well as a strong, personal commitment to the Civil Rights Movement. We are in daily contact with her.

The County Board of Supervisors has taken the initiative in the area of increasing minority job opportunities. Their experience is comparable to that of many other Marin large businesses ..... many people who seem to be likely job applicants cannot pass tests which are standard personnel tools. A pilot program was established for which funds were allocated, the first step being for clerical workers.

In order to find all the people interested in job training and increasing their skills, we did a skill inventory. We were now concerning ourselves not only with the unemployed but with the underemployed. The form we used is a part of this report. Over half of the people responding wanted specialized skill training.

Since it has been mutually advantageous to work so closely with the Department of Employment in its programs related to minorities, we feel a great need for closer contact with the Department at the Area Level. Therefore, we propose the following:

RESOLUTION: THAT CORE ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH THE CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT THROUGHOUT THE STATE AT THE AREA LEVEL. REGULAR MEETINGS OF CORE BRANCH REPRESENTATIVES AND THE AREA DIRECTORS IN THEIR VICINITY COULD ACCOMPLISH THE FOLLOWING:

1. CORE COULD BECOME FAMILIAR WITH ALL THE DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS RELATED TO THE EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING OF MINORITIES.

2. WHERE INADEQUACIES EXIST, A JOINT EFFORT COULD BE MADE TO ADJUST THESE PROGRAMS TO EFFECTIVELY MEET ALL THE NEEDS IN MINORITY EMPLOYMENT.

January, 1964

AGENDA FOR CALIFORNIA CORE COUNCIL CONFERENCE - January 17, 18 and 19

CONFERENCE TO BE HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO: SUN REPORTER BUILDING
1366 Turk Street
San Francisco

FRIDAY EVENING - 8:00 PM

LEGAL PANEL - Carl Rachlin, General Council, National CORE
Bev Axelrod, San Francisco CORE's attorney
Mal Burnstein, Berkeley CORE's attorney
Lester Sweet, Santa Clara Valley CORE's attorney

TOPIC: (1) The Law and Civil Rights
(2) The attorney's role in CORE negotiations
(3) The establishment of Western Regional CORE Attorneys

SATURDAY MORNING - 10:00 AM

FEPC PANEL - Mrs. Aileen Hernandez, Assistant Division Chief, FEPC
Mr. Donald K. Henry, Area Supervisor, FEPC
Mr. Phil Murphy, Conslutant, FEPC
Mr. ~~Monte Possey~~ Hugh Taylor, Consultant, FEPC

TOPIC: (1) History and Policy of the FEPC
(2) FEPC's participation in CORE negotiations

LUNCH BREAK

SATURDAY AFTERNOON - 2:00 PM

(1) Gaining support of Unions: Mr. Paul Jacobs, ILWU
(2) Chapter presentations - Statewide Employment Projects
(3) Group discussion - Statewide Employment Projects

(a) Delegates to break into four (4) separate workshops
(b) FEPC Consultant(s) to work with each group

(4) "MOCK CORE MEETING"

(a) Meeting to be co-chaired by:

(1) Norman Hill, Program Director, National CORE
(2) Will Ussery, 2nd Vice-chairman, National CORE
(3) chet duncan, Western Regional Field Secretary

(b) AGENDA: Selection of Statewide Employment Project

SATURDAY EVENING: "Booze Bash" - time and place to be announced during Saturday morning session

SUNDAY MORNING - 10:00 AM

(1) Socio-Dramas

(2) Evaluation of Socio-Dramas

LUNCH BREAK

SUNDAY AFTERNOON: 1:00 PM - Nat Burbridge, NAACP

(1) Community involvement
(2) Gaining active support of other civic and civil rights' organizations
(3) Selection and use of news media for publicizing projects
(4) Evaluation and critique of conference
(5) Press Conference (if possible) - Press will be invited to attend Saturday and Sunday sessions ONLY!

office copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

# WIN FAIR JOB POLICY AT LOS ANGELES SAFEWAY STORES

Los Angeles, Calif., Feb. 13--Following negotiations with Los Angeles CORE, Safeway Stores has issued a policy aimed at bringing about increased employment of Negroes, Mexicans and other minority groups at all its stores in the greater Los Angeles area.

The statement "sincerely welcomes the assistance of CORE and other minority group leaders" and agrees to "regular meetings between Safeway officials and representatives of CORE at least every three months" to review progress.

The company will display "Equal Opportunity Employer" notices at all stores and in all help-wanted ads and will sponsor "Distributive Education Programs" in all local high schools. Also, the company will "re-evaluate and arrange for training for advancement of qualified minority group persons for promotional openings in the Safeway organization."

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office copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and James Peck

SHOP-IN TIES UP SUPERMARKET

San Francisco, Calif., Feb. 27--A technique described by San Francisco CORE Chairman William Bradley as a "shop-in" has proved effective in the action campaign by Bay Area CORE groups and the Baptist Ministers Union to make Lucky Stores adhere to a 4-month-old fair employment agreement.

During that period, the company has hired only 18 Negroes out of 320 new employees in contrast to 50 out of 250 by Safeway. And of 1600 Lucky employees in the state, only 50 are Negroes.

When the shop-in was tried for the first time--at the company's Lakeshore Plaza store, one of the policemen summoned by management told the press that the technique had "tied up the store's operations for two hours."

The technique consists of loading shopping cars with merchandise, having the purchases rung-up by a cashier and then asserting you haven't money to pay. After doing this, CORE demonstrators would go back to the shelves and repeat the process.

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file copy

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ATTN: Marvin Rich and Jim Peck

# CITY-WIDE HOTEL PACT FOLLOWS MASSIVE DEMONSTRATION

San Francisco, Calif., March 12--A city-wide fair employment agreement in the hotel industry was negotiated at City Hall on March 7 following a massive, night-long demonstration at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel which ended with the arrest of 135 participants at 4 A.M.

As part of the contract, the hotel agreed to drop all legal action against the 135 as well as against demonstrators arrested on two previous weekends. Over 1,000 persons had participated in the Sheraton-Palace demonstration, picketing on the outside, marching through the lengthy main-floor corridor and, finally, sitting down at the main entrances. Among the demonstrators were members of CORE groups from the entire Bay area.

The new agreement is between the Hotel Employers Association, representing 33 major hotels and the United Freedom Movement, with which CORE is affiliated, the Baptist Ministers Union and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination. Field Secretary Chet Duncan was the signer for CORE. Negotiations with the Sheraton chain had been initiated some months ago in Boston by Alan Gartner, member of CORE's National Action Committee.

Under the agreement, the hotels will "bring the total employed of minority groups to a level of from 15% to 20% of total employees...by July 20th." All classified ads will mention that the hotels are "Equal Opportunity Employers."

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1. Formation of negotiating committee — no. & people
2. Guidelines for negotiations
3. Utilities
4. Bank

# "DON'T SIGN!"[1]

## Why Catholics Oppose the Initiative Against California's Fair Housing Laws

-- a sermon by The Rev. G.V.Kennard,S.J.
delivered at St. Callistus' Church,
El Sobrante, California, Dec.22,1963.

"Out upon you, that enact ill decrees,
and draw up instruments of wrong;
suppress the claims of the poor,
and refuse redress to humble folk..."
--Isaiah, 10:1

The Catholic Church does not enter lightly into the political arena of a free, self-governing people. To the Bishop and his priests it belongs to proclaim the Gospel and to teach all men what faith and morality demand of them. To the layman it belongs to hear the proclamation, study the teaching, and--in the light of his more intimate acquaintance with the secular life around him--to judge by the light of his own conscience what must be done and to act on his own initiative to bring about a just, harmonious, and peaceful social order. In normal circumstances, this division of labor is carefully observed by the Catholic clergy.

But there come times of crisis when political decisions before the people are so momentous, so charged with moral imperative, and when the enemies of Christian morality are so powerful, so clamorous, so deceitful, so confusing, that Bishops and clergy can no longer be content with expounding moral premises but must go on to draw their conclusions and say to their Catholic people plainly and decisively that such and such a course is wrong.

Catholics of California are today caught up in just this kind of crisis. And the Catholic Bishops of California, true to their teaching mission, are not about to let their people be deceived.

You will find in the December 23rd Western Edition of the New York Times a signed advertisement bearing the name of His Excellency, The Most Reverend Joseph McGucken, Archbishop of San Francisco, together with religious leaders of every major faith, calling for the withdrawal and defeat of the initiative to cancel California's fair housing laws. You have read similar statements by Bishop Donohoe of Stockton and by the Bishop of San Diego. And your own Bishop, through The Catholic Voice of Oakland, has for the last three issues allowed it to be made unmistakably clear that this initiative is contrary to Catholic teaching, contrary to social justice, and must be defeated.

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[1] Title of the lead editorial for Dec. 6, 1963, in The Catholic Voice, Diocese of Oakland.

But let no one say, "The Church is telling us how to vote". The Church is not ordering, but instructing. The Church is not appealing to your obedience, but to your intelligence and to your conscience. As Catholic laymen you have every right to know the reasons behind this extraordinary entry of the Church into the political arena, and to judge these reasons for yourselves.

I shall therefore explain, in the light of the Catholic moral theology and social philosophy which I spent long seminary years in learning, and which I am licensed by your Bishop to preach to you, why the anti-fair-housing initiative of the California Realtors and Apartment House Owners deserves your repudiation.

This initiative petition is wrong in principle, wrong in method, and wrong in motive.

§ 1.

First, the initiative is wrong in principle. The amendment which it seeks to write into California's Constitution speaks of an "absolute discretion" over the disposal of residential property by its owner. It would forbid any agency of government from controlling in any way the owner's disposal of it, no matter how immoral or hurtful to society such a mode of disposal might be. The amendment therefore seeks to write into our State law that theory known historically as the 'absolute' or 'despotic theory' of private ownership.

According to the 'despotic theory', private property is "the sole and despotic dominion over the external things of the world in total exclusion of the right of any other individual in the universe." [The definition is that of Sir William Blackstone, the 18th-century jurist and legal historian.] The theory asserts much more than the right of individuals to acquire and own private property. It asserts that property rights are absolute, not relative; that they are primary, not derivative. It denies, in other words, that property rights are a part of human rights and are bounded by the rights of other human beings. That is what is meant, though not always clearly understood, by people who speak of property rights as though they were distinguishable from civil rights and as though there could be some kind of opposition between civil and human rights on the one hand, and property rights on the other.

Now, the despotic theory of ownership is flatly rejected by the Catholic Church. The despotic theory of ownership is, from the Catholic point of view, a moral heresy. And not only from the Catholic point of view. The central tradition of Protestant social thought and of Jewish social thought rejects the despotic theory as emphatically as does the Catholic.[1]

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[1]Said an AP dispatch for December 7th, reporting the convention of the National Council of Churches: "The delegates demanded that churches unite in support of

The Catholic Church has always defended the right to private property; but it is most important to understand what kind of right it defends. The arguments used by Catholic philosophers tell us what kind of right this is. All the traditional arguments reduce to one: private ownership is justified because in the light of human experience it turns out to be the best way to make our God-given fund of material goods serve the common good of all mankind. Hence, private property is not an absolute natural right valid for all times and in the same way regardless of existing conditions and the existing type of society. It is a relative and derivative right, flowing from the social nature of man and from social utility. "The truth is that the social character of private property is not a sort of afterthought of only relative importance. It is of the very essence of private property...The individualist's exaggerated view of private endeavor is one of the greatest hoaxes ever to slip into the stream of conventional wisdom."[1]

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federal, state and local laws that guarantee, without racial or religious discrimination....the right to rent or buy and occupy housing everywhere."

The Presbyterian General Assembly in 1959, "believing that state legislation which makes discrimination in the sale and rental of dwellings unlawful under certain specified conditions is urgently needed in most states in order to help create a non-discriminatory housing market...urges United Presbyterian Church judicatories publicly to support the passage of fair housing legislation..."

The Oakland Council of Churches adopted the following resolution (quoted in full in the December 20th issue of The Catholic Voice) denouncing the California Realtors' constitutional initiative in these words: "We, the directors of the Oakland Council of Churches wish to express our opposition to the campaign for a constitutional initiative now being supported by the California Real Estate Association, the California Apartment House Owners Association, the Home Builders Association, and others....

"Such a restriction of the authority of a state legislature would be unique among the fifty states and contrary to our traditional concepts of representative republican government. We feel that to deprive present or future legislatures of the power to legislate is unwise, and would establish undesirable precedent.

"More important to us, however, are the moral and human issues involved. The effect of the proposed constitutional amendment...would be to perpetuate evil and unjust patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in housing, and to establish the principle that the right to practice racial discrimination is more deserving of legal safeguard than the right of all citizens to have equal access to the resources of our community.

"The campaign for the initiative, hastily undertaken before a fair test could be made of current legislation against racial discrimination in housing, will serve only to make the urgently needed solution of problems in this area more difficult, and to embitter further relations between racial groups in our state.

"We urge all men of good will and prudence in the state to oppose the initiative campaign, and especially do we call upon the realtors in our city...to urge full and open discussion of fair housing legislation in their group, and to seek to persuade the state Real Estate Association to withdraw its support of the initiative."

Boards of Jewish Rabbis have been equally outspoken in recent public statements. The Jewish position on legislative support for non-discriminatory housing has been advanced forcefully over a period of years by many Jewish community-service organizations. A typical presentation of the Jewish point of view may be found in Chapter II of Justice and Judaism: The Work of Social Action, by Albert Vorspan and Eugene J. Lipman (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1956).

[1] Father W.J.Davis, S.J., "Mrs. Murphy's Private Rights", America, October 19th.

But supposing one were to say, that may all be true according to the Catholic theory of property, but the American theory found in our Constitution is different, and the Constitution guarantees me the right to do what I want with my property and sell or refuse to sell it to whomever I want for whatever reason.

Not so. The Constitution does no such thing. No one who has attentively read it or who knows anything about our legal tradition can sensibly claim that the Constitution rejects any and all social control over the disposition of property. Just the contrary is what the Constitution implies when it says that deprivation of property or its use must proceed only by "due process of law". Whether we look at the Judaeo-Christian theory of private property or at the theory of property enshrined in our Constitution, in our laws, and in the decisions of our American courts, we get the same result: the despotic theory of property is unChristian, unJewish, and unAmerican. The Realtors' initiative, therefore, must be judged as a radical rejection of the ethical and religious, as well as the political consensus on which our Constitution and laws are rooted.

The system of laws under which we live has not just happened, nor was it thought up out of the blue in 1789. It is part and parcel of a rich, complex, and thoroughly rational system of principles built up from the early Middle Ages. It is the product of Judaeo-Christian morality and of Greco-Roman reason, and it is the hallmark of Western Civilization. According to this legal tradition, property is not absolute but is a system of rights and duties that are determined by society. According to this tradition, that larger tradition of which American law is an unbroken continuation, it is correct to say that the social institution we know as 'private property' is actually the creation of the laws of the land. "It is a primitive, naive, and false view of private property to urge that it is not subject to the laws which express the national purpose and the national conscience...No civilized society has long tolerated the despotic theory of private property. This conception of property is alien to the central truths of Christendom...", as social philosopher Walter Lippman put it last September.

To be convinced of this, you need only re-read your December 15th issue of The Catholic Voice (page 14), in which three-quarters of a page are given over to a lecture by one of this nation's top authorities on the law of property, Professor Richard R. B. Powell. His lecture proves beyond any shadow of doubt that in American law the criterion is always the same: "Is the claimed exercise of property rights one which is consistent with the public welfare?" If not, no 'property right' exists at all. Professor Powell lists twenty different kinds of laws, all of them upheld by American courts, which deny to individual owners various options in the use and disposal of their property precisely on the grounds that such use would tend to be detrimental to the common welfare. Professor Powell proves beyond question that the

use of one's property, including the renting or disposing of it in the real estate market, in socially damaging ways falls legitimately within the police power of the state to prevent.

Consequently, if a Realtor, or a John Bircher, or anyone else claims as a Catholic to be entitled to hold the despotic theory of property and to try to write it into our state Constitution, he is only confessing his ignorance of both Catholicism and American law.

This discussion of the 'despotic' theory of property has been necessary, even though it is probably true that the California Realtors and Apartment House Owners have no interest in a general theory. They are interested, it seems clear, not in property rights but in monopoly rights. What they are interested in is a particular application of the despotic theory. They are asserting--and bear in mind that this is the nub of the whole controversy--the 'right' of the property owner to discriminate against Negroes just because they are Negroes, if that is his wish. The President of the National Association of Real Estate Boards made this very clear last June when he proclaimed that the "declared rights" asserted in the Realtors' "Property Owners' Bill of Rights" were intended to assert the right of an owner or landlord to determine the acceptability of a vendee or tenant on the basis of such person's "race, color, or creed" [Daniel F. Sheehan, speaking in St. Louis; cf. Realtor's Headlines, June 10, 1963, page one].

The Realtors and their allies are not, officially, defending racial discrimination as a good thing. They are saying officially, to be fair with them, only that if you deny an owner the option of discriminating against buyers of his property by reason of their race alone, you are denying in a fundamental way his 'right' to his own property.

From what we have already seen, it is clear what the answer must be. The answer can only be that there cannot be any kind of 'right'--natural, constitutional, legal, moral, or any other kind--to do what is morally wrong and what, from the legal point of view, the conscience of a people has decided by "due process of law" to ban as harmful to the community.

That leaves us with just two questions. They are questions of fact. Is the act of discrimination against racial and religious minorities in jobs, education, housing or whatnot, actually immoral? and is it harmful to the community?

The answers to these questions are--regardless of what individual Realtors may say (and their organization has at least the good sense and decency not to claim otherwise)--unanimous and certain. From Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism we hear a thunderous "Yes! racial discrimination is gravely immoral!" From modern social science we are confronted with a veritable mountain of research that answers: "Yes!

racial discrimination is a malignant social evil--the very greatest social evil of our time."

There is yet another reason why the Realtors' initiative, asserting the despotic theory of property, is so very wrong in principle. If we debar ourselves permanently from using our laws and courts to solve the problem of residential segregation, we are admitting that there is within the free-enterprise capitalist system no remedy beyond that which has already, for a century, proved hopelessly inadequate: namely, the moral virtue of private citizens helplessly pitting their higher aspirations against deeply entrenched, nationwide (and, to some persons, highly profitable) evil social institutions. Very well. If private ownership means this, so the Communists argue, then nothing will do but a change of ownership. The state must become the owner of everything.[1]

We have here a supreme irony. What the Realtors and the Birchers set before us as 'true Americanism' and the 'foundation of our way of life' turns out to be the one theory that, if adopted, would make the victory of Communism inevitable. The Communist theory of property is wrong; but the Realtors' theory of property, which is equally wrong, will make it seem plausible to many people. Both theories are, of course, extremist views. Truth here, as so often in ethical and practical matters, turns out to lie between the two extremes. Property rights do exist; but they consist in a system of rights and duties determined by the needs of the common good in concrete historical situations. Understood correctly as a system of rights and duties toward persons, 'property rights' cannot meaningfully be played off against 'human rights' or 'civil rights' and we must reject this bogus distinction together with the despotic theory of ownership.[2]

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[1] "Exaggerated individualism has traditionally blasted all social reforms with bromides about freedom from interference, private rights, private initiative, and creeping socialism. But the ironic truth is that no one makes social reforms more necessary than does the individualist. Numerous social problems, calling for government regulation, are the direct result of his laissez-faire principles. Granted, for instance, that I can do as I please with my property, then naturally enough I can shift the location of my plant without regard to employee dislocation; I can hire and fire without regard for collective bargaining; I can engage in rack-renting, in real-estate speculation, and in a host of other activities that result in social harm. Discrimination against Negroes caps a long list of abuses resulting from the liberalist view of "the sanctity of private property". In fact, even the various forms of collectivism, which the individualists so universally fear, frequently follow from this same false premise of the absolute nature of private property."--Father William J. Davis, S.J., "Mrs. Murphy's Private Rights" (America, October 19, 1963). This comprehensive article is reprinted and distributed free by the Catholic Interracial Councils of Oakland, P.O. Box 137, Berkeley, California 94701.

[2] To be fair with the Realtors one should consider their arguments in more detail. See Appendix, page 16.

Here is the place to remark that the controversy over the Realtors' initiative is not between Republicans and Democrats, or between liberals and conservatives. On the issue of legislative backing for equal access to property by all races, both parties are officially on record and in agreement.[1] And the political philosophy known as 'conservatism' is in essence this: social change must be organic and developmental; it must go forward by conserving the established traditions and acquired social habits of a people, not by sudden theoretic leaps and revolutionary transformations. But the American tradition is precisely that which finds the people directing their governments to "secure the general welfare", to safeguard the free economy by governmental controls, to foster all kinds of economic and social welfare by a unique kind of partnership between free voluntary associations of private enterprise with governmental agencies. The Rumford law and the other laws which the Realtors' initiative seeks to cancel stand squarely within the existing American tradition, whereas the initiative itself--as something new, alien, abrupt and radically revolutionary--is profoundly anti-conservative. It is in fact just that kind of 'economic liberalism', to use the exact technical term, which stands condemned over and over in the Papal documents of the twentieth century.[2]

I hope that by now, my fellow Catholics, you begin to understand why our Bishops are so excited and worried by the deceptively simple 'amendment' which the Realtors are asking us to write into our laws, and why the initiative petitions they are asking us to sign are, in principle, so very, very wrong.

§ 2.

But the Realtors' initiative is not only wrong in principle. It is wrong also in method. Mr. 'Spike' Wilson, President of the California Real Estate Association, has said: "The circulation of the initiative petition is only to allow the public the right to vote on an important issue. Surely, no patriotic American wants to deny his fellow citizens the right to vote."[3] About the real motives behind this

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[1] President Kennedy's message to Congress contained these words: "No property owner who holds his property for the purpose of serving at a profit the American public at large can claim any inherent right to exclude a part of that public on grounds of race or color." Similarly the Republican platform of 1960 said, in dealing with "equality under law": "It becomes a reality only when all persons have equal opportunity, without distinction of race, religion, color or national origin, to acquire the essentials of life--housing, education and employment."

[2] As for example the Quadragesimo Anno of Pius XI, in which we read: "It follows from what We have termed the individual and at the same time social character of ownership that men must consider in this matter not only their own advantage but also the common good. To define these duties in detail when necessity requires and the natural law has not done so is the function of those in charge of the state. Therefore public authority, under the guiding light always of the natural and divine law, can determine more accuratly, upon consideration of the true requirements of the common good, what is permitted and what is not permitted to owners in the use of their property. [§49]"

[3] It is a bitter irony that the Realtors, who are demanding that the people be

touching sentiment we shall have more to say presently. First, what about the argument that the people should be allowed to vote on this 'amendment'?

The first thing to notice is that the argument contains an implicit falsehood. The people have voted already. They have in a sense voted twice: once indirectly when, through their elected representatives they overwhelmingly and after prolonged study voted the Rumford Bill into law. The second time the people voted directly, and it is important to remember this. Before the Rumford Bill was due to become law, the Realtors utilized that direct appeal to the voters known as the referendum. They circulated petitions among the voters which, had they received sufficient signatures, would have suspended the law until it could be voted on at a general election. This was an honorable and open attempt to have the people directly, if they so wished, cancel the law in question. By refusing the necessary signatures to this referendum petition, the California voters in effect voted directly to sustain the Rumford Law and give it a chance to operate.

Now after being twice voted down by the people and their representatives, the Realtors are back again: but this time with great deception. Their newest move, the initiative to 'amend' the Constitution, does not mention the Rumford law in its text. Under cover of a righteous-sounding declaration about the immunity of property rights from government, Realtors are actually asking California to legalize bigotry. The initiative and referendum procedures were intended originally to give the people a remedy against the possibility that powerful special-interest groups (such as the powerful lobby maintained in Sacramento by the Realtors) might induce the legislature to pass laws furthering their own interests but contrary to the people's interests. What we now witness is a reverse kind of situation. The legislature resisted the powerful real estate lobby, listened to religious and community-serving organizations, and passed the Rumford Law. And so the Realtors decided to transfer their expensive lobbying tactics to the public forum in the hope that by such deceptive mis-statements of the issue as their "Property Owners' Bill of Rights" they might confuse the people into voting back the monopolistic and market-restricting practices of which the people's legislature had deprived the Realtors.

There can be no question about the value of referendum and initiative procedures rightly conducted, but there is every question whether the Realtors' deceptive amendment is a proper instrument for an initiative measure. And it is patently dishonest to claim, as the Realtors do, that their opponents are trying to deny the people's right to vote when what they are denying is that the Realtors' initiative is a proper and votable proposal.

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allowed to decide, do not even extend this right to decide to their own membership. One prominent Realtor has said that the C.R.E.A. is a "monolithic and a captive group". Neither the Contra Costa nor the Oakland Boards, for example, would allow opponents of the initiative to get up and speak at their meetings, nor did they circulate to their membership any arguments opposing the official position imposed from the top.

The reasons why the Realtors' initiative is not a proper initiative measure to put before the people are these: (1) the amendment's language is deceptive and its real purposes are disguised; (2) our state Constitution requires that an initiative be confined to just one issue, whereas the Realtors' initiative embodies many issues; (3) a proposal to prevent the legislature from implementing constitutional rights belongs in the section dealing with the function of the legislature and should not be tacked on as an 'amendment' without organic relation to the rest of the Constitution; (4) an amendment, like the rest of California's laws, should be equally applicable to all persons in the category with which it deals; but the Realtors' amendment cannot apply to all homeowners equally, since FHA-insured and Veterans homes would be immune to its application by reason of federal laws.

The most compelling reason, however, why the initiative is not a proper measure for the people's vote is that by reason of the far-reaching principle which it introduces (the 'despotic' theory of property ownership) the initiative aims not at constitutional amendment but at constitutional revision and upheaval. And while direct constitutional revision may be the practice of tiny, or primitive, or brand new democracies, it is not the way of American democracy and never has been. Ours is not a so-called direct democracy but a representative one: that is, as conservatives in our day never tire of reminding us, we have a Republican form of government.

In adopting our form of government we decided to make the framing of laws the duty of a special group, our ablest representatives, to whom we give at least temporary immunity from our popular passions by guaranteeing them a certain term of office. As Oakland's conservative (and Catholic) Mayor Houlihan pointed out in the December 21st issue of the Tribune, the initiative is subversive of our form of government. "It would", he said, "operate as a restriction of the authority of the legislature contrary to the traditional concepts of representative republican government."[1]

"Let the people decide!" say the Realtors. But do the Realtors really have in mind an appeal to the people's reason, or to their passions? To answer this question, one trip to the campaign headquarters for the initiative (or the John Birch centers, which are passing out the same material) is sufficient. Let me quote from a handout picked up at the downtown Berkeley center from which the Realtors distribute their material:

> "We know that a small minority coalition of pressure groups (California Democratic Clubs, American Civil Liberties Union, Communist Party, Americans for Democratic Action, CORE, NAACP and the Socialist Party) control the State Legislature...This army worked and elected and legally seized control of the Democratic State Legislature, Governor's seat and many congressional seats."

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[1] Even Realtor spokesman Clare F. Short admits that questions of property rights cannot be determined by just anybody, he writes. "It is impossible for the property owners to do the necessary review and research to protect themselves from legislative erosion of their rights."--see The Catholic Voice, December 15, 1963, p. 15.

This stuff is not rational political debate. It is innuendo; it is fear-mongering; it is the vicious technique of smearing the opposition with the 'Communist' label; it aims directly at that reign of unreason and suspicion in public life of which this nation is sick unto death--even to the death of a President.

And are the Realtors, of all people, just on their record and present performance, the ones to lead California in rational discussion of the issues? Look at their use of words. "Forced housing!" is their battle-cry. Now, anyone who can study the Rumford Law and say that about it is either dishonest or incapable of using the English language in a responsible manner. And see how the Realtors treat opposing argument. The Richmond paper less than two weeks ago told how the Realtors of the Contra Costa Board at their own meeting shouted down and would not even listen to the only member who rose to speak against the official representative of the C.R.E.A. "If in the green wood they do these things, what will be done in the dry?"

I was present this week at a meeting of the Contra Costa Council of Churches at which leaders of the Realtors were invited to state their case and answer questions. I assure you, the priests and ministers present were shocked and sickened at the Realtors' refusal to answer direct questions, speak to the point, and have done with vague innuendoes and outright smears.

No, the tactics, public utterances and campaign material of the California Realtors to date is a pretty fair indication that they intend simply to bypass the people's reason and work directly on their fears, suspicions and hates. Governor Brown has predicted that, should the Realtors' initiative actually get on the ballot, this state will be deluged in racist acrimony such as it has never seen, and that inter-group relations in California will be set back fifty years. Do we want to see California become a mecca for every Negro-hating outfit in the land? Can we stand the inpouring of racist money and the infestation of race-haters that will come crawling out of the woodwork? The Realtors, strangely enough, are making no attempt to deny that this will happen. They seem unperturbed over the corruption of public debate that is certain to overwhelm us, and quite willing that the political process in California be debased to the level of a Dallas hate-fest or a Birmingham brawl.

And it will surely happen, is happening even now, because so much is at stake for the racists. The underlying principle of President Kennedy's civil rights bill coming before Congress is that it belongs to the police power of government to prevent systematic inequality of treatment by reason of race. If America's racists can contrive to show Congress and a watching country that even in progressive California, the number-one state, the citizens will not accept this principle, then American racism may well have won the day. In the light of all this, is it not clear beyond doubt that the Realtors' initiative scheme is, if anything, even more wrong in method than it is in principle?

§ 3.

But the wrongness of the Realtors' initiative comes into even sharper focus when we consider their motivation. It is wrong, and very wrong, for any group of citizens to put their own financial advantage ahead of the common good. (When this is done by selling secrets to the enemy, we call it 'treason'.) And it is doubly wrong to conceal such motivation behind a façade of fine language about rights and freedoms and patriotism, and to decorate deceptive ads, as the Realtors do, with the American Eagle and the colors red, white and blue.

This is a serious accusation, not to be made lightly, especially from the pulpit; and so I beg you to listen most carefully to my words, which I shall most carefully weigh.

I accuse no one individual, not even Realtor President 'Spike' Wilson. I know personally too many good and honorable men who are Realtors. Indeed, not a few of them have courageously stood up against their leadership and fought for principle within their Boards at great personal cost and danger of reprisal and financial loss, and personal ostracism from their associates. Furthermore, it is beyond question that of those Realtors who support the initiative, many do so because they are simply uninformed and have never had the time or the training to consider the social research pertinent to their industry or to weigh the type of question we have been raising. Many, again, like so many people today, are ethno-centric and herd-minded conformists. As in all groups, there are many well meaning persons who go along uncritically with the crowd. The Realtors' professional organization has presented them with only one side of the question, the 'official' party-line worked out by the leaders. But to the great credit of the rank-and-file Realtor, whenever the local Board has allowed both sides to be openly considered there have been some admirable decisions. The Boards of Realty have officially <u>opposed</u> the anti-fair-housing initiative in San Francisco, in Palo Alto, in Watsonville, in Atherton-Menlo Park, and in the San Fernando Valley of Southern California. This shows that, when presented with both sides, Realtors as a group are as capable of reason and principle as any other body of fair-minded Americans.

We must, however, consider the real motivation of the leadership of the California Realtors, since, as we have seen, the case for the radical new amendment is so totally lacking in objective merit. (A learned professor of law recently remarked that "The initiative proposal before the state represents a morality that would be expected in a juvenile delinquent, and a social conscience of a person recently returned from a Rip Van Winkle sleep".) What then are the possible hidden motives that may be at work?

I hope you realize exactly what a 'Realtor' is. The term does not apply to all licensed real estate brokers and salesmen. It is a copyrighted term, owned by an organization which has a (quite legitimate) monopoly on the Multiple Listing Service, which is a device very useful to buyers and sellers of residential property, and one which gives the association possessing it a high degree of influence over the housing market and the racial patterns of neighborhoods. Realtors are organized into local Boards, then into statewide associations, and then again into a powerful National Association of Real Estate Boards.

Now, when a Realtor handles the sale of a home worth $20,000, he extracts for his services a fee of $1,200: six percent. The financial success of the Realtor does not depend so much on the number of homes in the community but on the number of times they are sold. The Realtor has a stake in high residential mobility. Now, people move for many reasons, but especially to get out of an undesirable neighborhood and to get their children into desirable school districts. Neighborhoods are by many people thought to be undesirable if they are racially mixed. In the past, as can be documented, many Realtors actively fostered this belief, and especially the now disproven belief that property values necessarily fall when the minorities move in. So, when the minorities finally begin to move in to the fringes of a neighborhood, white people have generally begun to move out. And because Realtors and other brokers have systematically refused to sell or show homes to minorities in all-white neighborhoods, or to allow Negro agents in most cases to become members of Realty Boards and Multiple Listing Services, and because home-loan businesses and banks have followed the same discriminatory pattern--all of which has been fully documented--neighborhoods in the North are at this time largly unmixed, except at the edges. That is precisely the reason we are stuck with the problem of de facto school segregation, and that is one of the biggest reasons why prejudice lives on: because white people cannot really come to know Negroes of their own economic and cultural class, since they don't have them as neighbors and fellow churchmen and social acquaintances.

All very bad, no doubt. But very good for the real estate business. Because every time the pattern begins to be broken, homes begin to change hands briskly. New lilly-white suburbs are built, families flow outward from the central cities in concentric rings, and every time the Realtor sells a home he picks up six percent of its cost as his fee.

But now comes the Rumford Law, and such things as President Kennedy's Civil Rights Bill. And suddenly there will be no places for white people to move where Negroes and other minorities of comparable income and background won't also be able to move. So, the fast home turnover slows down, and fewer commissions are earned. Moreover, the white Realtor will probably not get, so he fears, many of the sales to minority buyers into previously 'forbidden neighborhoods', since there are plenty of

minority brokers around and they can no longer be kept out of the Boards of Realty.

And so, the 'keepers of the walls', as the Realtors have been aptly called, are bestirring themselves. And they are asking the people of California to write them a blank check for the legalization of bigotry: a simple-sounding Constitutional revision that will make it hereafter impossible for the people's governments to prevent this very profitable quasi-monopoly over transactions in the better homes, or to exchange the present pattern of de facto neighborhood segregation with its high residential turnover for integrated, calm and stable communities offering fewer sales and fewer six-percent Realtors' commissions.

We are now better able to understand why a powerful business organization is willing to play a game so potentially unpopular, so dangerous, and so very expensive.[1] The reason is that unless the Realtors can successfully assert the 'right' of the property owner to discriminate, if he wants to, according to his "absolute discretion" (i.e., independently of any considerations of morality or social responsibility), then the Realtor as his agent will no longer be able to do a lot of the things which he has been doing, at a profit.

Now, there exists an exact terminology for what it is that the Realtors have been doing. They have been exercising, on behalf of white homeowners, a 'monopoly'. They have been 'manipulating' the racial patterns of neighborhoods. They have been practising 'economic collusion'. They have been 'conspiring' to impose 'restraints on trade'. They have systematically 'controlled a market' and 'excluded' a certain portion of the ready-willing-and-able buying public from that market.

Putting the matter this way, we see the Realtors' motivations in their true colors. And the colors are emphatically not the red, white and blue that adorns Realtors' ads. We now see that the Rumford Law is really no different from lots of other laws we have already got and which we wouldn't dream of cancelling: laws that strike down monopolies, price-fixing, and other restrictions against our free-enterprise competitive American economy. Just like these other laws, which our Justice Departments are engaged in enforcing day after day in the interests of a free economy, the restrictions imposed by the Rumford Law on operators in the market are justified by the greater liberties they insure within the whole free-enterprise system. Just laws and restraints are, in our system, only those whose net result is an increase of freedom for all. The crowning dishonesty of the Realtors is that they are trying to apply to the California fair housing laws the very term that exactly fits the practices they have so long engaged in: 'forced housing'.

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[1] According to an article in The Catholic Voice, Realtors have already amassed one million dollars for the campaign. A professional collector of signatures recently told some civil rights people in San Francisco that he could make $100,000 collecting names for the Realtors, and wanted to know how much they would pay him not to do so!

Now, is this analysis of possible motivation being unfair to the Realtors? Their professions of belief sound so admirable, so patriotic. The answer is simple. To test the purity and single-mindedness of Realtors' devotion to 'property rights', let us look down the list of items in their "Property Owners' Bill of Rights". (You will find it on page fourteen of your Catholic Voice for December 13th.) Where is the right to acquire property, the right to become a property owner? That too is a 'property right', if anything is. It is in fact just the right which has lifted civilized man out of feudalism.

But we find not a single word about it! Do the Realtors hold that we all, regardless of our pigment and just as American citizens, enjoy equal rights to acquire property and to compete equally in a free market for the better homes? As a professional organization the Realtors are being suspiciously quiet about this particular 'property right'. Let them therefore revise their "Property Owners' Bill of Rights" to include all property rights; let them show us some evidence that they mean to include themselves when they warn about the "erosion of liberty". Let them promise publicly to cease and desist from eroding the liberties of millions of dark-skinned Americans by excluding them from the open housing market. Until then, fair minded Americans aware of the Realtors' well documented past practices are entitled to the conviction that the California Realtors' initiative is as wrong in motive as it is wrong in principle and wrong in method.

## Conclusion

What then are we to do? First of all, as your Catholic Voice warns you, "DON'T SIGN!" If you have already signed an initiative petition, unaware of all that is at stake, write to your county clerk and get him to take your name off the petition. Then, persuade other people not to sign. Arm yourself with fact and argument. Introduce the subject in conversations with friends and business associates. In the words of St. Paul,

> "Preach the word, be urgent in season and out of season, convince, rebuke, and exhort, be unfailing in patience and in teaching. For the time is coming when people will not endure sound teaching, but having itching ears they will accumulate for themselves teachers to suit their own likings, and will turn away from listening to the truth and wander into myths." [2 Timothy, 4:1-5]

But more is required. The problem of socially and morally harmful business traffic in indecent films did not begin to be solved until Catholics launched a nationwide consumers' strike against the purveyors of indecent films. This movement was called the 'Legion of Decency'. Today in California there is in existence a somewhat similar movement, launched not by Catholics but by civic and religious leaders of all faiths. It is called The League for Decency in Real Estate. To promote this movement in the two East Bay counties there exists an East Bay Center,

with headquarters at 1646 Prince Street, Berkeley, California 94703. The Associates who direct this center will publicly identify the decent Realtors and other real estate agents and encourage the patronizing of them. They will try to educate the public accurately in the advantages which use of a real estate broker offers to home owners and home seekers. At the same time they will assist the boycotting of those agents who oppose fair housing and the State fair housing laws by spreading the concept of the direct sale and disseminating information about the do-it-yourself approach to real estate transactions in which the broker is bypassed and the seller saves the commission of six percent of his home's value. You may secure the League's releases and contribute to its operation by writing to the East Bay Center at the above address.

This is only a suggestion. What precisely you are to do is a problem of conscience which only you can resolve in the light of your own abilities and opportunities. There cannot, however, be any doubt about the obligation in conscience of all of us, as Catholics and as loyal Americans, to see to the defeat of the initiative against fair housing.

To do any less would be to find no profit in the martyrs' blood of the Birmingham children, and of Medgar Evars---yes, and of John F. Kennedy.

Dear friends, these are strong words to hear from a Catholic pulpit. But then, your Catholic Bishop of Oakland used strong words when by a special memorandum to his priests last August he directed them to place themselves in the forefront of the struggle for racial justice. We have arrived at a moment of truth for our State. It is even more a moment of truth for our Church. This time, and from henceforth, the Catholic Church is determined not to fail the cause of justice.

It is the season of peace, and I have called you to battle. But then, as St. Bernard has said, "God hates the peace of those he has destined for war." No one can love justice, and peace which is "the fruit of justice", without hating the cause of those bent upon strife and who, in the words of our text, "enact ill decrees, and draw up instruments of wrong; suppress the claims of the poor, and refuse redress to humble folk."

And so with high courage---yes, and with holy indignation---let us now get on with the celebration of Mass: that banquet of our oneness with Christ and one another in which we find the purest symbol of the unity, in justice and love, of the whole family of man---white, red, yellow, brown and black---which Jesus Our Saviour was born into this world and died to bring to pass.

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## APPENDIX

It is hard to take seriously the various arguments which the California Realtors are using to support their initiative petition, in the light of the concealed motivation which they do not describe and in the light of their past performances and utterances. In the campaign which the Realtors waged against the Berkeley fair housing ordinance they were saying--in paid ads and campaign literature that is part of the record--that what was needed was not a local fair housing ordinance but a statewide law, applying equally to all municipalities. Now they have got such a law, and it is a weaker law even than the Berkeley ordinance. And these same Berkeley Realtors are proving that their earlier statements favoring such a statewide law were just campaign window-dressing.

Still, we must try to deal fairly with the Realtors' arguments, in whatever spirit they are offered.

What the Realtors are saying about the Rumford Law seems to imply that they think it not such a bad law in itself, but rather that they are afraid of the precedent which it sets. They seem to be arguing against future possibilities more than against present actualities. They speak of a possible "legislative erosion" of our rights. If the people's legislature can outlaw discrimination against otherwise qualified Negroes, might it not go on to outlaw other kinds of discrimination as well, even those which enrich and diversify our society? Suppose for instance that a landlord wanted only college graduates for tenants in his apartment. How could the legislature justly deny him this right?

The answer is that here and now (and for the foreseeable future) this kind of discrimination is not a widespread, entrenched social evil and therefore a law against it could not be constitutionally justified. Should it ever become such an evil, then the legislature would have to decide in the light of then existing social facts whether outlawing it might be justified. The mere fact that one kind of discrimination at one time was found socially evil and widespread, and was therefore barred by civil law, would not automatically license legislative banning of every kind of discriminating choice, any more than outlawing speeds of over sixty-five miles per hour on highways would automatically justify or make probable the outlawing of all speeds on highways. What the Realtors are forgetting (if they do sincerely entertain such reasoning) is how laws are actually made and what makes laws justifiable under our constitutional system. They seem also to be assuming that future legislatures are likely to be made up of legal nincompoops.

A second argument made by the Realtors is that laws are not a proper way of dealing with social evils such as discrimination by race. "You can't legislate morality", they say over and over; and so they adopt as their own solution the banal and hackneyed appeal to "education".

The answer is, again, that the Realtors are showing a profound ignorance of what laws are. In one obvious sense you cannot make persons moral by passing laws, and no sensible person has ever maintained that you could. But law is not intended directly to make persons moral. Law is intended to prevent people from doing some of the things that are immoral, when those actions have a disastrous social consequence. Laws are a device which people living together have invented to make them do what they know they ought to do even when they do not feel like doing it, and when the absence of legal compulsion would mean that only the good people would so perform. Between trying to legislate morality into people, and trying to legislate certain immoral actions out of a community, there is a vast difference, and one that should be obvious to any person of sense.

Furthermore, laws are the most powerful educational force there is. Nothing educates a citizen faster than to find out that what he is doing is against the law.

Laws can educate in still other ways. The fair housing laws of California, though they are not directly education, nevertheless do set up conditions which are supremely educational: namely, integrated neighborhoods in which neighbors of different races can learn from personal experience how baseless are their prejudices. Paradoxically, by insisting on the right to discriminate against Negroes, Realtors are in effect

opposing the only kind of education that could in the long run be effective.

The ignorance of law in general, shown by the Realtors, comes out in still another way. By repeating the hackneyed and misleading phrase, "You can't legislate morality", they obscure the fact that law is not aimed at the injustice in the hearts of people but at the social causes of injustice. Child labor laws were not intended to make factory owners feel more kindly toward children, but at removing the necessity of employing children in order to compete with other factories which employed children. These laws were aimed at wiping out an unjust practice, at correcting a settled 'institution', at changing a social habit. It was a pattern of behaviour and not personal motives behind that behaviour that was aimed at. So it is also with the Rumford law and the other California laws outlawing unfair and discriminatory practices.

Thus, we come to a connection between law and morality which the Realtors totally overlook. All of us have an obligation to work at the improvement of conditions, the reform of institutions, the removal, by cooperative effort, of the causes of our neighbor's misery. Sometimes, only new laws can do this. That is so in the present case because there are so many irrational, deep-seated and ungetoverable prejudices at work in people. When voluntary and private means have failed, as they have failed for a century to correct racial injustice, then compulsory and public means must be found, as President Johnson reminded us in his first address to the Congress of the United States. The civil law in cases such as neighborhood segregation must step in to secure the common good, as it must in every case of supreme import to the common good when voluntary and subsidiary agencies have failed. This, the universal teaching of Catholic moralists, is what the Realtors' arguments seem to be denying.

Thus all decent citizens have an obligation to support fair housing laws. But Realtors who are in a position to do this more effectively and with closer knowledge of the evil are more obliged than anyone else. It is a tragic dereliction of duty, a grave sin of omission, that Realtors over the years have not lifted a finger to correct the injustices within their own industry. That is why the people's legislatures must now step in to do the job. If, as the Realtors tell us, it is education that is wanted, why have they failed for half a century and more to educate even their own membership? If education against discrimination cannot succeed with Realtors, can it succeed with the public at large?

Finally, the California Realtors' claim that the people should be allowed to decide on their initiative will continue to seem patently insincere so long as Realtors in their campaign material and personal utterances steadfastly refuse to face or answer the kinds of arguments we have proposed in this sermon. If it is public debate they are really interested in promoting, they themselves must agree to speak to the real issues. The following statement, from the Catholic Human Relations Council of Los Angeles [3536 West 75th Place, Inglewood, Cal.] is a typical statement of the reasoning which all California religious groups, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, are directing against the Realtors' initiative:

> "...This proposed amendment is contrary to Christian morality, opposed to traditional American principles and of doubtful constitutionality. It would pretend to give owners of real estate 'absolute discretion' in renting or selling their property to whomever they choose.
>
> "The Rumford Fair Housing Act does not endanger legitimate private property rights. It does not force homeowners to sell, nor does it deprive them of the right to keep, freely use, and dispose of their property in morally acceptable ways. Homeowners are still free to select tenants or buyers on any basis they desire, so long as they apply the same criteria to all persons without regard to 'race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin.'
>
> "Only God has 'absolute discretion' over what He owns and [quoting Pope Pius XI] 'the Creator Himself has given man the right of private ownership not only that individuals may be able to provide for themselves and their families, but also that the goods which the Creator destined for the entire family of mankind may through this institution truly serve this purpose'...The Rumford Fair Housing Act, therefore, clearly conforms to Catholic moral teachings and the initiative against it runs counter to these teachings. It may be vigorously opposed on these grounds alone.
>
> "The initiative may also be vigorously opposed because it runs contrary to traditional American principles. The 14th amendment to the U.S.Constitution commands that 'No state shall...deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.' The proposed...amendment would attempt to legalize racial and religious discrimination by forbidding the state to protect its citizens from injustice. Thus the proposed amendment is contrary to the plain meaning of the federal constitution."

THE LEAGUE FOR DECENCY IN REAL ESTATE, AND CORE

[Attached items:

"A Program for Action": a one-page release about the League, its principles and its methods;

"How to Make Believers out of Realtors": a five-page set of notes putting forward the general approach and possible lines of action, used as a basis for discussion prior to the formation of the League and its East Bay Center (some of the ideas have been adopted, others modified);

"Don't Sign!": a seventeen-page sermon delivered at St. Callistus' Catholic Church in El Sobrante, mentioning the League only briefly; included here because of its attempted comprehensiveness in dealing with the anti-fair housing initiative, and as possibly helpful to ministers and speakers.]

The League for Decency in Real Estate is not an organization but a movement. The organization is an East Bay Center directed by some twenty community leaders for the application of League techniques and the spread of the idea to other population centers in California. CORE could be of great assistance in contacting similar persons in other parts of the state, alerting them to the League's approach, and assisting them in setting up similar Centers.

The League is intended as a service project for other organizations, speakers, and news media, and does not try to contact the public directly except as individuals write in to the Center to secure its materials. The East Bay Center will place advertisements (in real estate sections of papers) and issue releases and print up material for use by other groups. CORE could be of greatest assistance in using the League's material in a program of systematic direct action in front of deserving realty offices and headquarters, in contacting church groups, and wherever CORE's speakers deal with the initiative campaign.

The items to be put out by the Center which would be most directly useful to CORE will be:

a do-it-yourself kit (or, a handout describing the sell-it-yourself idea and indicating where the kit may be obtained and what is in it);

an exact analysis of just what services a real estate agent can and ought to (many of them frequently do not) provide in return for their 6 percent commission; this, to show that there is no intention of attaching an industry as such, and to aid fair-dealing agents for whom the League provides free advertising by circulating its

LIST OF APPROVED REAL ESTATE AGENTS--those in a given area who subscribe to the League-sponsored Fair Housing Code, which will be (it is hoped) endorsed by the Council of Churches, the Board of Rabbis, the Catholic Interracial Councils, and the local Conferences on Race and Religion (interfaith); public display of the League's Code in the place of business will be a condition for inclusion of an agent on the approved list. (CORE can be of great service in pushing the concept of the Fair Housing Code, and getting people of good will to look for it the same as they would a union label.)

educational material useful for distributing (counter-distributing) in front of all centers and Birch bookstores where the Realtors are giving out campaign material. (It is most important to nail the 'constitutional rights' argument exactly, the 'right-to-vote' argument and the other sophistries employed, and especially to REVEAL TO THE PUBLIC THE REAL, FINANCIAL MOTIVATION OF THE REALTORS, which many people of good will do not understand [for this, see section three of the sermon].)

All this material should be ready inside two weeks. Local chapters of CORE may write for it to the East Bay Center, 1646 Prince Street, Berkeley, 94703. An effort will be made to see that all California headquarters of CORE have it. Any of the League's material may be freely duplicated by CORE or other groups.

Norman Hill -

can't say any more than whats here....

chet!

The parties hereby agree as follows:

1. The purpose of this agreement is to affirm the Equal Opportunity policy of the Member Hotels of the Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco (hereinafter referred to as the Member Hotels) and to establish implementation of that policy. This agreement shall become effective when signed by representatives of all of the organizations appearing below.

2. The policy of the association is that employee selection and promotion respecting all job categories are determined solely upon the basis of the qualifications of the individual for the job in question, without reference to race or color.

3. F.E.P.C. Equal Opportunity signs will be posted in all Member Hotels bulletin boards.

4. All job requests to unions will include a reminder that Member Hotels are Equal Opportunity Employers.

5. A statistical analysis will be made by each Member Hotel within 60 days, every 30 days thereafter for three months and every 90 days thereafter showing by job category the number of employees who are of minority racial groups, the aggregate number of employees, and the aggregate number of such employees who are of minority racial groups. This information will be made available to the signatories to this agreement.

6. This employment policy statement of Member Hotels will be distributed to any additional persons or groups which may be suggested not to be fully aware of that policy already, by virtue of prior distribution. In this

connection any recommendation which the parties hereto may have regarding employment sources will be submitted to Member Hotels in writing.

7. Employment classified advertising space taken in newspapers by Member Hotels shall state the Equal Opportunity at such hotels.

8. Special emphasis will be given in those advertisements to the fact that this Equal Opportunity policy applies to all job categories.

9. Based upon the assumption that future rates of turnover will approximate those of comparable periods during the past two years, and assuming further that qualified applicants who are of minority racial groups will be available as openings occur, it can reasonably be anticipated that as a general policy at each hotel employees of all minority racial groups as herein defined will be employed in order to bring the total employed of such minority groups to a level of from 15-20% of total employees from time to time having in mind special circumstances which may prevail with respect to fluctuation in business volume and special conditions at certain hotels. In general the objective at each hotel shall be to accomplish such hiring by July 20, 1964. Percentage estimates hereinunder are based upon the assumption that sufficient minority group applicants with previous job experience will be available as openings occur in experienced job categories. The foregoing is not to be deemed to establish a quota for hiring; rather a good faith effort by Member Hotels to implement their hiring policies stated herein is all that is expected. The parties recognize that the results of application of that hiring policy necessarily will be affected by factors such as lack of job

applicants meeting the Member Hotel's standards of qualifications and experience, requirements of collective bargaining agreements, or reduction in the possible job opportunities because of a decreases in turnover, and economic conditions. Should any serious problem arise which the Member Hotels come to recognize as an impediment to the implementation of this paragraph the member hotel affected will promptly notify the other parties.

10. As used herein, minority racial groups means Negroes, other non-whites and persons of Mexican or Latin American descent.

11. On March 7, 1964 all boycotting, picketing and other forms of demonstrations against Member Hotels will cease, and the parties shall refrain from boycotting, picketing, demonstrating or other forms of direct action against Member Hotels during the term of the agreement and shall use their best efforts to dissipate the effects upon the community of the demonstrations conducted heretofore.

12. The term of this agreement shall be from March 7, 1964 until March 7, 1966.

13. Notice for any purpose shall be mailed to the Member Hotels at 870 Market Street, San Francisco, California. With respect to parties hereto who are not Member Hotels c/o Terry A. Francoise, 2085 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California.

14. The parties also agree that there will be no boycotting, picketing or other forms of demonstrations against any hotels which are members of the Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco for at least 30 days after notification to any such hotel that any party hereto wishes to discuss hiring

practices at the said hotel; under no circumstances shall any Member Hotel of Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco be requested to sign any agreement save a duplicate of this one.

15. Nothing in this agreement establishes any hiring quota, or quota for employment.

16. The non hotel parties of this agreement shall and hereby do indemnify Member Hotels from any damage or the results of any lawsuits arising out of the events which occurred on February 28 and 29, 1964, and March 1, 1964 and March 2, 1964.

17. This agreement shall be applicable to all association Member Hotels presently open for business and during the term hereof to future Member Hotels to be constructed at the time such new hotels shall have become fully staffed.

18. This agreement shall be subject to and limited by the provisions of State and Federal law and applicable collective bargaining agreements, and any provision hereof which shall conflict herewith shall be deemed excised herefrom and the remainder of the agreement shall remain in full force and effect in order to carry out the intention of the parties hereto.

19. At the request of the non-member parties hereto, Member Hotels will arrange at reasonable times and intervals conducted tours by no more than three individuals representing the non-member parties of any of Member Hotels for the purpose of ascertaining the extent of implementation of this agreement.

20. Member Hotels agree to dismiss all existing civil suits pending against any of the parties hereto or any other persons resulting from demonstrations heretofore conducted against any of Member Hotels. Member Hotels further agree to notify the District Attorney's Office of the City and County of San Francisco that they do not desire to prosecute any misdemeanor charges growing out of said demonstrations and to request a dismissal of same, it being understood that the final decision rests with the office of the District Attorney and is not within the power and authority of Member Hotels.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this agreement this 7th day of March, 1964.

AD HOC COMMITTEE TO END DISCRIMINATION

BY: Tracy A. Sims
Tracy Sims

Michael Meyerson
Michael Meyerson

Ray Ballard
Ray Ballard

HOTEL EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATION OF SAN FRANCISCO

BY: [illegible]

ENDORSED, RATIFIED AND APPROVED:
UNITED SAN FRANCISCO FREEDOM MOVEMENT

BY: Thomas N. Burbridge
Dr. Thomas N. Burbridge

SAN FRANCISCO BAPTIST MINISTERS UNION

BY: [illegible]

[illegible]

Hamilton T. Boswell Sr.
Conference Religion + Race

ADDENDUM TO AGREEMENT

The following provisions are added to and become a part of the agreement entered into between the undersigned on March 7, 1964:

It is hereby agreed that all claims or causes for action which may exist against the San Francisco Police Department or any of its individual members by reason of acts which might have occurred in the course of any demonstrations heretofore conducted by the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination against any member hotel, are hereby released and discharged.

This release applies to the Ad Hoc Committee Against Discrimination and all of its individual members and co-participants in the said demonstration.

DATED: March 7, 1964

AD HOC COMMITTEE TO END DISCRIMINATION

By: Tracy A. Sims

Kay Ballard

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

H. T. Bonnell

Thomas N. Burbridge

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO CHANGE JOBS IF A JOB REQUIRING MORE SKILL THAN YOUR CURRENT JOB COULD BE FOUND FOR YOU?

YES _____ NO _____

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO TAKE TRAINING IN ORDER TO GET A BETTER JOB?

YES _____ NO _____

IF INTERESTED IN TRAINING OR RETRAINING, STATE OCCUPATION IN WHICH TRAINING IS WANTED.

_____
OCCUPATION

IF YOU ARE 26 YEARS OLD OR LESS, WOULD YOU LIKE TO TAKE APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING?

YES _____ NO _____

STATE OCCUPATION OF FIRST CHOICE IF INTERESTED.

_____
OCCUPATION

IF YOU FEEL THAT ANY IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR SKILLS HAS BEEN OMITTED (SUCH AS THOSE GAINED IN SELF-EMPLOYMENT) ADD THAT INFORMATION HERE:

PLEASE PRINT

NAACP - DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT SKILL INVENTORY

NAME — LAST FIRST INITIAL

YEAR OF BIRTH

SEX: M____ F____

STREET ADDRESS ZONE CITY

PHONE

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

JOB TITLE D.O.T. CODE

ARE YOU NOW WORKING? YES _____ NO _____

IF NOT WORKING, ARE YOU LOOKING FOR WORK? YES ____ NO ____

IF NOT WORKING, HOW LONG SINCE YOU HAVE WORKED REGULARLY? YRS.____ MOS.____

MOST IMPORTANT JOBS IN WORK EXPERIENCE

| JOB TITLE | BEGINNING MO. & YR. | ENDING MO. & YR. | SALARY (INCL. TIPS, BONUS & COMMISSION) | CHECK IF JOB HELD ONLY IN ARMED SERVICES |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB) | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

LIST LABOR UNIONS OR PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES THAT YOU BELONG TO:

NAME OF UNION OR SOCIETIES _____ LOCAL _____

LIST VOCATIONAL TRAINING YOU HAVE HAD IN:

TRADE & TECHNICAL SCHOOL _____

BUSINESS SCHOOL _____

ARMED FORCES _____

APPRENTICESHIPS _____

LIST CERTIFICATES OF PROFICIENCY OR LICENSES YOU HAVE RECEIVED:

TRADE & TECHNICAL SCHOOL _____

BUSINESS SCHOOL _____

ARMED FORCES _____

APPRENTICESHIPS _____

EDUCATION

YEAR LEFT SCHOOL: 19____

CIRCLE HIGHEST GRADE COMPLETED:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

GRADE SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL

COLLEGE: 1 2 3 4 5

SCHOOL NAME: _____

CHECK HIGH SCHOOL COURSE STUDIED

- COLLEGE PREP. ☐
- GENERAL ☐
- COMMERCIAL ☐
- SCIENTIFIC ☐
- TECHNICAL OR SHOP ☐
- OTHER ☐

COLLEGE DEGREES HELD

_____

COLLEGE MAJOR

_____

CONFIDENTIAL

JOB YOU ARE QUALIFIED FOR THAT DEMANDS THE MOST TRAINING, SKILL AND KNOWLEDGE (SHOULD BE ONE OF THOSE LISTED ON PREVIOUS PAGE; THIS MAY OR MAY NOT BE YOUR PRESENT OR MOST RECENT JOB).

1. JOB NAME

2. MOST IMPORTANT TASKS OR DUTIES (LIST SEVERAL)

3. LIST THE TOOLS USED AND EQUIPMENT OPERATED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THIS JOB.
   A. _____ C. _____ E. _____
   B. _____ D. _____ F. _____

4. WHAT SPECIAL TRAINING HAVE YOU HAD FOR THIS JOB (EITHER FORMAL OR ON THE JOB)?

5. HOW LONG DID IT TAKE YOU TO LEARN THIS JOB?
   LESS THAN ONE WEEK _____; ONE WEEK TO ONE MONTH _____; ONE MONTH TO ONE YEAR _____;
   MORE THAN ONE YEAR _____.

6. IS THERE ANY REASON WHY YOU CANNOT WORK SUCCESSFULLY AT THIS JOB AT THE MOMENT? IF YES, PLEASE EXPLAIN.

CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB

(PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING ONLY IF THE PREVIOUS JOB DESCRIPTION IS FOR A JOB OTHER THAN YOUR CURRENT OR MOST RECENT JOB. IF YOU DO NOT FILL OUT THIS SECTION, SKIP TO FOLLOWING PAGE.)

1. JOB NAME

2. MOST IMPORTANT TASKS OR DUTIES (LIST SEVERAL)

3. LIST THE TOOLS USED AND EQUIPMENT OPERATED IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THIS JOB.
   A. _____ C. _____ E. _____
   B. _____ D. _____ F. _____

4. WHAT SPECIAL TRAINING HAVE YOU HAD FOR THIS JOB (EITHER FORMAL OR ON THE JOB)?

5. HOW LONG DID IT TAKE YOU TO LEARN THIS JOB?
   LESS THAN ONE WEEK _____; ONE WEEK TO ONE MONTH _____; ONE MONTH TO ONE YEAR _____;
   MORE THAN ONE YEAR _____.

Additions and Corrections to Agenda

A. Friday Evening 8:00 PM

Addition To Legal Panel
(5) Mrs. Ruth Jacobs, San Francisco Attorney
(6) David Finkel, Attorney for Los Angeles CORE

B. Saturday Morning 10:00 AM

FEPC Panel
(4) Mr. Hugh Taylor, instead of Mr. Monte Possey

C. Possible Participation with San Francisco CORE in Direct Action Project During Lunch Break

D. Saturday Afternoon 2:00 PM

(1-a) Project Presentation
Mrs. Anne Draper, Clothing Workers Union

E. Special Invitation, San Francisco CORE Tape Top
10:00 PM Friday, 435 Baker
We Will Try To Arrange Transportation

KCBS RADIO
Sheraton-Palace Hotel
San Francisco 5, California

#142

A FINE BEGINNING

We now present a KCBS editorial entitled "A Fine Beginning". Here is Mr. Jules Dundes, KCBS General Manager and Vice President of CBS Radio:

A large section of San Francisco's retail business has indeed taken "a major forward step" in working out their new agreemertson job opportunities for Negroes.

KCBS extends its heartiest congratulations to all parties concerned. The new human rights agreements constitute a superb Christmas gift to the cause of racial harmony -- and equal opportunity -- in the city of San Francisco.

As you know, two large groups of retailers have agreed with leaders of the civil rights movement on new ways to make opportunities for good jobs available to Negroes. One group covers 30 leading department, furniture, and specialty stores. The other embraces more than 300 groceries and supermarkets -- the great majority of the city's food stores.

The actual hammering out of these agreements was accomplished by the San Francisco Community Relations Group, representing the employers, and leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Baptist Ministers' Union, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the United Freedom movement.

In addition, KCBS salutes the behind-the-scenes efforts of James P. Mitchell, San Francisco's human relations coordinator.

What do these agreements consist of, and in what way <u>are</u> they a "major forward step", as their proponents claim? KCBS believes the achievement lies in going beyond the passive position of merely <u>not</u> discriminating, to a conscious effort not only to provide job opportunities, but to recruit and train Negroes to qualify for those jobs once they are available.

The retailers have agreed to a number of positive steps. Beyond making it quite clear that they are henceforth equal opportunity employers, they also have agreed to obtain the assistance of State Department of Employment specialists in recruiting job applicants. They will work with school counselors to impress upon students of minority races their opportunities in retailing; they will actively recruit students at local colleges and universities for store jobs; and they will continually review the operations of the program at individual stores.

No one can say that overnight new jobs will be created for San Francisco's 80,000 Negro population in retailing as a result of these agreements. What can be said, however, as Joseph Williams of the United Freedom Movement's employment committee remarked on KCBS, is that these agreements represent a change in attitude on how to combat discrimination. They represent a coming

together that is healthy for both the minority and the majority. They demonstrate how people of good will on both sides can make progress by intelligent negotiation.

What now must be done is to implement these employment agreements in the fullest possible way and in the quickest possible time. KCBS hopes and believes that the retail employers will wholeheartedly live up to both the letter and the spirit of the agreements. And KCBS also hopes and believes that the leaders of the civil rights movement -- who are the leaders of our Negro community -- will work hard at convincing Negro youth that there is in fact an end to job discrimination in retailing. There will thus be a much needed incentive given to the Negro teen-ager to acquire the education and skills he will need to qualify for wider job opportunities.

As Mr. Williams also remarked, these agreements should help to change the impression of many Negro youths that since they can only get unskilled labor jobs they need no special training.

The new San Francisco program is an important beginning...a first step which promises well for the future. It is off to an auspicious start and we wish it well. The people of this city have every right to hope that the retail stores will soon demonstrate to other segments of business and industry that the way to end job discrimination is to go about it in positive fashion, with the will to achieve success.

You have just heard a KCBS editorial. KCBS editorializes frequently, and gives responsible representatives of differing viewpoints the opportunity to be heard.

Broadcast:

Monday, December 23, 1963
8:10 a.m.; 4:25 p.m.; 7:30 p.m.